Malabar Manual

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Malabar Manual

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PREFACE TO VOL. I

The feeling uppermost in my mind as I lay aside my pen is, though it may seem paradoxical to say so, that I could wish that I were just taking it up to begin ! Not, however, be it understood, that I could wish that I were just about to commence this present work afresh, but that .(it having been completed by some one else) I were starting to follow my inclination in wandering along some of the many fascinating vistas of knowledge which have been disclosed in the course of its preparation.

Many things I would no doubt find wherein my knowledge was defective, and many more still in which fuller investigation would throw new, and perhaps altogether different, Jight on what seems plain enough now.

The knowledge obtained in compiling these volumes and the Volume of Treaties,* &c., which preceded them, has in short brought me to the stage in which discrimination becomes practicable, and I could wish that I were taking up my pen now to pursue the inquiry further in many directions.

How far my readers may agree with me on this point I know not, but I shall consider that I have failed in one main object if I do not succeed in arousing a feeling of interest on many points whereon I have necessarily touched but briefly in this present work.

I would more especially call attention to the central point of interest, as I look at it, in any descriptive and historical account of the Malayali race — the position, namely, which was occupied for centuries on centuries by the Nayar caste in the civil and military organisation of the province, — a position so unique and so lasting that but for foreign intervention there seems no reason why it should not have continued to endure for centuries on centuries to come. Their

- “ A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and other papers of importance relating to British Affairs in Malabar. Edited with notes by W. Logan, Madras Civil Service. Calicut, 1879.”

functions in tho body politic have been tersely described in their own traditions as " the eye " " the hand " and " the order" and to the present day we find them spread throughout the length and breadth of the land, but no longer — I could almost say, alas ! — " preventing the rights (of all classes) from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse."

This bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of their own rulers secured for the country a high state of happiness and peace, and if foreign peoples and foreign influences had not intervened it might, with almost literal truth, have been said of the Mˆayalis that " happy is the people who have no history."

To understand Malabar and the Malayalis aright it is above all things necessary therefore that this central fact — this distribution of authority, — this "Parliament" as it was called so long ago as 28th May 1746 by one who was settled in the country and watching its working — this chastiser of the unwarrantable acts of Ministers of State — this all-powerful influence tending always to the maintenance of customary observances — should be firmly grasped by the mind.

Progress in the modern sense it is true was impossible under such a system, but what after all has been the goal of all modern legislation, but, as Bentham's great dictum puts it, — " the greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number." To any one who chooses to study the history of the Malayalis it will become apparent that the race had advanced far towards the attainment of this modern aim, and this too, and it is all the more remarkable on that account, was the state of affairs among a people whom I have described in the text as " a Hindu community of the purest and most characteristic type."

I regret much that more cannot be made at present of the early history of the people. Such sources of information as were accessible to a very hard-worked District Officer have been freely utilised, but the results are not very satisfactory. Moreover, it ought never to be forgotten that facts, which bulk largely in the histories of European races, are not to be expected here. Violent ebullitions of the popular will directed towards the removal of tyrants, and great upheavals of classes are not to be looked for in Malabar. A people

who throughout a thousand and more years have been looking longingly back to an evont like the departure of Cheraman Perumal for Mecca, and whose rulers even now assume the sword or sceptro on the understanding

that they merely hold it " until the Uncle who has gone to Mecca returns," must be a people whose history presents few landmarks or stepping stones, so to speak,— a people whoso history was almost completed on the day when that wonderful civil constitution was organised which endured unimpaired through so many centuries. The Malay iili raco has produced no historians simply because there was little or no history in one sense to record.

But the field is in another sense a fertile one, and I have already in the text acknowledged my great indebtedness to Dr. Giinderf for having in his admirable Malay aJ am Dictionary gathered in a rich harvest of knowledge on a vast variety of topics treated of in this work. I believe that if one were to search the length and breadth of the Peninsula it would be found difficult to select another Province in which research is likely to yield a moro abundant store of highly interesting and important information. To do the subject full justice however that harvest should be reaped, that store should be accumulated, by a native of tho soil.

In regard to the period when foreign peoples and foreign influences began to mako their mark in Malay iili history, the late Dr. Burnell told mo that he had for years been collecting in his library every work bearing on the Portuguese period with a view to preparing an exhaustive account of their doings. To this end ho had been picking up volumes in almost every country on the continent and in almost every European tongue. It is a thousand pities that he was unablo to complete the work : whether he ever made a commencement of it I know not. The short account given in this work makes no pretensions to being exhaustive, and as regards accuracy I have done tho best with tho materials I found ready to hand.

Pyrard's work, which is just appearing in London under the auspices of the Ilakluyt Society, did not come under my notice until tho text was in print, else I would not havo failed to borrow from its picturesque pages sorno especially

interesting sketches of native society on the coast in the early years of the seventeenth century.

In regard to the later periods of foreign influence and intervention, I have drawn nearly all my information from the district records. The earliest of these, in my office at Calicut, go back to the seventeenth century, and from the year 1/25 an almost unbroken series of very ponderous manuscript volumes records, in the most minute detail, the doings of the Honorable East India Company's Factories on the coast down to the time (1792) when the

Honorable Company's " merchants " and " writers " laid aside day-book and ledger and assumed the sword and sceptre of the land.

Subsequently to 1792 also, the records of my office contain nearly everything that is required to furnish an account of the province down to the present day.

These portions of the history of the district have accordingly been treated as fully as the nature of the present work seemed to require. Advantage has also been taken to supplement the district records fr om standard works. But the number of the latter is extremely limited, for although he was born in the district at Anjengo — Orme does not appear to have done anything towards elucidating its history — And Wilks concerns himself chiefly with the Mysorean conquests, and scarcely touches on Malabar topics except when recounting the exploits of Hyder Ali, or describing the atrocities of Tippu Sultan. Full advantage has been taken of his graphic and picturesque historical sketches. Finally Dr. Day's " Land of the Permauls," founded to a considerable extent in regard to Dutch affairs on information derived from my office records, has been laid under liberal contribution.

In conclusion I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. Rhodes Morgan for his interesting sketches of the Forests and Fauna of the District, to Messrs. O. Cannan, ex-Deputy Collector, and Kunju Menon, Subordinate Judge for very valuable notes on many subjects, to the gentlemen who have contributed the local descriptive notes embodied in Appendix XXI, and to many other native friends too numerous to mention here. Mr. Jacques, of the Collector's office, has been indefatigable in the preparation of the index.

One important source of information has, I regret, been neglected, more from lack of special knowledge than from

anything else. I refer to the archaeology of the district. The Director-General, Dr. Burgess, c.i.e., has lately been here on tour and from the fact that some of the existing Malay ali temples probably date back in his opinion so far as the eighth century A.D., some important information will almost certainly be derived from this source. In one particular Dr. Burgess has also, from a cursory examination of the Muhammadan tombstones at Pantalayini Kollarn (page 195), been able to set me right. He thinks that, apart from what may be engraved on the stones, not one of them can, from the character of the writing, be of an earlier date than the fourteenth century A.D. The inscription to be found at page 195 was read for me by a learned Arab gentleman, who took much pains in the way of paper tracings of the letters and figures, and spent much time in endeavouring to secure accuracy in the reading. It is quite possible that the tombstone was erected at a later date to commemorate

the traditionary burial place of one of the early Arabian pioneers on the coast.

East Hilt,, Calicut,

7th January 1887.

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CHAPTER I.

THE DISTRICT.

Section A. — Its Limits and Physical Features.

The name by which the district is known to Europeans is not in general use in the district itself, except among foreigners and English-speaking natives,. The ordinary name is Malay alam , or, in its shorter form, Malayam (= the hill country). The word Malabar is therefore probably, in part at least, of foreign origin ; the first two syllables are almost certainly the ordinary Dravidian word mala (= hill, mountain) and bar 1 is probably the Arabic word barr (= continent), or the Persian bar (= country). From the time (A.D. 522 — 547) of Cosmas Indico-pleustes down to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D., the word ** Male " was applied *to the coast by Arab navigators, and the seafaring population, who flocked thither subsequently for pepper and other spices, called it MaUbary Manibar , Mulibar , Miinlbdr , Malibu r, The early European travellers followed suit, and hence come the other forms in which the name has been written Melibar (Marco Polo), Minibar , Milibar , Minubar , Melibaria, Malabria , &c. Malabar may therefore be taken to mean the hilly or mountainous country, a name well suited to its physical characteristics.

Malayalam is not, however, the only indigenous name for the district. The natives love to call it Keralamy and this and other names will be found treated of in the historical chapter.

The district is very -widely scattered and consists of the following parts : —

(a.) Malabar proper extending from north to south along the coast, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles, and lying between JL Lat. 10° 15' and 12° 18' and E. Long. 75° 14 and 76° 56'

1 " liar signifies a coast in the language of the country," p. 10(a) of Renaudot's translation of the " Ancient accounts of India and China by two Muhammadan travellers m the ninth century A.D." — LoncL, 1733.

The boundaries of Malabar proper are — north, South Canara District ; east, Coorg, Maisur, Nllgiris, Coimbatore ; south, the Native State of Cochin ; west, the Arabian Sea.

(6.) A group of nineteen isolated bits of territory lying scattered, fifteen of them in the territories of the Native State of Cochin, and four 1 in those of Travancore, but all of them on or near the coast line between about N. Lat. 9° 36' and 1 0° 10' and E. Long. 76:> 14' and 76° 25'. These isolated bits of territory form the taluk of British Cochin.

(c.) Two other detached bits of land imbedded in Travancore territory and also on the coast line, namely : —

Tangasseri ,* N. Lat. 8° 54', E. Long. 76° 38', and Anjengo , N. Lat. 8° 40', E. Long. 76° 49'

(d.) Four inhabited and ten uninhabited islands of the Laccadive group. The positions of the inhabited islands are notified below : —

Agatti , N. Lat. 10° 50", E. Long. 72° 9', with four uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Parali, (2) Bangara, (3) Tinnakara, and (4) Kalpitti ;

Kavaratti, N. Lat. 10° 31', E. Long. 72° 35', with three uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Pitti, (2) Valiyakara, and (3) Cheriyakara, the two latter islets forming together the Seuhelipar reef, thirty-seven miles south-west of the main island. Pitti, on the other hand, lies fifteen miles north-west of the main island ;

Androthy N. Lat. 10° 47', E. Long. 73° 40', and Kalpeni, N. Lat. 10° 6', E. Long. 73° 35 with three uninhabited islands, viz., (1) Cheriyam, (2) Thilakka, and (3) Pitti.

(e.) The solitary island of Minicoy (Menakayat) lying between the 8° and 9° ship channels. Its position is N. Lat. 8° 18', E. Long. 73° 1 . Attached to it is the small islet of Yiringilli, used for quarantine purposes by the islanders.

The Malabar Collector's charge therefore lies scattered over four degrees of latitude and over more than four degrees of longitude. It embraoes an area of six thousand and two square miles with something more to be added for the islands and out-lying parts, and, as may be easily imagined, it presents a vast variety in the conditions of its many parts. On the ghat range some of the mountain peaks rise to very nearly eight thousand feet with bright frosty nights in the cold season,

i Since this was sent to press, an agreement has been arrived at with the

Travancore Government to transfer Tangasseri and the four bits of territory belonging to the Cochin Taluk to Travancore in part exchange for the site of the Penyar dam designed to turn for irrigation purposes a portion of the waters of the Perijte (great river) across the ghits into the Madura District. The agreement has not yet been carried out.

aud at the opposite extreme may be plaoed the radiant lagoons, the perpetual summer, and the coral reefs of the Laccadive Islands.

The coast line of Malabar proper trends from about north-north-west to south-south-east, and, at a distance inland from the coast of about twenty increasing as it goes southward to about fifty miles, nse the western shoulders of the great Maisur and Kilgiri plateaus and the Westeri Ghats. The lowest points in the ridge of the Maisur plateau approximate invariably to about three thousand feet, while in the ridge of the Nilgiri plateau it would be difficult to find a point under six thousand feet.

The mountain line does not, however, present an even aspect when viewed from a distance on the west. It seems to approach and then to recede from the coast, and the reason of this is at once apparent to a traveller from the south who skirts the mountain bases and passes buttress after buttress thrown far out into the plains.

They form a magnificent array in echelon of mountain heights, with their front facing southwards and with their loftiest peaks like grenadier companies protecting the right of the line. The district does not rise abpve this mountain barrier except at two points. The Wainad Taluk, which lies above the ghats, is simply a portion of the great Maisur plateau. Behind the ridge of ghats forming the southern slopes of the Nilgiri range there also lie two forest-clad valleys— the Sdent Valley and the Attapadi Valley— which likewise pertain to Malabar.

One of the most striking features in the country is the great Palghat gap, a complete opening some twenty miles across in this great backbone of the peninsula. Here, by whatever great natural agency the break occurred, the mountains appear thrown back and heaped up, as if some overwhelming deluge had burst through, sweeping them to left and right. On either hand tower the giant Nilgiris and Anamalas, overtopping the chain of ghats by several thousand feet, while through the gap the south-west winds bring pleasant moist air and grateful showers to the thirsty plains of Coimbatore, and roads and railway link the Carnatic to Kerala. Through this the thousand streams of the higher mountains find their way to the sea, and the produce of the eastern and western provinces is exchanged. The unique character — as a point of physical geography — of this gap in an otherwise unbroken wall of

high mountains, six hundred miles long, is only equalled by its great economio value to the countries lying on either hand of it.

Stretching westward from the long spurs, extensive ravines, dense forests and tangled jungles of the ghat mountains lie gentler slopes, rolling downs and gradually widening valleys closely cultivated, and nearer the sea-board the low laterite tablelands end abruptly in cliffs and give place to rice plains and coconut-fringed backwaters.

Numerous rivers have hollowed out for themselves long valleys to the coast, where, backed up by the littoral currents, they discharge into the line of backwaters. These backwaters and the streams which

flow into them and the canals which connect them afford a cheap means of communication to the inhabitants, and the rivers, backwaters and canals are crowded with boats conveying produce to market and huge unwieldy rafts of timber being slowly poled down stream to the timber depots.

The coast line, trending, as already said, from about north-northwest to south-south-east through a length of nearly one hundred and fifty miles, bears evidence throughout its length to a slow but steady encroachment of the sed upon the land. The prevailing littoral current is from north to south. It is one branch of the mighty ocean current which sweeps across from Madagascar and the east African coast and impinges on the Malabar Coast at a point a little to the north of the northernmost part of the Malabar District where it apparently divides into two branches, one going northwards and the other, and perhaps the main branch, flowing southwards down the coast. Its action is to be seen in the long sand -spits stretching from the north across the mouths of the rivers, — sand which in the wash of the waves travels slowly but most persistently from north to south — and in denuded headlands where the primeval rocks jut up and form barriers to the encroachment of the waves, which sweeping round the obstructions gradually hollow out bays to the southward of them.

The sea-board may be considered pretty open except to the north, where stand the island, hill, and wind-swept ruined fort of Mount Deli (eight hundred and fifty-five feet), a bold eminence of laterite and gneiss, and a conspicuous and well known landmark to mariners. Further south and as far as Calicut the coast line is fringed alternately by low cliffs and long reaches of sand. Beyond Calicut to the southward the shore is one long unbroken stretch of sand.

The littoral currents, though persistent in their action, are nowhere strong, and hence deep water close in shore is nowhere to be found and there are no

natural harbours suited for modern tonnage. The bottom of the ocean shelves very gradually, and so uniformly that experienced mariners have no difficulty in telling their distance from land at any point of the coast by the number of fathoms they find on sounding with the lead.

The coast does, however, afford some refuge to small craft with shallow draughts of water enabling them to cross the bars of some of the backwater outlets, and where the backwater is extensive and the scour on the bar is great (as at Cochin) comparatively large vessels do enter the estuaries and load and discharge in smooth water.

The Laccadive Islands and Minicoy are islands composed fcr the most part of coral sand, and limestone formed from it. The highest point of any of the islands is probably not more than thirty feet above sea-level. The islands are small and as a rule long and narrow, and within a few yards of the shore the bottom sinks abruptly beyond the reach of any ordinary sounding tackle.

ATTACHED TO

THE MALABAR OfSTRICT

In form the islands generally lie north and south in a crescent-moon shape with a more or less ample lagoon enclosed by a poral reef on the western and north-western sides. These lagoons are shallow as a rule, and on a calm, clear day the dazzling whiteness of the coral sand at bottom, the rainbow-coloured tints and diversified shapes of the living coral rooks, the intensely brilliant colours — cobalt, green, yellow and crimson — of the fish which dart out and in among them, and the exquisitely buoyant crystal clearness of the water on which he is floating, strike the visitor with surprise and leave indelibly impressed on his mind a picture of radiant beauty such as few spots on earth can produce.

The islands themselves, however, are intrinsically uninteresting and are usually covered from end to end and down to within a few yards of sea-level with a dense mass of vegetation, consisting of coconut trees and a few bread-fruit and lime trees in the cultivated parts, and elsewhere a dense mass of impenetrable scrub and screw-pine (Pandanvs odoratmimus) with here and there a few coconut trees towering above it.

Section B. — Mountains.

The mountains forming the Western Ghats, frequently in former days called the Sukhein 1 mountains, range from three thousand to five thousand feet

above sea-level on the Coorg find Whinad slopes, with one or two peaks, to be noticed presently, ranging over six thousand and up to nearly eight thousand feet. But on the Nilgiri-Kunda face the average height springs up to over six thousand feet. It falls again to about four thousand feet and lower on the southern Nilgiri slopes, and again rises to a high altitude in the Yadamalas (northern hills)' fringing the northern edge of the Palghat gap. On the south edge of the gap the Tenmalas (southern hills), outliers of the lofty Anamala mountains, commence with an elevation of four thousand to five thousand feet above sea-level. I)warfed into insignificance compared with the ghat mountains in the back-ground there also occur dotted about on the plain country several hills of considerable elevation.

The following are among the most noteworthy peaks of the Western Ghats : —

Veidai Mala.— N. Lat. 12° 10', E. Long. 75° 36'. A long, level, grassy mountain, standing almost at right angles to the ghats and ending precipitously on its western face, supposed to be haunted by a demon who displays a wonderful ruby stone at night-time to lure men to their destruction. The people have a tradition that a mighty robber, Veidal Kumar, used at one time to frequent this hili, and there is certainly near

1 Probably a corruption of Rahyan or Sahydchalain = the mighty hills = the Western Gh&td.

the western end the foundation of what must have been a large house. His neighbours in the low country finally combined against him, and, having won by treachery one of the passes to the hill, took his house and put its inmates to the sword, except one woman whose descendants can still be pointed out. At certain seasons of the year — April, May and October— thunderstorms of terrifio violence rage on the western summit of this mountain. Height above sea-level about 4,500 feet.

Bramagiri Peak. — N. Lat. 11° 56', E. Long. 76° 4'. On the edge of an elevated miniature plateau of beautiful grass and shola land, the greater portion of which lies in Coorg. Height 5,276 feet.

Banusur or Balasur Peak. — N. Lat. 11° 42', E. Long. 75° 58'. An isolated cone-shaped forest-clad hill towering high above the line of ghats. Height 6,762 feet.

Naduvaram Peak. — N. Lat. 11° 44', E. Long. 75° 51'. An important Great Trigonometrical Survey station. Height 4,557 feet.

Tanotemala. — N. Lat. 11° 32', E. Long. 76° 2'. Overhanging the Tamarassei'i

pass into Wainad. Height 5,095 feet.

Elambileri Peak. — N. Lat. 11° 31', E. Long. 76° 9'. A precipitous needle-shaped hill in the very heart of the best coffee-producing district in Wainad. Height 6,806 feet.

Vellera Mala.— N. Lat. 11° 27', E. Long. 76° 12'. A massive hill in the same famous coffee-producing district. Height 7,364 feet.

Vavulmala (Camel Hill) or Camel's Hump. — N. Lat. 11° 26', E. Long. 76s 11'. The highest peak in the Wainad, and a most conspicuous landmark from all points on the coast and from far out at sea, covered to the very top with virgin forest. Height 7,677 feet.

Nilgiri Peak.— N. Lat. 11° 23', E. Long. 76° 32', and

Mukurti Peak.— N. Lat. 11° 22', E. Long. 76° 36'. Height 8,380 feet. Both on the Nilgiri-Malabar boundary.

Anginda Peak.— N. Lat. 11° 11', E. Long. 76° 31'. Also on the edge (southern) of the Nilgiri plateau. Height 7,828 feet.

Karimala.-r N. Lat. 10° 56', E. Long. 76° 43'. The highest point on the mountains to the north of the Palghat gap. Height 0,556 feet.

South-west of it, and forming the extreme point of that range is—

Kalladikod Peak.— N. Lat. 10° 54', E. Long. 76° 39'. Perhaps the stormiest peak in all Malabar, so much so that the native proverb is, " If Kalladikodan grows angry (or black) will not the Karuga nver be swollen." Its height has not been accurately ascertained, but it is

close upon or over 4,0.00 feet. .

The following hills lie dotted here and there over the plain country :

Elimala or Mount Deli. — N. Lat. 12 2 , E. Long. 75 16 . A con spicuous isolated hill on the sea-shore, well known as a landmark for mariners since the earliest times. Vasco da Gama's pilots foretold that the first land to be sighted would be " a great mountain 1 which is on

i Stanley's " Three voyages of Vasco daand his Viceroyalty from the Lendas

da India of Caspar Correa, &c."-Hakluyt Soc., London, 1869, p. 14o.

the coast of India in the kingdom of Cannanore, which the people of the

country in their language call the Mountain Delielly, and they call it of the rat, and they call it Mount Dely, because in this mountain there were so many rats that they never could make a village' there." Eli certainly means a rat, but the name of the hill is written with the cerebro-palatal l. The legend which Correa obtained was like that which conferred on it likewise the sounding title of sapta-shaila or seven hills, because elu means in Malayalam seven, and elu mala means the seven hills, of which sapta-shaila is the Sanskrit equivalent. Now, as matter of fact, there are not seven peaks to this, hill, just as probably the rats were no worse there than they were anywhere else on the coast. But elix is clearly identical with Marco Polo's " Kingdom 1 2 of Eli " and Ibn Batuta's Hili, and as the Eli Kovilagam, the second oldest of the palaces of the ancient line of Kolattiri Princes, lies at a very short distance from the northern slopes of the hill it is clear that the name of the hill was given to the palace, or that of the palace to the hill. Height 855 feet.

Chekunnu. — N. Lat. 11° 15', E. Long. 76° 9'. On the outskirts of the Camel Hump range. Height 1,975 feet.

Urotmala. — N. Lat. 11° 5', E. Long. 76° 4'. Overlooking the European military outpost of Malapuram. There is on its summit a small Hindu temple with an inscription of no great antiquity. Height 1,573 feet.

Pandalur. — N. Lat. 11° 3', E. Long. 76° 14'. Also overlooking the Malapuram outpost. It is covered for the most part with dense scrub jungle, but one or two coffee gardens have been opened with success on its northern slopes. At some distance from the summit and on the east face of the hill is a perennial spring of excellent water flowing from beneath an immense boulder of rock. The spring is supposed to be haunted, and, as a matter of fact, a solitary Mussulman Fakir used to inhabit a tiger's cave close to the spring. A magnifioent panoramio view of mountain scenery is obtained from various points of this hill, bilt particularly from the highest point of it — a piled up cone'of rocks reaching to a giddy level with the tops of the forest trees. Height about 2,000 feet.

Prdnakod. — N. Lat. 10° 59', E. Long. 76° 21'. The summit of a small densely wooded range of hills which, with the range last mentioned, seems to form at this point the advanced guard of the Nilgiri mountains. Height 1,792 feet.

Anangamala. — N. Lat. 10° 49', E. Long. 76° 27'. A long precipitous isolated rocky hill, a conspicuous landmark. There are one or two small coffee gardens on its slopes. Height 1,298 feet.

1 The conversion of eli into Deli was simple enough, for the early Portuguese would call it the " Monte D'eli."

2 Yule's Marco Polo, Chap. XXIV of Book III, Vol. II, pp. 374 to 377. London, 1874.

To the above list of mountain peaks and hills, most of which are stations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey, may be added the following list of other survey stations of less elevation : — •

Cannanore. — N. Lat. 11° 52', E. Long. 75° 25'. Height 51 feet.

Darmapattanam. — N. Lat. 11° 46', E. Long. 76° 31'. Height 1 12 feet.

Manan toddy. — N. Lat. 11° 48', E. Long. 76° 4'. Height 2,558 feet.

Purakad. — N. Lat. 11° 28', E. Long. 75° 43'. Height 260 feet.

Pukunnu. — N. Lat. llc 14', E. Long. 75° 53'. Height 279 feet.

Kurnad. — N. Lat. 10° 47', E. Long. 76° 9'. Height 354 feet.

Karachi inaia. — N. Lat. 10° 47', E. Long. 76° 41'. Height 479 feet.

Pdlghdt Fort.— N. Lat. 10° 46', E. Long. 76° 43'. Height 349 feet.

The latitudes and longitudes given are those of the ordinary Indian Atlas Sheets, Nos. 43, 44, 61 and 62, and not the revised values found recently by the Great Trigonometrical Survey : the heights, however, are correct.

Section C. — Bivers, Backwaters, and Canals.

The river and backwater system of the district had much to do with the development of the country in the early days of foreign intervention, for these afforded the easiest and cheapest and almost the only means of communication in times when wheeled traffic and pack-bullock traffic were unknown And accordingly it is found that the foreigners settled most thickly close to or on the rivers and selected sites for their factories so as to command as much as possible of these arteries of traffic.

The Portuguese (subsequently Dutch) factory at Cannanore, with its outwork on Mount Deli point, commanded the river navigation of the whole of the Kolattiri's northern domain. The English factory at Tellicherry, with its outworks on Darmapattanam island, secured to the Honorable Company the largest share of the trade in the excellent pepper produced in the Randattara Achanmars' territory, in the Kot-tayam Baja's domain,, and in that of the Iruvalinad Nambiars, tapped by the rivers converging at Darmapattanam.

The French factory at the mouth of the Mah6 river did the same for the Kadattanad Baja's territory drained by that river. The Portuguese, the English, the French, and the Danes had factories in the Zamorin's territory at Calicut, whither was conveyed by water the produce of the territories of the Zamorin, and of his more or less dependent chieftains, the P ayurmala Nayars, the Kurumbranad Bajas, the Tamarasseri branch of the Kot-tayam family, the Parappanad Bajas, and the Puluvayi Nayars.

RIVERS, BACKWATERS, AND CANALS.

At PonnSLni the water communication was defective because inconstant, so it was not much sought after as a factory site ; whereas Chetwai, at the mouth of a widespread river and backwater system, was in much request by Portuguese and Dutch and subsequently by the English, and was often hotly contended for. Cochin, where the Portuguese and subsequently the Dutch formed large settlements, owed its importance no less to its unsurpassed Water communications with the interior as to its deep bar and landlocked harbour for the ships of small draught of water then in vogue. Again from Tangasseri the Dutoh could command the large expanse of navigable rivers there finding outlet to the sea. And finally the English at Anjengo settled on an inhospitable sandspit with the ocean on one side of it and a navigable river on the other, just because of the advantages which this river and neighbouring creeks afforded for bringing the produoe of the oountry to their Company's mart.

These were the great emporia of foreign trade, but at the head of the tidal portion of each river, and at favorable sites on its banks, the pioneers of the great foreign companies had their trade-outposts and warehouses, and at all such places sprang up settlements of the classes (chiefly Muhammadans) who carried on the trade of the country. Such settlements still exist, but with the opening up of roads, canals and railway, and the centralizing influence of trade, their glory has largely passed away from them.

The following are the chief rivers, backwaters, canals, &c., inthe district, and the latitudes and longitudes are taken from the Indian Atlas Sheets Nos. 44, 61 and 62, and are those of the river mouths where they empty themselves into the ocean, or, in the oase of rivers flowing eastward, those of the places where they finally leav$ the district : —

The Nilesvaram River. — N. Lat. 12° 4', E. Long. 75° 14'. This river, which is about forty-seven miles in length, lies for the most part in the district of South Canara. It drains, however, what is still a Malayalam country, and what was formerly the most northern portion of the kingdom of the Kolattiris. Country craft of small burthen can enter its mouth for a short

distance.

The Elimala or Mount Deli River. — N. Lat. 12° 2', E. Long. 75° 18'. The course of this stream is only about thirty miles in length. It rises in the ghat mountains and loses itself in a number of creeks to the east and north-east of the mount. One or more of these join the waters of the Nilesvaram river, and the chief one flows south and enters the sea in the angle of the bay formed immediately to the south of and under the very shadow of the mount itself. These creeks being tidal, therefore convert the mount peninsula into an island. The sluggish water of these brackish creeks is extremely favorable to the crocodile tribe, whioh here at times attain prodigious dimensions, and with increasing weight they gain an appetite for the flesh of men and animals which makes it

extremely dangerous for fishermen, and agriculturists too, to pursue their callings in such haunts. A crocodile fifteen feet in length is far more than a match for the strongest buffalo. The prodigious length of his ponderous jaw, armed with sharp-pointed interlocking teethˆ give the reptile a hold of his victim which enables him to make full use of the enormous dead weight of his ungainly carcass as well as of his immense muscular power. So much are these reptiles feared, that people in boats even are sometimes not exempt from danger, and dwellers by the waterside generally have guns ready loaded to take advantage of their enemies. Sometimes the whole country-side turns out to drag them from their lairs by nets of strong meshed rope.

The Sultan's Canal.— N. Lat. 12° 2', E. Long. 75° 18'. This is an artificial work (about two miles in length), undertaken and executed in 1 1 6b by A.li Raja, the husband of the Bibi of Cannanore, when managing the Kolattiri domains for Haidar Ali. It connects the Mount Deli river with the backwater formed at the mouth of the Tali-paramba and Valarpattanam rivers, and thus gives uninterrupted water communication at all seasons. Formerly boats going to or from the north had to go out to sea at this point.

The Taliparamba River. — N. Lat. 11° 57', E. Long. 75° 22'. The main branch of this river is navigable at all seasons for boats as far as the lower slopes of the ghat mountains. After passing Taliparamba the main branch is joined by one from the east, and the two together spread out into an extensive sheet of water, the haunt in certain seasons of large flocks of aquatic birds. Bending slightly to the north and passing under the guns of an old ruined fort of the Kolattiri's, the united streams then suddenly turn at Palangadi (ancient bazaar) due south and run in a course parallel to the sea till they meet the stronger current of the Valarpattanam river, united to which they force for

themselves a passage to the sea through the sand shoals thrown up by the littoral currents. A large tract of fertile garden laud has been formed by the continuous action of the littoral currents damming up the mouth of this river. Its length from source to mouth is about fifty-one miles.

The Valarpattanam River. — N. Lat. 11° 57', E. Long. 75° 22'. Though the length of this river is less than that of several others in Malabar proper, it perhaps discharges more water into the sea than any of them. It has three large branches, one of which joins the tidal part of the main stream and is itself navigable for boats almost to the foot of the ghat mountains. Near the head of the navigable portion of this branch lies one of those pioneer settlements of trading foreigners (Muhammadans) already alluded to, and it is in this out-of-the-way place that, local tradition says, was founded one of the nine original Muhammadan mosques. The tradition is, that this place, the " Suitu-kundapuram " of the Indian Atlas, was in former days the chief emporium of trade with the fertile land? of Coorg and the sandal forests

of Maisur, and that this is the place to which Ibn Batuta travelled from Hlli (Elimala), and about the exact locality of which there has been some speculation. It is just about one day's journey, by water all the way, from Mount Deli. On the main branch of the river the head of the navigable portion is likewise marked by a pioneer settlement of foreign traders (Muhammadans) located in the village of Irukur (Erroocur of the Atlas). The trade route to Maisur and Coorg in more recent times lay through this village, and it was through this village that one of the columns of the force despatched against Coorg in 1834 laid its route. Further up stream, at Irritti, and just below the junction of its other two main branches, the existing trade route vid the Perambadi ghat crosses the river by a lofty bridge of masonry piers and abutments with a superstructure of wood about to be replaced by iron lattice girders. Beyond this bridge the sources of the river lie in the ghat mountains and in primeval forest, much of which is still inhabited only by wild beasts. The lengths of these two main branches above Irritti bridge are respectively about thirty-two and twenty-eight miles, and the whole length of the stream may be taken to be about seventy-four miles. At the village of Yalarpattanam near its mouth there is a well preserved fort on a lofty* cliff on the south bank of the river completely dominating the stream, and further west on an island in the backwater was yet another fort called Madakkara. The former belonged to the Kolattiri, and was evidently planned for him by European engineers"; the latter was one of the outworks built by the Honorable Company's factors at the English settlement of Tellicherry to

proteot the Company's trade on these rivers. Country craft of considerable size enter the river and lie off the village of Yalarpattanam.

The Anjarakandi River. — N. Lat. 11° 47', E. Long. 75° 32'. This river rises in the heavy forest land on the western face of the Wainad Ghat slopes, and after a course of about forty miles divides into two branches and thus forms the island of Darmapattanam at its junction with the sea. It is navigable for boats at all seasons to a place called Venkat some distance above Anjarakandi. At Yenkat the Honorable English Company had a trading outpost in the very heart of the finest pepper-producing country in Malabar. And at Anjarakandi the Honorable Company started an experimental garden for the growth of various exotics. The command of the traffio on this river was considered so important that Darmapattanam island at its mouth, acquired by the Honorable Company in 1734-35, was heavily fortified and garrisoned from the Tellicherry factory, and it was even proposed to give up the Tellicherry factory altogether and to build a new one on Darmapattanam island

The Tellicherry River. — -N. Lat. 11° 46', E. Long. 75° 33'. This is an insignifioant stream navigable for boats to a distance of only about three or three and a-half miles, and in length altogether its course is about fourteen miles. Small country craft do, however, enter its mouth

and he above the bridge which spans it. It was of importance as affording protection to the English factory at Tellicherry on the northern and eastern landward sides, and the natural protection it afforded was further strengthened by small fortified outworks at various points of vantage. It was frequently called the Kodoli river from the fort of that name, commanding the bay at its mouth. At a short distance above Tellicherry it still forms the boundary of the French aldte of Pandakal, a detached outlying portion of the French settlement at Mahe.

The Maht River.— N. Lat. 11° 43', E. Long. 75° 36'. This stream rises in the heavy forests of the Wainad ghats, and after a course of about thirty-four miles falls into the sea at the Frendh settlement of Mahe, of the main portion of which it forms the northern and eastern boundary for a distance of about two miles. It is navigable for country craft of a small size for a distance of about half a mile and for boats as far as Parakadavu some twelve miles farther up stream.

The Kotta River.— N. Lat. 11° 34', E. Long. 75° 39'. It is so named from a fort (kotta) commanding the entrance to the sea. It was notorious in former days as a haunt of pirates, one of whom, Kottak-kal Kunyali Marakkar, made his name famous. It drains a heavy mass of virgin forest on the western slopes of

the Wainad ghats, and, the rainfall being excessively heavy in those parts, the river discharges for its length, only some forty-six miles, more than the usual quantity of water for rivers of its size. It is navigable at all seasons for boats as far as Kuttiyadi, which lies closely adjacent to the chain of ghats, and from this point a pack-bullock road runs up the mountains into North Wainad. The water communication on this river is linked on the one hand on the north by —

the Vadakkara Canal — N. Lat. 11° 36', E. Long. 75° 38' — partly natural and partly artificial, to the thriving trading town of Vadakkara, and on the south by another canal made in 1843 and called —

the Payoli Canal — N. Lat. 11° 31', E. Long. 75° 43'— length about one mile, to the extensive natural backwater communication of —

the Agalapula :, which means literally broad river. This broad river or backwater receives no stream of any importance, indeed nearly all the drainage from the ghats at this point is intercepted by the main stream and tributaries of the Kotta river, so that for a distance of about sixteen miles (N. Lat. 11° 31', E. Long. 75° 43', to N.Lat. 11° 22', E. Long. 75° 48) this backwater runs in a course parallel to the sea until it meets the Ellattur river close to the mouth of that stream. The importance of this natural water communication can hardly be overrated. It would seem as if the Kotta river had at one time found its way to the sea by this outlet instead of by the channel now in use, and indeed even now the water-level in the Kotta river sometimes rises so high as to threaten to breach through the narrow isthmus separating it from the Agalapula, the water-level of which rises of course much less

rapidly in floods. This difference of level in floods necessitates the maintenance of a water-lock at the entrance to the Payoli canal from the Kotta river.

The Ellattur River— N. Lat. 11° 22', E. Long. 75° 48'— is in length about thirty-two miles, hut it is a shallow stream, and, except near its mouth, is not suited for boat traffic. It is connected with the Kallai river and backwaters and with the Beypore river beyond by —

the Conolly Canal, which, taking advantage of the natural facilities already existing, loops together the drainage areas of the three streams above mentioned. The canal was constructed under the orders of Mr. Conolly, the Collector of Malabar, and was completed in the year 1848. It consists of a cut about three miles in length through several low ridges intervening between

the Ellattur river and the Kallai river ; the deepest cutting is about thirty feet through laterite rock, and the width, which is irregular, is in the narrowest portions about twelve feet. The depth of water in the cutting at low tide is only a few inches. Imperfect as it is, the facilities it affords to traffic are largely utilized, and it is likely to be ere long much improved in the carrying out of an extensive scheme proposed so long ago as in 1822 by Special Commissioner Mr. Graeme for affording inland water communication from Travancore northwards.

The Kallai River.— N. Lat. 11° 14', E. Long. 75° 51'. The stream, which, in the monsoon months only, forces a way for itself into the sea through the sand shoals thrown up by the littoral currents on the beach at Calicut, is a very insignificant one, and attains a length of about fourteen miles only. Connected with it, however, are several pretty extensive backwaters, and these again are looped ©n to the Beypore river by a narrow creek.

The Beypore River— N. Lat. 11° 9', E. Long. 75° 52'— drains a very extensive tract of the Wainad ghats and Nilgiri mountains. This is the only stream in Malabar which brings any considerable portion of its waters from above the crest of the ghat mountain ridge. Its two main branches rise respectively one in the Kunda mountains on the Nilgiri plateau and the other on the lower ranges of South-East Wainad. The one, called the Gold river, passes over the ridge of ghats in a long succession of rocky cataracts lying a short distance south of the Karkur pass. The other, called the Chdla river, leaps down from the crest of the Wainad hills in a magnificent cataract close to a foot-path known as the Choladi pass. The two streams, after receiving many large feeders, unite in the midst of the Nilambur Government teak plantations, and then flow on, receiving several important feeders from north and south, to their outlet into the sea at Beypore, the present terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line, a total distance in the case of the main branch of about ninety-six miles. This river discharges a very large volume of water in the monsoon seasons, and the scour on the bar is thus sufficient to maintain a depth

of about six feet at low tide which enables country craft to enter and lie about half a-mile up stream opposite the oustom house and railway terminus. Even in the height of the dry season also boats of light draught can ascend the stream as far as Mambat under the very shadow of the lofty Camel Hump range. There as usual (and also at Arikod) are to be found colonies of Muhammadan traders settled for ages. The sands pf this, and indeed of all the streams descending from the ghat mountains in Malabar, have from the earliest times been known to be auriferous, and even now some of the lower classes of the population try to eke out a precarious livelihood by washing the sands after each annual flood.

The Kadalundi River — N. Lat. 11° 8', E. Long. 75° 53' — is united to the Beypore river by a creek, and thus is formed the island of Chali-yam, on which is placed the present terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line. The Kadalundi river comes fr6m the western slopes of the Nilgiri mountains and of the Silent Valley range, and its main branch is seventy-five miles in length. The country through which it passes is on a higher level than the valley of the Beypore river, and hence the boat traffic on this stream is very limited except during the annual flood season when boats can get up stream as far as Malapuram and even farther, but in the dry season boat traffio is oonfined to a few miles near the mouth of the river. An unsuccessful attempt, continued down to 1857, was made by several Collectors to connect by a canal the Kadalundi river with the backwaters and creeks of the Ponnani river. A cutting was made, and for a day or two in the height of the monsoon, when the country is flooded, boats oan pass with some difficulty from the one river to the other, but at other seasons this is impracticable. A great natural obstacle to the successful construction of this canal was that at a short depth below the surface, a bed of unctuous clay or mud was found, which oozing into the canal filled it up sufficiently to prevent the passage of boats. This liquid mud seems to be of the same character with that which, forced upwards from the bottom of the sea by submarine volcanic action or by subterraneous pressure of water from the large inland backwaters, forms the mud banks or mud bays in which at one or two places on the coast (notably at Narakal and Alleppey) ships can ride in safety and load and discharge cargo throughout the monsoon season. The same difficulty was experienced at Calicut in making a short canal from the Kall&i river to the main

The Ponnani River. — N. Lat. 10° 48', E. Long. 75° 59. This is the longest of the rivers which discharge into the Arabian Ocean in Malabar proper. The main stream is about one hundred and fifty-six miles long, and the lengths of its three chief tributaries before they join the main stream are respectively about sixty, fifty, and forty-six miles. But the volume of water discharged from the large area drained by this river and its tributaries is probably not so great and is certainlv not

so constant as that discharged either by the Yalarpattanam river or by the Beypore river. The reason of this is that the main, stream comes from the arid plains of Coimbatore, and its drainage area in the mountains under the influence of the south-west monsoon is comparatively small. This tract, too, lies further inland than the mountain ranges to the north of them. The south-west line of the Madras Railway strikes the course of this river at the Palghat gap and runs along close to the stream till within a mile or two of the coast.

The bed of the stream in the lower reaches is generally sandy, and the water is shallow, but in the rains loaded boats do ascend the stream for considerable distances. There is never, however, except during the rains, a current at its mouth sufficiently strong to maintain a deep and wide channel through the sand drifts Carried by the littoral, currents. The bar is therefore always considerably impeded by shoals, and at times when the first monsoon floods come down the river the water is backed up and floods the surrounding country till the rush of water has cleared away these sand shoals. Dangerous deep currents are thus formed, and the riverside portion of Ponnani town which stands at its mouth is always in more or less danger from erosion, and in fact the town is only preserved by groynes, for the proper maintenance of which a special voluntary cess is paid by the mercantile community. This river near its mouth is connected on the north by a navigable creek with the railway system at Tirur railway station, and on the south by —

thePonnani Canal with the backwaters of Yelliyankod, which again communicate with those further south, and boat traffic is by these means possible from the railway at Tirur down to Trivandrum the capital of the Travancore State, a distance of over two hundred miles. But the water communication is only practicable at all seasons at present for small boats, and a scheme is under consideration for improving it. Among the most urgent requirements is the widening and deepening of the cut — about two miles in length — connecting the Ponnani river with the Yelliyankod backwater. The cut is at present only about fifteen feet wide, and the water in it is only a few inches deep at low tide.

The Veil i yank6d backwater. — N. Lat. 10° 44', E. Long. 76° O'. No stream of any importance joins this system of lagoons and "backwaters, and the opening to the sea is maintained by the force with which the tide ebbs and flows. It is united tvith —

the Chdvakkdd backwater by creeks which, together with the latter, extend from N. Lat. 10° 44' to 10° 32 and from E. Long. 76 " 1 to 76° 6', a distance in all of about fifteen miles. In all this distauce no stream of any size flows into or out of the backwater ; indeed two ridges running parallel to the coast line seem to shut off drainage both from east and west. Ibis hollow is filled with freshwater in the rains, and two rude embankments of wattle and mud are made at the end of the rains to keep in the fresh and to prevent the influx of salt-water, which would otherwise destroy the heavy rice-crops raised within the enclosure. The

passage of boats is maintained by sliding them with extra help over the obstacles on the unctuous mud of which the embankments are formed. At its

southern extremity the backwater joins—

the Chetwai River— N. Lat. 10° 31', E. Long. 76° 6'. The mouth of this river and about six miles of its oourse lie entirely in British territory, and for about two miles more it forms the boundary between British territory and the Native State of Cochin. At the end of this eight miles the river widens out into a, lake, partly natural and partly artificial. r J

The Trichur or Ennamakkal Lake— N. Lat. 10° 25' to 10° 35', E. Long, 76 10 to 76 16 as it is called, is of considerable size, about twenty-five square miles, and of great value, and deserves notice, if only for the singular struggle of human industry against the forces of nature which the cultivation of its bed demands. From the subsidence of the floods of one year to the commencement of the following rains the space of time is barely sufficient for the garnering of a crop. At the close of the rains the water in the lake, which is protected from tidal influences by a masonry dam at Ennamakkal, is drained off by ceaseless labor day and night with Persian wheels aided not unfrequently now-a-days by patent pumps driven by portable steam-engines, whose fires glow wreirdly across the waste of waters on dark nights while the incessant throb and rattle of the engines and machinery strive hard to dispel any illusions. Every foot of ground that can be thus reclaimed is protected by fences of wattle and mud and is planted up with well-grown rice seedlings. Spaces are left between the fields, and into these channels the water drawn from the fields is poured, so that boats have to be employed for visiting the different fields, the dry beds of which lie some three or four feet below the level of the water in the canals. In the dry weather the lake presents a magnificent level green expause of the most luxuriant growing rice, the pleasant effect of which to the eye is heightened by contrast with the snowy plumage of the innumerable cranes and other aquatic birds which here revel in a continual feast. With the early thunder harbingers of the south-west monsoon in April recommences the struggle with the slowly but steadily rising flood. Numberless Persian wheels bristle in their bamboo frameworks for the contest with the threatening floods, and as the season advances thousands of the population, many of them good caste Nayar women, are perched high above the scene on these machines continuing the day and night struggle with the rising floods for the preservation of their ripening crops. The bulwarks of the fields are frequently breached and the unmatured crop drowned. Often a large area has to be reaped by simply heading the stalks from boats ; but, as a rule, an enormously rich crop rewards this remarkable industry. A small portion only of this lake lies in British territory. The major portion belongs to the Cochin State, and, as already observed, a masonry dam at Ennamakkal is necessary to maintain the level of the freshwater in the lake and to keep out the salt-water.- The

original dam seems to have been formed some time during the eighteenth century by (it is said) the united efforts of the Zamorin and Cochin Rajas. They erected an embankment of hewn stone above two hundred feet long across the backwater at Ennamakkal. In 1802 Assistant Collector Mr. Drummond, under an erroneous expectation of benefiting the neighbouring lands, caused the dam to be partially destroyed ; but the consequence was that a large area of land fell out of cultivation owing to the influx of salt-water. Various attempts were made, especially in 1823 and 1812, to reconstruct the dam on the original plan. A project for a new dam lower down the river at Chetwai was proposed, and between 1855 and 1858 preparations for constructing this work were undertaken. The idea was abandoned, however, after Rs. 35,000 had been spent on it, and since then the original dam has been annually patched up at the joint cost of the British and Cochin Governments.

The last stream to find its way into the sea in British territory is _

The Cochin River.— N. Lat. 9° 38', E. Long. 76° 18'. It can hardly be called a river, for it is rather the tidal opening of an immense system of backwaters in which numerous large rivers from the ghat mountains lose themselves. These backwaters extend far away north into Cochin territory and far away south into Travancore and afford an admirable means of conveying the pioduce of this immense tract to its market at Cochin. The rush of water across the bar is so great as to maintain a depth on it of about twelve feet of water, which enables ships of a considerable size to come into harbour and load in smooth water. The depth is, however, insufficient for the large trading steamers employed in the coast traffic, and many of the sailing ships even which convey the produce to foreign countries are unable to cross the bar when loaded. These sometimes take in a portion of their cargo inside, and then go outside to the roadstead to complete their lading. Many proposals have from time to time been mooted for improving the Cochin river harbour, and a steam dredge was sent out from England to deepen the bar. It was found to be unsuited for working in the rough water winch always more or less prevails on the bar, and it was also found that the depth of water in the channel inside the bar was unsuited for the merchant steamers of the present day. A proposal to make a close' harbour has also been set aside on the ground of expense. The trade of Cochin, considerable as it is, could not afford to pay the interest on the large sum required for this purpose.

Besides the above rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea in Malabar, there are three of the large tributaries of the Kaveri river which deserve mention as having their sources in Malabar. These are _

Th&Kabbani River— N. Lat. 11° 52', E. Long. 76° 16'— which has its sources in Wainad, and which at times, owing to excessive rainfall on t ic ghat mountains, rolls down a very heavy flood to its parent stream. It and its tributaries drain nearly the whole of North and South Wainad, but their beds are too rocky and too shallow to permit of any traffic on them beyond the floating of timber.

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The Rampur River — N. Lat. 11° 46', E. Long. 76° 28' — resembles the Kabbani, into which it eventually flows after draining a large portion of South-East Wainad.

The Bavdni River — N. Lat. 11° 12', E. Long. 76° 48' — rises in the Kunda mountains on the Nilgiri plateau, and, after following a circuitous course through the Attapadi Valley, in which it barely escapes tumbling over the ghats to the westward, it returns again to the shadow of the Nilgiri mountains just before leaving Malabar. It is joined in the valley by one large and several small feeders. The former is called the Siruvani or small Bavdni and rises on the crest of the lofty forest-clad mountains on the northern edge of the Palghat gap. Acquiring a considerable volume in a sort of amphitheatre of mountains on the very crest of the ghats it pours itself in a magnificent cataract, said to be two thousand feet high, over a precipitous ledge of rock which hems in the Attapadi Valley on the south. At the top of this ledge of rock is a deep pool in the bed of the stream called Muttukulam, which is regarded with superstitious awe by the people, and about which many wonderful stories are told. By those who have never been to see it, it is said to be fathomless, and the people declare that extraordinary and tremendous noises do at times issue from it, and roll cracking among the mountains.

Section D. — Geological Formation.

With the exception of the auriferous quartzreef country in SouthEast Wainad, the detailed consideration of which falls more appropriately under the heading of the gold industry in Chapter VII, the district has not yet been scientifically surveyed by the Geological Survey Department, but Mr. W. King, the Deputy Superintendent for Madras, has embodied in his " General sketch of the Geology of the Travancore State " the results of his observations gathered in visits to Malabar and Cochin, and these, as he says, enable him to " generalize as to the lie and character of the very few rock formations over the country far to the northward " of the scene of his immediate explorations in Trahan-core, so that in fact a good deal is known about the geological

formations

of Malabar.

For facility of reference Mr. King's short paper on Travancore is therefore subjoined, with notes to certain portions of it.

General sketch of the Geology of the Travancore State. By W. King, D.Sc., Deputy Superintendent , (Madras) Geological Survey of India. —(Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 87.)

« Mv last season's work (1880-81) was devoted to a general examination of the geology of the southern half of Travancore, and to a particular study of a small urea of deposits which has been long known as

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occurring on the sea-coast, on the history of which I have written a separate paper.

" The development of the gold industry of Southern India having raised hopes of a similar auriferousness of the mountainous and coffee-planting districts in Travancore to that in Wynaad, I was, at the very urgent request of the Travancore Government, induced to devote a considerable portion of my time to the examination of the region supposed to present the most favorable indications of gold-bearing rocks. The result of this was a report on the quartz outcrops of Peermad, in which I showed that the supposed reefs are to all appearance beds of nearly pure quartz rock occurring with the other strata of the gneiss series, and that, though they locally give the very faintest traces of gold, there is no reason to expect that better results will be obtained. Practically, there are no auriferous quartz-reefs, as usually understood, in the area pointed out ; neither do I expect that such will be found of any extent or richness in so much of Travancore as I was able to visit.

" The geological examination of the country may be said to have extended over more than half of the territory — in reality, it consisted of various traverses over the country between Cape Comorin and the 9° 35' parallel of North latitude ; but I can generalize as to the lie and character of the very few rock formations over the country far to the northward through visits which I had made in previous years in the Coimbatore and Malabar Districts, and this season at Cochin, to which place I was called in connection with a commission of enquiry on the harbours, conducted by Colonel R. H. Sankey, c.b., in the hopes of being able to elucidate something regarding the well known tracts of smooth water off the coast at Narakal and Poracaud.

“ The Travanpore State, though it has long had a very irregular eastern frontier, has now been settled as lying practically to the westward of the main water-shed of the southern portion of the great mountainous backbone or midrib of Southern India, which stretches from the low-lying gap of Palghat, below the Nilgiris, to within some fifteen miles of Cape Comorin. Between this southern extremity of the mountain land and ‘ the Cape,’ as it is distinctively called, there is an outlying hill mass which carries the water-shed rather to the eastward of the extreme southern point of India ; but a low rocky spur does terminate the end, and outside of it, or a little to the eastward again and somewhat higher, are two rocky islets.

“ In the northern part of the country the mountain mass is very broad, but just south of the Peermad parallel (the northern limit of my proper work) the hilly backbone narrows considerably and becomes a lengthened series of more or less parallel ridges with lower and lower intermediate valleys. These are striking with the gneiss, or about west-north-west and east-south-east, there being at the same time a line of higher masses and peaks culminating the main ridge, from which the ribs run away, as indicated, to the low country.

“ The mountain land does not, as may be seen by any good map, run down the middle of the peninsula, but keeps to the westward ; so that there is a broad stretch of low country on the Madura and Tinnevelly side, while that of Travancore is narrow. Then the mountains drop rather suddenly to the east, while they send long spurs down to within a comparatively short distance of the western coast. There is thus still, in Madura and Tinnevelly, a southerly prolongation of the wide plains of the Carnatic, which stretch round by Cape Comorin and join the nairower, though rather more elevated, low country of Travancore, Cochin, and Malabar.

“ This narrower and somewhat higher land of the west coast presents also unmistakable traces of a plateau or terraced character 1 which is best displayed about Trivandrum, and northwards past Cochin into the Malabar country. South of Trivandrum these marks gradually disappear, the last trace being in the flat upland or plateau bordering the sea-shore at Kolachel. This more or less even-surfaced tract of country has an elevation in its most typical parts of one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above the sea, and it touches the shore in cliffs or headlands at two or three points, particularly at Warkilli, and in the Faupancheri hill south-west of Trivandrum.

“ To an observer travelling to Trivandrum across the Ariankow pass from Tinnevelly, the change from the parallel ridges and broken form of the lower hilly country to the comparatively smooth downs of Trivandrum is striking, though he would hardly see the generally terraced or plateau character until

a more extended acquaintance had been made with the country.

“ Northwards from Trivandrum there are narrow strips of absolutely low land, that is on the sea-level,2 marked by sandy and alluvial flats and long backwaters or lagoons. These widen out northwards from Quilon, until at Alleppey (Aulapolay) there is a width of about twelve miles of such formations, with the very extensive backwater which stretches far past Cochin.

1 The terraced character of the lowlands of Malabar is best seen at Malapuram, the Special Assistant Collector’s head-quarters in the Ernad Taluk ; but in the extreme north of the district, in the Chirakkal Taluk, both north and south of the Taliparamba river, it is also conspicuous. These terraces touch the sea and form low cliffs at Mount Deli, at Cannanore, at Darmapattanam and Tellicherry, and thence almost continuously on to Mahe, at Ivollam near Quilandy, and for a few miles north of it, and lastly at the Ellattur river mouth. Mr. King examined some of these terraces and observed in regard to them that “ the capped character of the plateaus in the neighbourhood of Beypore and Calicut, for instance, is due to the denudation of an originally planed-down terrace of gneiss into detached plateaus, the upper surfaces of which are altered and lateritized to a certain depth.” — (Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 101.)

2 These sealevel lands are numerous in Malabar also ; as, for example, the wide tidal backwaters on the Taliparamba and Valarpattanam rivers, the Agalapula (broad river) stretching between the KOtt* and Ellattur rivers, the backwaters on the Kadalundi river» those connected with the Velayankod backwater, and finally the Trichur or EnnamaLkal lake itself, with many others too numerous to bo mentioned.

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“ The rook formations are — first, and most prevalent and foundational, the gneiss series j1 and then on it, but only in a very small way, the Quilon beds , which are supposed to be of eocene age. These last are overlapped by the Warkilli beds ,2 which certainly appear to belong to a different series, and are thus perhaps of upper tertiary age ; they appear also to be equivalent to the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Finally, there are the recent deposits.

“ The gneisses are generally of the massive grey section of the series, that is, they are nearest to the rocks of the Nilgiris, though they differ from them in being coarse-grained or more largely crystallized, and in being generally quartzose rocks.

“ So quartzose are they, that there are, locally, frequent thin beds of nearly pure quartz rock which are at times very like reefs of vein-quartz. Often these beds are strongly felspathio, the felspar occurring among the quartz in distinguishable grains, or larger crystalline masses, giving the rock rather a granitic appearance. The only other region where I know of somewhat similar beds of quartz rock occurring with other gneisses is in the schistose region of the Nellore District. There, however, the quartz rock becomes often a fine, compact quartzite ; here, in Travancore, there are no approaches to such compact forms.

“ The common gneisses are felspathic quartzose varieties of “white or grey colors, very largely charged with garnets. A particular form of them is an exceedingly tough, but largely crystallized, dark-grey or greenish felspathic rock.

1 Mr. R. Bruce Foote, in his “ Sketch of the work of the Geological Survey in Southern

India,” points out that Mr. H. F. Blandford, in his memoir on the Nilgiris which appeared in 1869, exposed “the fallacy of a view held by Captain Newbold as well as many others at that time and still later, namely, that each of the mountain plateaus and ridges contained a great irrupted nucleus of granitic rocks,” and observes “ that the metamorphic rocks have not been greatly broken up and dislocated by intrusions of granite, to which the present outlines of the country were supposed to be largely due,” and finally winds up on this point as follows : “ The existing outlines are almost entirely due to atmospherio erosion acting over vast periods of time, the gneissic highlands of the south of the peninsula being one of the oldest known portions of terra firma. ”— (Reprint from Madras Journal of Literature and Science, 1882, p. 5.) To this may be added the following from Mr. W. King s paper on the gold fields of South-East Wain&d : “ It is worthy of notice that the present surface of Wynaad has probably only been exposed after a slow wearing away of over two thousand feet of superincumbent gneiss which was once continuous between the Nllgiri mountains and the Vellera Mala range.” — (Records, Geological Survey, Vol VIII p. 43.) ’ ’

2 So far as is yet known, the Quilon beds do not extend into Malabar, but the Warkilli beds are known to occur at two places at least in Malabar, namely, going northwards-

1. Beypore, where Lieutenant Newbold obtained the following measurements in the section of a cliff extending down to the water-level in the river: —

“ Four feet of sandy alluvial soil.

Ten feet of loose sandstone with beds of ochreous earth.

Twenty feet of gritty sandstone, passing into gritty laterite, and variegated in its lower portions with red and yellow bands.

Carboniferous stratum varying from a few inches to five feet in thickness.”

— -Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XI, pp. 239 — 243.)

Mr. King seems to have overlooked this account of Lieutenant Ncwbold’s when stating

“ Massive homblendic gneisses are not common. Indeed, hornblende may be said to be a comparatively rare constituent of the Travancore gneisses.

“ All the gneisses are more or less charged with titaniferous iron in minute grains ; they are likewise — only more visibly — as a rule, highly garnetiferous. In fact, one might say that Travancore is essentially a country of garnetiferous gneisses. The garnets themselves are only locally obtainable, it being impossible to break them from the living rock while they are generally decomposed or weathered. They are generally of small size, but are very rich in color, the precious garnet being very common. Other minerals, such as red, blue, and yellow sapphire and jacinth, are found among the garnet sands so common on the sea-shore at certain places. The sea-sands are also full of titaniferous iron grain. While on this subject, I may instance the beautiful and long known constitution of the shore sands at Cape Comorin, where, on the beach, may be seen the strongest-colored streaks or ribbons, of good width, of bright scarlet, black, purple, yellow and white sands of all these minerals and the ordinary silica.

“ As will be seen further on, an enormous quantity of ferruginous matter is collected among certain forms of weathered gneiss and other rooks, the source of which is hardly accounted for in the apparent sparse distribution of iron in the gneisses. After all, however, an immense supply of ferruginous matter must result from the weathering of the

that all the lateritic country about Calicut ’and Beypore is “ merely one of a decomposed form of gneiss.” — (Records, Geological Survey, Vol. XV, p. 101.)

1. Mr. O. Cannan, an ex-Deputy Collector of Malabar, while sinking (January— May 1876) a well in his garden in the cantonment of Cannanore, observed the following facts : —

Strata met with.

FEET.

Red earth and gravel . • • • • 8

Tough, hard laterite .. .. .« •• •• ..20

Red and yellow clay 10

Blue clay . . • . • • • • • • • • . . 10

Carboniferous stratum with damvier (resin) fruits — resembling those of the atakkappayan (? Spharanthus Ind.) — ores and metals . . . . . • • • • . . 4

White sand with spring of water . . . . . • . . 4

Total depth of well . . 56

Diameter of well .. 17

Distance from the sea about quarter mile. This carboniferous stratum is »11 known at Cannanore, and it is often met with in sinking wells at that place. It also crops out in the low cliffs on the sea-shore.

In boring for foundations for a road bridge in the bed of the Kallai river at Calicut in 1883, a stratum of what looked like a carbonaceous shale was met with at thirt) feet to thirty-six feet below river bed. In one bore hole the thickness of this stratum was six feet ; in another two feet. Other bore holes on either side did not meet with this stratum, which lay under stiff, grev, black and blue clays.1

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garnets, when we consider that they are so generally prevalent in all the gneisses, and crowdedly so in very many of them.

“ The general lie of the gneisses is in two or three parallel folds striking west-north -west to east-south-east. There is, perhaps, rather a tendency of the strike more to the northward in the broad part of the hills, about Peermad, and on towards the Cochin territory. Thus between Trivandrum and Tinnevelly on the west coast, or for some twelve to twenty miles inland, the dip is high to the south-south-west inland of the terraced or plateau country, or among the first parallel ridges there is a north-north-east dip ; then, on the mountain zone, there is again a high dip generally to the south-southwest. Thus the inclination of the beds is generally high, right across the strike with

a crushed-up condition of the folds; but they are often at a low angle, and the anticlinal on the western, the synclinal on the eastern, side are plainly distinguishable. About Kurtallam (Courtallum), on the Tinnevelly side, the rise up from the synclinal is very well displayed, and in their strike west-north-westward into the broad mountain land, the beds of this place clearly take part in a further great anticlinal which is displayed in a great flat arch of the Peermad strata. With this widening out of the mountain mass there is rather an easier lie of the strata.

" Southwards from the Ariankow traverse just detailed, there is much crushing up of the beds ; but they roll out flatter again towards the southern extremity, and there are good indications of a further synclinal to the south-south-west in the northerly low-dipping beds of Cape Comorin.

" Foliation is very strongly developed : indeed it is here, practically, bedding and lamination, of which there are some wonderful exhibitions. At Cape Comorin, indeed, some of the gneiss in its weathered condition (not lateritized) is scarcely to be distinguished, at first, from good thick bedded and laminated sandstones and flaggy sandstones.

" There is no special development of igneous rocks either in the way of granites or greenstones, though small veins and dykes are common, generally running nearly with the strike of the gneiss. In South Travancore, or north of the parallel of Trivandrum, -there are stronger occurrences of granite, in which the mica is abundant and in largish masses.

" The great feature about the gneisses in Travancore, and indeed also in Coohiu and Malabar, is their extraordinary tendency to weather or decompose, generally into white, yellow, or reddish felspathic clayey rocks, which, in many places and often very extensively, ultimately bbcome what is here always called laterite .* The evidences of this

The vexed question of the formation of laterite is still tub judiee. There are three t eoriee accounting for it, namely, the marine ; the fluviatils ; and the sub-aerial. The chief ifficulty lies in the total absence of all organic remaina, for chipped instruments, which have been found m it, are only indirectly of organic origin. Alluding to the different kinds of rock which go by the name of " laterite," Mr. King, in a footnote to his paper

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are, after all, only well seen in the field ; but it may be stated here that these are seen principally in the constituent minerals, mainly the quartz, being still identifiable in much of the rock ; in the lamination or foliation being also traceable ; in the gradual change from the massive living rock to the soft and

finally hard, scabrous, and vermicular ferruginous clayey resultant called laterite ; and in the thin, pale, and poorly ferruginous forms exhibited by the weathering and alteration of the more felspatbic and quartzose gneisses.

“ This altered form of the weathered gneiss occurs over a definite area which I have laid down approximately in the map. At the same time, the change from unweathered gneiss to this belt is not sharp ; for long before the eastern limit of the more generally lateritized belt is reached, approaching it from the mountain zone, the great change has begun.

“ Very soon after one begins to leave the higher ribs of the mountains and to enter on the first long slopes leading down to the low country, the gneiss begins to be weathered for some depth into a clayey rock, generally of pale colors, streaked and veined with ferruginous matter, and having always an appreciable upper surface of scabrous or pisohtio brown iron clay, which is, of course, probably largely the result of ferruginous wash, and, less so, of ferruginous infiltration. Also the ferruginous and lateritoid character is devolved to a certain extent according

on “the Warkilli and Quilon beds in Travancore,” says: “The origin of laterite being still unsettled, it is as well that no opportunity should be neglected for keeping certain points in the investigation well to the fore. Only lately I see that my colleague Mr. F. R. Mallet, in his paper ‘ On the ferruginous beds associated with the basaltic rocks of NorthEastern Ulster in relation to Indian laterite ’ (Records, Geological Survey of India, XIV p. 148), writes with reference to a generalization of Mr. W. J. M’Gee of Farley, fowa, United States of America : ‘ But that laterite is a product of the alteration in situ of the underlying rocks is a view open to serious objections, which has been fully discussed by Mr. Blanford.’ Now this is striking at actual facts, against which no local or theoretical objections can be taken into consideration ; for, to put it plainly, and as long as we are unable to define strictly what shall and what shall not be called laterite among the strange ferruginous rocks which go by that name, certain forms of this rock are actually and really an altered condition of the rock t» situ. Such is the case in Travancore, Malabar, and Ceylon, where I have over and over again traced the laterite (as It is called in Travancore) or the 4 Kabuk ’ (the Singalese synonym) into the living gneiss rock. I have held this view of what may be called the lateritization of gneiss with Mr. R. Bruce Foote (my colleague in Madras) for the last twenty years : our conclusions have been based on observations on the Nilgiris, Shevaroys, and other elevated regions in the Kumool and Cuddapah districts ; and my enlarged experience of the western coast and Ceylon has only confirmed it. Our experience of the Deccan laterites is not so extended, but we are agreed also that some of these must be products of alteration of the rock m situ.” — (Records, Geological Survey, XV, p. 96’ And

Mr. King goes on in the text (p. 97) to distinguish " three forms of rock here (Warkilli) and in the neighbourhood which usually go by the name of laterite : —

"1. Superficial ferruginously cemented debris.

" 2. The ferruginous, clayey, reddish or brown colored, irregularly vesicular and vermiform scabrous rock forming the uppermost portion of the Warkilli beds, which is unmistakably detrital, and which I will call laterite in this paper.

" 3. The altered form of decomposed gneiss (called ' Kabuk ' in Ceylon), which I shall here write of as lateritized qneiss. This form always eventually shows traces of original crystalline structure and constitution.'*

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to the composition of the gneisses ; but, on the whole, there is no doubt that the upper surface generally over large areas is lateritized to a certain depth irrespective of the varying constitution of the strata.

" Then, as the rocks are followed or crossed westward the alteration becomes more frequent, decided, and deeper seated ; though still, all over the field, ridges, humps, and bosses of the living rock rise up from the surrounding more or less decomposed low-lying rock areas.

" This generally irregular and fitfully altered condition of the gneisses begins at an elevation of about four hundred feet above the sea, and thus it extends as a sort of fringe of varying width along the lower slopes of the mountains.

" At a yet lower level, say from two hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and so nearer the sea-coast, there is a better defined belt of more decidedly lateritized form of weathered gneiss, in which the unaltered rock occurs less frequently, and then always in more or less flatly rounded humps and masses, which never rise abbve a general dead level. This belt is, in fact, a country of undulating downs (where free from thick and lofty jungle), or tolerably uniform level stretches of forest land. Occasionally it also shows a plateau surface, or it is broken into small and low fiat-topped hills. Always it is very deeply indented by river and stream valleys, or even by some of the backwaters which have high and steep shores.

" Further northwards the plateau character of the lateritic gneiss belt is very well developed in Malabar.

" It is remarkable of this coastal belt of country that its laterite (an altered, or

ferruginously infiltrated condition of weathered or decomposed gneiss) is not to be distinguished from any other laterite, except that which is made up of obviously detrital material.

“ Whatever the laterite of Travancore or Malabar may have been originally, it is a useless form of the rock, being crumbly and soft as a general rule, and oftener of a red color than brown. The character of the climate does, in fact, appearto militate against the changing of the red peroxide of iron in the rock to the brown peroxide, during which change the proper cementing and hardening of the sound rock, such as that on the east coast or in the Deccan, is evidently brought about.

“ The next succeeding rock formations, namely, the Quilon and War-killi beds, occur as a very small patch on the coast between the Quilon and Anjengo backwaters.

“ The Quilon beds are only known through the researches of the late General Cullen, who found them cropping out at the base of the low laterite cliffs edging the backwater of that place, and again in wells-which he had dug or deepened for the purpose. I was myself not able to find a trace 1 of them. They are said to be argillaceous limestones, or

1 They have since been satisfactorily identified as occurring at a place called Parappak-kara on the Qiiilon backwater about six and a half miles north-east of the Residency at Quilon.

a kind oi dolomite, in which a marine fauna 1 of uDi valve shells, having an eocene facies , was found, and they occur at about forty feet below the laterite of Quilon, which is really the upper part of the next group.

The Warkilli beds,, on the other hand, are clearly seen in the cliffs edging the sea-shore some twelve miles south of Quilon, where they attain a thickness of about one hundred and eighty feet, and have the following succession in descending order : _

Laterite (with sandstone masses).

Sandy clays (or lithomarge).

Sandy clays (with sandstone bands).

Alum clays.

Lignite beds (with logs of wood. &c.).

“ The. bottom lignite beds rest on loose white sand, and nothing is known of any lower strata.

“ It will be seerˆhow this, set of strata has an upper portion, or capping of laterite, which is, however, clearly detrital. On the landward edge of the field of those Warkilli beds, there is in places only a thin skin, representative of these upper beds, of lateritic grits and sandstones lying directly on the gneiss, which is itself also lateritized ; and it is very hard, as may be supposed, to distinguish the boundary between the two unless the detrital character of the former deposits is well displayed. Thus the upper part of the formation has overlapped the gneiss. It is also this upper portion which overlies the Quilon beds, which are also apparently overlapped.

“ These Warkilli beds constitute, for so much of the coast, the seaward edge of the plateau or terraced country above described, and they present similar features. The Warkilli downs are a feature of the country — bare, grass-grown, long, flat uudulations of laterite, with, about Warkilli itself, small plateau hills forming the higher ground — one hundred and eighty to two himdred feet above the sea. These downs, too, and the small plateaus or flat-topped hills, are partly of the Warkilli laterite and partly of the lateritoid gneiss.

“ Whatever form of denudation may have produced the now much worn terrace of the gneissic portion of the country, the same also determined the general surface of the Warkilli beds. Indeed, it gradually dawned on me while surveying this country, having the remembrance

1 The marine fauna to which Mr. King here refers is thus described in an extract quoted by him in his paper on “ The Warkilli and Quilon beds in Travancore.” “ Lastly come the argillaceous limestone of the Malabar Coast, not only abundantly charged with the orbolite just mentioned ” (Orb. Malabar ica — but it is doubtful, for reasons assigned by Mr. King, whether this orbolite was actually found in the Quilon beds), “but then again in company with i S trombus fortisi, together with Cerithium rude, Ranella bnfo, Cassis sculpt a, Voluta jugosa, Conus eatenulatus , and C. marginalia (Grant, tieol. Cutch. Tert. Foss.) : also Natica, Turbo , Pleurotoma, Fasciolaria, Mur ex. Cancell ana, Ancillaria, and Cyprea, all (new species ?) closely allied in form to the figured shells of the eocerc period. The orbolite differs very little, except in size, from Orbiculina angulata , Zam. (Encyclop. Methodique, page 468, fig. 3), from which I infer that the latter should also be included among orbolites, Zamarck.” — (Records, Geological Survey, XV, p. 96.)

of what I had seen of the plateaus and terraced lowland in Malabar in previous years, that here, clearly, on this western side of India is an old marine terrace, -which must be of later date than the Warkilli beds.

“ These are, as I have endeavored to show in another paper, of probably upper tertiary age, and equivalent of the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Hence this terrace must be late tertiary or postpliocene, and it marks, like the long stretches of laterite and sandstones on the eastern side of the country, the last great or decided elevation 1 of Southern India, prior to which, as is very probable, the Indian land rose almost directly from the sea by its Western Ghats and had an eastern shore line which is now indicated very well by the inner edge of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Madras, Nellore, and Godavari belts of laterite and sandstone.

“ Mr. Foote has already generalized in this way for the eastern side of Southern India in particular ; but I think he makes the elevation too great, including, as he does in his laterite deposits, patches of lateri-tized gravels and rock masses ranging up to a height of five hundred feet at least, which are not so definitely part and parcel of the proper coastal developments.

“ The plateau form of the Coromandel areas has often already been commented on ; but their connection with a terraced form of marine denudation is more clearly brought out now that the evident conformation of the Travancore and Malabar lowland is ascertained.

“ The somewhat different level of the surfaces of these plateau lands on each side of the peninsula is also interesting in so far as there is an evident general very slight inclination of the whole to the , south-eastward.

“ One more very small patch of variegated sandstones, but associated with scarcely any laterite, occurs in the Travancore country at Nagar-coil, about twelve miles north of Cape Comorin. I should certainly take this to be representative of the Cuddalore sandstones so long as no positive evidence to the contrary turns up ; and it may be the nearest connecting link between these rocks on the eastern coast and the Warkilli beds.

“ The recent deposits are the usual blown-sands and alluvial deposits of the low flats along the coast ; an exceptional form occurs at Cape Comorin in the shape of a hard calcareous sandstone, which is crowded with true fossils and casts of the living Helix vitata. It appears to be simply a blown-sand, modified through the infiltration of calcareous waters. Loose blown-sands are heaped over it now in places, among which are again thousands and thousands of the dead shells of the past season. The examination of this deposit has, however, been left to Mr. Foote, who has likewise reserved for

his study other remarkable fossiliferous rocks of very late age which occur in this neighbourhood."

1 This reminds one or .he traditionary a< count of the miraculous reclamation of Kerala iii from the sea hy the miˆht of Parana Raman.

The soils resulting from the geological formations which Mr. King thus describes have been roughly grouped by the natives into three classes, namely —

Pasima — a rich, heavy, clayey, tenacious soil.

Pasima-rdsi — the above with an admixture of sand, and of a loamy character.

Rasi — sandy soils.

Each of these classes is again sub-divided into three, so that in reality there are nine classes of soils, and this classification is used in determining the revenue assessments on rice lands, to which indeed this classification is alone applied.

It is also laid down in the Hindu Sastras that the above classification of soils can be roughly applied to any particular soil in the following manner : one cubic koi or yard of earth being excavated, soil of the best description (pasima), if put back into the pit thus excavated, will suffice to more than fill it ; while loamy soil (pasima-rdsi) will exactly fill it, and sandy soil (rasi) will not suffice to fill it.

The poor sandy soils are chiefly found on the low-lying lands near the coast, and the coconut palm flourishes vigorously in them if the subsoil water is within easy reach of its roots. The uplands are chiefly formed of detrital laterite, many of them being little better than gravel quarries, and of what Mr. King calls lateritized gneiss. Some of the most productive grain land in the district lies in the W&lawanad Taluk where laterite is scarce, and where the pasima lands are chiefly to be met with. On the mountain slopes and ridges, where the gneiss does not crop up, there is an immense store of rich black mould produced by decayed vegetable matter.

The chief building material in the district is laterite , a most valuable material for some kinds of buildings and a most treacherous material for other kinds. In the mass, when not exposed to the atmosphere, it is as a rule soft and therefore easily obtained. It is cut out in squared oblong pieces with an axe having a bifurcated blade, and is dressed to the shape wanted by means of a rough adze. After exposure to the air for some time it becomes

hard and answers nearly all the purposes for which bricks are used, but it varies greatly in quality. Some of the best sorts stand damp and exposure to the air as well as the best sandstone, while, on the other hand, arched bridges and high revetments, when constructed of inferior sorts, are notoriously unsafe, as the material (especially during the rains) is very apt to crush.

CLIMATE ANI) NATURAL PHENOMENA.

Section E. — Climate and Natural Phenomena.

To understand aright the climate of Malabar it is necessary first of all to glance at a few of the more prominent facts which hold good not only of Malabar, but of all intertropical countries similarly situated.

And the first and most obvious fact wnich strikes an observer is the uniformity of temperature throughout the year as tested by the thermometer. The thermometer shows a mean annual temperature on the sea-coast of 81° Fahr. It rarely rises above 90°, and it seldom falls below 70°. It may be said in short that it is always hot, sometimes hotter, but never very hot.

This is not solely nor even chiefly due to the great altitude of the sun at midday as very often supposed, for the sun is no higher in the heavens in Malabar at certain seasons than it is in temperate climates. Moreover, the sun shines much longer in summer in temperate climates than it does in Malabar. Further it maybe observed that the month in which the sun is at its highest in Malabar, and its hours of shining longest, is by no means the hottest month of the year. At the same time of course it is to be remembered that the altitude of the sun is always great, and its hours of shining are comparatively long throughout the year, varying as they do from a maximum of about twelve hours and thirty-five minutes in the latter half of June to a minimum of about eleven hours and thirty-five minutes in the latter half of December.

One of the most important factors in maintaining this high temperature is the superheated condition of the surface soil. There is no thick body of cool earth on th.e surface capable of quickly absorbing the sun’s rays as there is in the temperate zones, where, the range of the thermometer being greater, the depth at which an uniform temperature for the year is reached is deep below the surface of the earth. The uniform annual temperature depth is soon reached in Malabar, and the consequence is that the surface soil becomes superheated and is constantly radiating its heat both by day and night, and thus maintaining a comparatively high temperature. Another very efficient cause of the high temperature maintained throughout the year is the influence of the aqueous vapour of the atmosphere. It has already been

noticed that an ocean current sweeps across from the African and Madagascar shores, and one branch of it apparently impinges on the coast a little to the north of the district. This brings with it an atmosphere more or less saturated with moisture. And the ocean itself is always at hand and the sea breeze always highly saturated with moisture blows steadily for several hours of each day in the dry weather. Finally during June, July and August — the south-west monsoon season — the wind blows all day and night long off the ocean and rolls up before it dense masses of vapour. The atmosphere is therefore throughout the year in a more or less saturated condition, and the superfluous heat which, as

observed above, is given off by the earth's surface is, instead of being radiated off into space, very largely absorbed by the aqueous vapour held in suspension in the atmosphere. This aqueous vapour in fact acts like a blanket, preventing the earth from losing heat at night by radiation into space, and the greater the heat is the greater is the capacity of the atmosphere for absorbing moisture. A cloudless night in Malabar does not, as those who have experienced it can testify, betoken a cool night as it usually does elsewhere.

The above facts are not, however, without their compensating advantages, for the ocean never becomes superheated like the land, and the ocean breezes which blow throughout the year, and in particular the south-west monsoon wind, are comparatively cool winds. In the southwest monsoon season the temperature of the atmosphere is low in spite of the fact that the sun then attains its greatest elevation in the heavens, and for days, sometimes for weeks together, the dense mass of the monsoon clouds shelters the earth from the sun's direct rays.

In fact, so dense and so unbroken is the stratum of clouds in the south-west monsoon season that the uniformity of temperature is chiefly maintained by another cause, namely, by condensation of the atmospheric vapour in the shape of rain. To convert water into steam requires a large amount of heat, and the reverse process, the condensation of aqueous vapour into rain, necessitates the liberation of a large store of heat. So long as the water retains its gaseous form the heat is insensible, but on being liberated it helps to keep up the high temperature of the air. And this is no doubt what" happens to a great extent in the monsoon season when the earth is screened by clouds.

But finally there is also evaporation, a conversion of watery molecules into their gaseous form, in which process a large amount of heat becomes latent or insensible. This goes on in the hours of hottest sunshine. The district is well supplied with rivers and backwaters, and there is besides the ocean always at hand for the sun's rays to act upon. The heat thus absorbed is

great, and evaporation plays no inconsiderable part in moderating the heat and reducing the temperature on land.

Vegetation thrives in such a climate as Malabar possesses, and it is needless to dwell on the luxuriance of grass and shrub and tree presented in Malabar to the eye of a traveller crossing from the arid plains and hot winds of the country east of the ghat mountains. The mountains themselves play an important part in sheltering the country lying to the west of them, for they cool down the winds passing over them ; but in the extreme south of the district, where the Palghatgap permits the hot land winds to rush through unimpeded, vegetation receives a severe cheek in the dry months. Even here, however, the balance of nature is maintained, for heated plains invite the inrush of moist sea breezes, and though the days are hot, the sea breeze lasts longer than it does on the coast, and brings with it fresh nights and cool mornings even in March and April, the hottest months of the year.

CLIMATE AND NATURAL PHENOMENA.

Nor is the climate less favorable to man and animals ; for, as Mr. Wallace in his work on " Tropical Nature " justly observes : " The

large absolute amount of moisture always present in the air is almost as congenial to the health of man as it is favorable to the growth and development of vegetation " — (p. 17). Facts bear out the truth of this remark, and it is matter of common observation that Europeans, who leave the coast in the hot months to seek the coolness and the " sweet half-English Nilgiri air " of the mountains, return after their holiday trip to find their brethren in the plains in the enjoyment of robust health and vigorous constitutions. The best time to seek a change on the coast is in the months when the sky is screened by heavy clouds, when the almost incessant rain of the south-west monsoon has filled the air and the earth with an excess of moisture, and when thick clothing is necessary to stave off maladies arising from the chilly damp. It is then, too, that animals require extra care and extra comforts in the shape of warm dry beds. It is altogether a mistake to suppose that horses and dogs and cattle generally thrive worse in the humid climate of the west coast than in other places to the east of the mountains. There is absolutely less risk to a heated animal to be exposed to the moist air of the coast climate than to the chilly breezes that prevail at certain seasons elsewhere, and it is matter of experience that with the most ordinary care a sensitively organized animal like tljo horse enjoys as good health on the coast as inland.

All kinds of property, susceptible of damage by excessive moisture, are very liable to be spoilt. Articles made of leather, the binding of hooks, furniture

whose parts are glued together, instruments made of steel or iron, woollen articles of clothing, silks, &c., require especial care in the monsoon season. They become mildewed, they fall to pieces, they rust, they become spotted, they lose their colours, and, generally speak-iug, perish unless great care and elaborate drying arrangements are undertaken.

Another most striking point in regard to the climate is the extreme regularity as a rule of the seasons. It once happened to the present writer to be asked one day in the end of the month of February or beginning of March as to the likelihood of rain coming soon, and the reply given on the spur of the moment was that on the 22nd of March at 2 p.m. the first shower would fall. As matter of fact the shower did come on that day and at that hour, within ten minutes or so. This was not altogether a haphazard guess, for the 22nd of March is the vernal equinox, and 2 p.m. in the day is precisely the hour at which most frequently the daily battle between sea-breeze and land-wind begins. In some seasons, though not in all, the first distant rumble of thunder along the line of ghats betokens that 2 p.m. has just struck or is about to strike. This daily battle begins as soon as nature's pendulum (so to speak) commences slowly to swing back with the passage of the sun across the equator into the northern hemisphere. And suit is throughout the

seasons with a regularity as to months and almost to days and hours, perfectly astonishing to people accustomed to live in less settled climes!

The rotation of seasons is very much as follows : towards the end of March or beginning of April the first distant mutterings of thunder are heard among the hills. In some seasons these thunder-storms occur regularly e ery afternoon, and occasionally the thunder-showers extend as tar as the coast line. In other seasons the advent of these storms is not such a regular daily occurrence, nor is the hour at which they begin so marked. At first the land-wind usually gets the advantage and blows throughout the night ; in the forenoon there is a lull ; then, as the inland surface of the country becomes heated, the sea-breeze rushes in to supply the place of the atmosphere rarified by the heat. This continues until the thunder-storms commence or until night sets in, for on the coast the sea-breeze declines with the setting sun, and it is only far inland that it continues to blow through the early part of the night. As the season progresses, the western winds from the sea usually gain in force, while the land-winds from the east and north-east fail. Towards the end of May or beginning of June the south-west monsoon wind finally obtains the mastery, and the regular rains begin and are usually ushered in by heavy banks of cloud to seaward, by a heavy swell from the west, and by an electric storm of more than usual violence. In some seasons the electrical disturbance at this time is very great, the roar of the thunder is continuous for many minutes together, and the blaze of the many-coloured lightning

flashes almost incessant. In the season of 1873 the duration of one of these thunder-peals was noted. It lasted for no less than thirty-five minutes, during all of which time there was no cessation in the roar of sound, one thunder-peal succeeding another, now near, now far, without a single moment's interval between them. The blaze of light, too, at such times is truly awful. Once, however, the south-west monsoon has asserted itself the thunder-storms cease, the wind settles steadily in the west, and as the season progresses it veers a point or two to the north-ward of west, although inland it blows steadily all the time from south-west. The explanation of the fact of the wind veering to the north of west is that as it strikes the coast it follows the direction of the littoral current which at this season runs from north to south. The figures given in the Statistical Appendix No. I attest the volume of rain which falls at this season, but even in the heaviest weather one or two hours of each day are free from rain, and there is sometimes a cessation for a fortnight. These long breaks in the monsoon, if there occur with them a fresh breeze and a bright sky with scattered clouds, are most, enjoyable, but on the other hand the short intervals between the rain squalls of the monsoon are most oppressive, the air is supersaturated with moisture, the heat is also at the same time great, and of wind there is none. In the end of September the south-west monsoon dies away, nature's pendulum (to use the same metaphor) again begins to swing bask, and sometimes battles royal again take place

between the contending aerial currents. In October the north-east monsoon or land-wind has usually asserted itself, and with it the raiu becomes less frequent, the country begins to dry up, and by the end of December the dry weather has, as a rule, fairly set in. The period of regular land-winds at night and morning and of sea-breezes during the day then commences and lasts till, with the vernal equinox, the period of disturbance again sets in.

Of the south-west monsoon and the discovery by Hippalos — the Columbus of antiquity as he has been called — of its importance to navigators, the following interesting account is taken from M'Crindle's translation of the " Periplus Maris Erythraei " : " The whole round of the voyage from Kane and Endaimon Arabia, which we have just described, used to be performed in small vessels which kept close to shore and followed its windings, but Hippalos was the pilot who first, by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the direct course across the ocean ; whence as, at the season when our own Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows in the Indian sea, this wind, which is the south-west, is, it seems, called in these seas Hippalos (after the name of the pilot who first discovered the passage by means of it). From the time of this

discovery to the present day merchants who sail for India either from Kane or as others do from Aromata, if Limurike be their destination, must often change their tack, but if they are bound for Borugaza or Sk.ythia they are not retarded for more than three days, after which, committing themselves to the monsoon which blows right in the direction of their course, they stand far out to sea, leaving all the gulfs we have mentioned in the distance." It is generally accepted that Hippalos made his discovery in the first century A.D.

Excessive falls of rain are quite common and floods are frequent. On 19th and 20th of May 1882 there was registered a very heavy fall of rain. Several rain-gauges in different parts of the town of Calicut registered from eighteen to twenty-five inches in the twenty-four hours, and as an instance of a heavy fall spread over a longer period in the monsoon of 1871 the rain-gauge at the Collector's office in Calicut registered over six inches per diem for six consecutive days. But floods do little damage : the rivers have in the course of ages worn down for themselves deep river beds, which, as a rule, contain all ordinary floods, and the common laterite soil of the country is so porous that within half-an-hour of the heaviest shower of rain the roads are dried up, and but for the dripping trees and bushes there would be very little to tell of the rain that had just ceased.

Of unusual storms there are but few records. This is perhaps to be explained by the fact that the mountain peaks of the Western Ghats prevent altogether or disperse any cyclonic tendency of the winds, but the squalls which usher in the south-west monsoon are at times terrific in their violence, and do much damage to ships which have incautiously remained too long on the coast to complete their lading. These squalls

are accompanied by mountainous seas, and the wind and waves together generally smash the strongest cables of the best equipped ships. With their anchors gone, the ships usually attempt to set sail, but, the squall being past, the seamen find there is a lull in the wind, while the sea runs as high as ever. If the attempt to make an offing is persisted in, the ship generally drifts slowly into the breakers, and the most skilful seamen usually attempt to beach their ships instead of trying to work them out to sea.

The great storm of the 16th, 17th and 18th April 1847 is perhaps the only occurrence of the kind of which some details are on record. The storm originated somewhere beyond the southern islands of the Laccadive group. It swept over the islands of Kalpeni and Androth, and did some damage to Kavarathi, but Agatti was apparently beyond the circle of its violence. Of ninety thousand coconut trees in each of the islands of Kalpeni and Androth the hurricane left only seven hundred standing in Kalpeni and eight thousand in Androth. Kalpeni was also partially submerged by a wave, and the

drinking-water of the people in wells was spoilt and their stores of food and their houses destroyed. Of a population of over one thousand six hundred in Kalpeni four hundred and fifty only remained, but it was estimated that from three hundred to four hundred people only had perished in the storm or of famine afterwards, and that the others had left the island. Of a population of over two thousand five hundred in Androth nine hundred only remained, the rest having either perished in the storm or dispersed. Two boats with ninety-six males and a number of females belonging to Agatti were caught in the storm and heard of no more. The storm wave dashed on the coast in a very unexpected manner, and its effects were felt from Cannanore to Chetwai. The wave destroyed the Cannanore custom house ; it came in so suddenly that the officials had hardly time to escape by the rear as the sea swept in at the front. The wave rushed up the Kotta river and destroyed the Palliyad dam and the cultivation above it over two miles from the mouth of the river. The floods from inland breached the new work on the Conolly canal at Calicut. At Parappanangadi and Tanur private persons suffered much loss from the sudden rise of the sea. The wave rushed up the Velliyankod river and destroyed the Ayinichira dam and the cultivation above it. The sea also " forced a new and deep opening into the Chavakkad backwater and broke with much strength on the Ennamakkal 1 dam, which, how. ever, sustained no injury," but the crops in the bed of the lake were injured by the floods from inland.

Earthquakes are fortunately not very frequently experienced, nor. when they do occur, are they destructive in their effects. On the 31st December 1881 at 7-10 a.m. (Madras time) a tremulous motion of the earth, apparently from east to west, was observable at Calicut. It lasted only a few seconds, and the motion which, at Calicut, was unaccompanied

1 Eight miles from the river mouth.

by Rny rumble or noise, was so slight that persons walking and riding out of doors at the time failed to notice anything unusual. To those indoors, however, the motion was very perceptible, and one or two. persons felt sick. This earthquake was preceded by something of the same kind about midnight of the preceding night, and a peculiar rumbling and a noise as of rushing waters was heard, but these were so faint that they ©scaped general observation. This earthquake extended over a wide area, stretching from th© Alalabar Coast to the Arracan coast and as far north at Khatmandu in Nepal and south as far at least as the Nicobar Islands. Two months later— on 28th February 1882— about 6-16 a.m. (Madras time) another smart shock of earthquake was felt at Calicut, but it seems to have been a more local affair,

extending as far north as Tellicherry and as far east as the Nilgiri mountains. There was the same tremulous motion as on the previous occasion, but the motion gradually increased, and a muffled roar was heard approaching, passing, and dying away. It was like the noise of a short train passing through a tunnel underfoot at the rate of several hundred miles per hour, in a direction fiom south to north. Furniture and roof tiles and window frames shook audibly for a second. From the first tremulous motion of the earth until everything was again quiet there was no more than an interval of four or five seconds. At 2 p.m. on 14th October of the same year (1882) the Deputy Tahsildar at Allattur in the Palghat Taluk heard a noise as of a train proceeding underground from east to west. He happened to be at the time in office, and the tables and boxes rattled audibly while the shock lasted, which was only for a second or so. Further south earthquakes occur occasionally also, and they have been

aoticed on the following dates at Trivandrum : _

February 1823,

September 19, 1841,

November 20, 1845,

March 17, 1856,

August 11, 1856—54. 51;». 25s. a.m.

August 22, 1856—4/l 25 m. 10s. p.m, and September 1, 1856—04. 15 m. 0-s. p.m.

At various periods of the year, but chiefly towards the close of the rams, the sea and some of the backwaters exhale very offensive effluvia. The water is at times of a dark porter colour, at other times it has been noticed to leave a deposit of black mud on the sand. Whatever may he the cause of this change in the water, it is invariably fatal to fishes of all sorts which float dead and dying on the surface and are thrown up by the waves on the beach. The offensive smell is of course largely

caused by the putrid fish, but the water itself when thus changed has a peculiar fetid odour. 6

Many suggestions have been offered to account for the occurrence almost annually of this tot t eUam (bad, stinking water) as the natives * ’ ay’ m 1113 “ Lancl of the Perumauls,” p. 417, suggests that

at Cochin it is due to the emptying of the pits in which coir fibre is soaked before being twisted into rope— the effluvia from which, he justly remarks, is < most horrible" — and also by the emptying or overflowing of rice-fields in which vegetable matter is allowed to putrify for manure. These causes do not, however, apply to all the circumstances under which this phenomenon occurs, particularly in Malabar proper, and Dr. Day himself says that " the cause of this effluvia in the sea, 'during the hot months, is difficult to determine." Benett , quoted by Dr. Day, considered that in Ceylon it arose from the presence of vast numbers of the A.runi fcetidum. The cause usually assigned, namely, the mixing of the fresh-water from the flooded rivers with the salt-water of the ocean, cannot account for the occurrence of the phenomenon in November and December, and an instance of its having been observed at Tellicherry, where also there is no mud bank, in those months of the year 1836 is on record. It is possible that the phenomenon is connected with that puzzling one presently to be described, which in the very height of the monsoon months vouchsafes calm harbours of refuge for ships on the open coast.

The origin of the mud bays or mud banks which exist at Northern Kollam (near Quilandy), at Calicut, and at Narakal in the Cochin State, and at Alleppey in Travancore, to which some allusion has already been made in the description of tlˆe Kadalundi river,; has never yet been satisfactorily set at rest. The fact that at Narakal, and sometimes, too, at Alleppey mud banks exist which enable ships to load and discharge cargo in calm water on the open coast all through the south-west monsoon season is well known. At Calicut, too, a small mud bank of a similar description is generally present, and at Northern Kollam also. In fact it was at one time supposed (erroneously of course) that the mud bank at Kollam protected the fleet of Yasco da Gama through the monsoon season of 1498, and this and the fact that a ship had lain there in safety the previous year and another had already taken up her position for the season then approaching induced the Joint Commissioners in Malabar in 1793 to permit the Honorable Company's vessel Morning Star to lie under the protection of the mud bank there during the south-west monsoon of that year. Very heavy weather, however, was experienced, the seas broke through the bank, and the Morning Star was wrecked. The characteristic of the mud banks is that an unctuous mud rises from the bottom of the sea, becomes dispersed in the water, and effectually stills the surf. That the mud is always more or less present at the places named is a fact, but the annual churning up of this mud stratum hardly accounts for all that has been observed, and Mr. H. Crawford, the late Commercial Agent of the Travancore Sirkar at Alleppey, who has perhaps had better opportunities of watching the phenomenon than any one else, came to the conclusion that subterranean passages or streams communicating with some of the rivers and backwaters u become more active after heavy rains,

particularly at the commencement of the monsoon, and carry off the accumulating water and with it vast quantities of soft mud." In scanty monsoons the mud banks are less effective as anchorages. He also observed that at seven hundred yards east of the beach at Alleppey pipes were being sunk at a depth of fifty feet to sixty feet when the shafting ran suddenly down to eighty feet and several buckets of mud from this depth were brought up, corresponding in every respect with the mud thrown up by bubbles which he had observed in the sea. A cone of mud, he said, at times appears above the water, the cone or bubble bursts, throwing up immense' quantities of soft soapy mud and blue mud of considerable consistence in the form of boulders with fresh water, debris of vegetable matter decayed, and in some instances fresh and green. Mr. Crawford's successor at Alleppey, Mr. Rohde, confirms the observation, and states that he has seen mud volcanoes bursting up in the sea during the rainy season, to all appearance " as if a barrel of oil had suddenly been started below the surface." He has come to the conclusion that the mud bank at that place, after being formed in the way above described, is gradually floated away to the southward by the littoral current, and fresh mud banks are formed whenever the hydraulic pressure of the inland backwater increases sufficiently to overcome the subterranean resistance offered by the stratum of fluid mud which exists at the spot described by Mr. Crawford. A further proof, he observes, of the truth of this is to be found in the fact that the extent of mud bank at Alleppey increases and diminishes as the level of the inland waters rises and falls, and this was most observable in the monsoon season of 1882.

Of the mud itself, Dr. Day gives the following account': " The mud feels unctuous and sticky, but is not gritty unless mixed with the sand. It is of a very dark greenish colour, and has but a slight odour. Under the microscope it shows ' very minute angular fragments of quartz, the largest hardly visible without a lens : this is the sand. Second///, — Foraminiferous shells, of the genus Rotalia , and a few fragments of larger shells. Thirdly, — Diatomaccce, of which were discovered species from upwards of twenty genera. Fourthly, — a few spicules of sponges and corals, very minute : and some amorphous matter which was not destroyed after long boiling in strong acids/ On a more elaborate enquiry * 1 the mud was found to be very tenacious and resistant of pressure, like a stiff piece of jelly ; and it is supposed that, acting like an immense spring, it yields to the pressure of the waves, that the water thus loses its force and becomes quiescent ; 2 whilst the mud expanding is prepared for a fresh encounter. An examination into its composition resulted in the discovery of sixty-two species belonging

1 Madras Journal of Literature and Science, New Series, No. XII, p. 264.

1 While these pages have been passing though the press Mr. King, of the Geological Survey, has written a paper on the subject, in which, for the first time, it is conclusively

proved that " a sensible amount of oil" exists in the the mud. And the oil, as Mr. King

to thirty genera, of the class Cryptogamia and sub-group Diatomea Land of the Perumauls, pp. 36, 37.

These phenomena, owing perhaps more to natural difficulties than to any lack of interest in the subject, have not yet been exhaustively investigated, but the following statement of facts is perhaps justified by the observations so far made. The occurrence of the ked vellarn (stinking water) and the existence of the mud banks are 'not necessarily connected : fish can live in the latter, but not in the former. The former probably owes its deadly character to the generation from subjacent strata by volcanic heat of poisonous matter or vapour which is absorbed by the water ; and the latter, while possibly deriving some of their mud oil from similar volcanic causes, are also replenished, in one instance at least, by subterranean passages, full of liquid mud, communicating with the sea on one side and the backwaters on the other.

Section F. — Fauna and Flora of Malabar.

(By Rhodes Morgan, f.z.s., Member of the British Ornithologists Union , District

Forest Officer, Malabar.)

FORESTS AND TIMBER.

There being in Malabar great variations of climate, soil and rainfall, and the latter being nowhere less than fifty inches annually, we find a rich and varied flora, which is best classified as follows ; —

1. The littoral zone— sea-level to 200 feet; rainfall 70 to 133 inches.

2. Zone of deciduous forest commencing some five miles or so

from the base of the Western Ghats and in the southeastern portion of the range extending some distance up to an elevation of 1,500 feet; rainfall (average) 130 inches.

1. Tropical evergreen forest from 500 to 3,500 feet ; rainfall from

130 to 180 inches.

1. Evergreen shola forest from 3,500 to 6,000 feet ; rainfall from

180 to 250 inches.

1. Scrub shola forest from 6,000 feet upwards ; rainfall from 250 to

300 inches.

1. Open grass, scrub and bamboo, mixed deciduous and evergreen

forest (Wynad plateau), from 2,000 to 2,500 feet; rainfall 60 to 90 inches.

1. Heavy deciduous forest with teak zone 50 to 80 inches.

points out, may be in part at least the efficient cause of the quiescence of the sea. The oil, Mr. King thinks, is " derived perhaps in part from the decomposition of organisms (in the mud), but principally from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferons deposits belonging presumably to Warkilli strata." He also suggests that this distillation of oil from the lignitiferous Warkilli deposits may be due to " moderate heat arising from a line of volcanic energy," "possibly lying parallel to the west coast of India." — Records, Geol . Surv., Vol. XVII, Ft. I, 1884, p. 14.

FAUNA AND FLORA.

Perhaps the best way in which I can describe these various classes of forest will be by asking the reader to kindly follow me on a trip from, say, Calicut to the Maisur frontier.

We will first of all drive from the beach to Ellatur, where a boat is in waiting for us to take us to the foot of the ghat near Kuttiyadi. The road passes through a forest of Coco palms (Cocos nucifera), of which we notice several varieties. Every here and there a giant Talipot (Corypha umbraculifera) with Palmyra (Borassus fiabelliformis) and Sago palms (Caryota wrens) are to he seen, generally near houses, whilst on the edges of paddy flats, groves of the graceful Areca {A. catechu) are cultivated for the sake of their astringent nuts. Mango (Mangifera Indira) and Jack (Artocarpus integrifolia) are abundant, and we see planted in the avenues, white Dammer (Vateria lndica), Poonga (or Oonga as it is here called) (Pongamia glabra), Banyans and Peepuls (Ficus lndica and ■religiosa), and in the compounds of houses, the Poinciana, covered with its gaudy blossom, and the beautiful

Lagerstrcemia regince, which, later on, we will see in full blossom at the base of the ghats. The graceful Indian Laburnum (Cassia fistula) with its pendulous racemes of golden flowers, and long dark brown legumes, next claims our attention.

Further on, we pass on our right, low laterite hills, on which the Cashew-nut tree (Anacardium occidental) grows vigorously. We pick some of the bright gold and crimson peduncles of the fruit on which the curved ash-colored nut is borne ; but though the former are juicy and sweet they leave an acrid feeling behind in the throat.

The Casuarina (C. equisitifolia) seems to thrive well also on these hills where the laterite does not actually outcrop on the surface, hut, where it does, it supports a scrubby growth of Lantana, Eugenias, of which Eugenia bracteata, a small tree in Wynad of thirty to forty feet in height and occasionally two feet in diameter, is here a ramous shrub of three or four feet in height at the most ; and two species of Euphorbia, of which E. nirnlia grows to over twenty feet in height, and occasionally sandalwood (Santalum album) sown by birds from cultivated trees in the neighbourhood.

When we get to Ellatur we find numerous boats drawn up on the beach of the backwater; our canoe is rather better than the others, being larger and cleaner, with a neat semi-circular awning of Corypha leaves. It has been cut out of a single log of Iynee (Artocarpus hirsuta). Some of the large sea-going boats, made of this timber, are worth from five hundred to six hundred rupees each, and last for a great number of years. Having crawled head foremost into our boat, the roof of which is so low that we can just sit up without knocking our heads against it, the boatman in the stern digs his bamboo pole into the unsavoury mud, and we are off. Our boat is manned by two men — the one who poles and the man in the prow who rows with an antiquated oar made of a circular bit of wood scooped out like a spoon and lashed to a bit of bamboo split at the end, which forms the handle.

The backwater, or tidal creek up which we are going, ib known as

the Agala-pula and is very irregular in shape, sometimes broadening out to over two miles in width, anon narrowing, till you can throw a stone across. The banks are fringed with the everlasting cocoanut, and now and again, near houses, wo see pretty clumps of dark green trees, principally jacks and mangoes, with Talipot and Sago palms and occasional gaunt stems of the silk-cotton tree (Bombcix 3Ialabaricum), from which the breeze floats clouds of silky-down that drop gently in the watct* and float down with the receding tide. At intervals we pass groves of trees sacred to snakes, where stone images of the cobra, plentifully smeared with castor-oil and red ochre, lean

against the trees. Here the Frangipani (Plumicria acuminata) scents the air with its beautiful wax-like blossoms, whilst a host of pied hornbills (. Hgdrocma coronata) gorge themselves on the golden fruit of the deadly Nuxvomica (Strychnos nux-vomica) .

A scrubby growth of j ungle fringes the oozy banks of the creek, and thousands of little red crabs race in and out of their holes in the slime, each holding a monstrous ivory-white claw pugnaciously out, as if offering battle to all comers. This little creature is apparently all claw ; the one claw being disproportionately developed at the expense of the other. Growing in this fringe of jungle, the Cerbera odallum claims our attention with its green fruit, looking for all the world like mangoes, but deadly poisonous ; and where the lagoon shallows suddenly and forms marshes, a dense growth of Dillivaria (D . ill ici folia) forms a secure retreat for muggers (Crocodilus palustris), which lie stretched out on logs of drift wood or sand spits in the Dillivaria, lazily enjoying the hot sunshine with wide-open mouth. Families of otters (Lutra nair) disport themselves in the bright blue wavelets, diving and chasing one another in play, or swimming ashore when they have been lucky enough to capture a fish to devour their finny prey secure from the greed of their comrades. Kingfishers of four species are abundant. The large stork-billed kingfisher (P. gurial) flying out of the clumps of trees that line the shore, as the boat comes into view, uttering his harsh cackle, whilst the pi$d kingfisher (Ceryle rudis) hovers over the stream with his eye keenly fixed on the small fry stemming the tide below. The brilliant 77. Smi/niensis is busy, excavating her nest on the sandy banks and cliffs that here and there rise above the level of the water, and her smaller cousin, the little Alcedo Bengalensis , seated on a twig just below is belabouring a minnow on the branch he is on, to be presently thrown up in the air and swallowed head foremost with much gusto. Bee-eaters too (Mcrops Swinhoii and viridis) are having a fine time of it, hawking the numerous insects hovering over the water, and diving with them into the holes in yonder sand bank, where their clamorous young with gaping bills are waiting to be fed. Long lines of snowy egrets [Bab ulcus Coromandus) come flying past us low over the water on their way to their roosting places lower down the river.

The sun is dipping now behind a heavy bank of clouds and darkness is speedily on us.

FAUNA AND FLORA.

How beautifully phosphorescent the water is, what flashes of light there are, as frightened fish shoot like lightning through it, alarmed by the approach of the boat, and how the water sparkles again as it falls dripping like a shower of diamonds off the blade of the oar 1 We light a lantern and hang it over the

boat and numbers of fish, attracted by it, come leaping into the boat. Most of them look like miniature " Bombay ducks " with long serrated beaks like the bill of a snipe. They have a nasty odour though, an ancient and fish-like smell, and so we throw them back again or hand them to the peon in the stem for his curry in the morning.

At midnight we are awakened, for we have reached the Payoli Lock, where a small fee has to be paid to the toll-keeper, and then on again. We are now in the Kuttiyadi river, for we crossed from the Agala-pula through a canal, where the lock is, while we were asleep. How still everything is ! Now and again, however, there is a sullen plunge, as some mugger waddles off the bank and tumbles head foremost into the river or a great Nair fish (Lates calcarifer) leaps sportively out of the water. We turn in once more only to be awakened by our servant asking us whether we wish to have coffee as day has broken, and yet we have done twenty miles since leaving the lock ; but we have slept so soundly, it seems only an hour ago we went to sleep !

We land, gather a few dry sticks and have chota hazri, then once more on again. How the scenery has changed! The mountains of the Western Ghats rise right before us clothed with forest from base to .summit. We have only a mile more to go, and this does not take us long. The boatman being paid his fare, and the usual inam which every Tiyan makes a point of clamouring for, we mount our horses which we sent on from Calicut, see our traps started, and follow them. It has ained overnight, though we did not know it, and Nature is rejoicing ; l thousand brilliantly plumaged birds fly from branch to branch and chatter in the trees overhead. The ubiquitous cocoanut palms are on both sides ; but we notice that many forest trees are growing amongst them, and that luxuriant pepper vines are trained up the stems of every tree ; the lovely Erythrina (E. Indica) with its scarlet blossoms being evidently a special favourite for this purpose. Here are two elephants going to their day's work. Poor beasts ! look at the frightful abscesses in their j aws ! the result of making them drag huge logs of timber with their teeth. Was ever such barbarity heard of ! Many of them lose their teeth, and to an elephant this is a far more serious matter than to us, for he cannot go to a dentist, poor beast, and have a fresh one put in. lie cannot chew his food, nor digest it ; he loses condition, and dies. His pig-headed owner will not listen to reason; when you suggest that he might use harness and adopt a more rational method of having his timber dragged, his only reply is that it is the custom of the country (mamool) and that his father did it, &c.

Three miles after leaving Kuttiyadi we enter the forest. There, to our right, is a timber depot; it belongs to the owner of this forest,

and we dismount .and have a look at it. There are logs of all sizes. Ebony (

Diospyros ebenos), Irool {Xylia dolabriformis), Mutti (Terminate tomentosa), Poomaraday (Terminalia paniculata), and a few logs of red (Ac rocaryus fraxin i/olius) and white (Cedreln toona) Cedar. All these will be floated down this little stream when it is in flood into the main stream at Kuttiyadi, and from thence they will be rafted to Calicut. All the logs in this depot are in the round, the bark. alone being peeled off. We leave the depdt and a few yards further come on a large " Punam " clearing. What reckless and wanton damage has been done here ! All the larger trees have been girdled and killed long ago, and every sapling has been pollarded. The tender green of the blades of sprouting grain are very beautiful. There is the owner, a Malayar ; he is stooping to examine his dead falls, which he has set at intervals all round his field for hares, porcupines and such small deer, and see, he has just taken out a mouse-deer (Memimna Indica).

The forest now has grown denser; everywhere we see the quaint stems of Cycas circinalis, which is spared for the sake of the nuts it bears. There is a bunch of them to our right, growing on the very apex of the tree ; they are green, and as large as a pigeon's egg ; but one or two are of a golden-yellow, and must be ripe.

These magnificent trees, under which we are passing, are Schleicheras (8. trijuga), one of the handsomest trees I know. They bear bunches of round fruit, the size of a robin's egg, with a few short spines. The seeds contain a large percentage of good oil, and the natives are much given to hacking off the branches to save themselves the trouble of gathering the fruit, and that is why that fine specimen to our right looks so lopsided. At a distance, one might almost mistake this fine tree for an oak, and near Palghat'the country is covered with them, the owners being fully alive to their value, having spared them when the rest of the forest fell before the axe. Further on, lofty specimens of Hymenodiction (H. etcelsum) tower above the smaller trees that surround them. The bark of this tree is so bitter that at one time it was believed that it might contain similar alkaloids to the chinchona, but analysis soon dispelled this idea. That tree next the Hymenodiction is a Bignonia, and touching it is a fine specimen of the Alstonia (A. scholar is), belonging to the natural order Sapotaceae. There are other genera of this useful order, such as the Bassia (B . longifolia), but though common in the drier taluk of Palghat, it is not found here. But higher up a bit I will introduce you to the Isonandra (I. Wightiana).

We now pass over a wooden bridge spanning a mountain torrent, which rushes seething and foaming over a bed of solid gneiss which :t has worn into innumerable pot-holes, into and round which, the water, clear as crystal, gurgles and bubbles. Just below the bridge is a pool, the water of which is of a sapphire blue, so deep is it. Crowds of little fish dart hither and thither, the

lovely little Barilius Bakeri rising freely at the little flies and ants that are falling into the water, shaken down by a troop of noisy, chattering, grey monkeys (Macacus radiatus), who

are busy filling their pouches with some small yellow berries that are growing on a creeper-enveloped tree that overshadows the pool.

We now begin the ascent of the ghat and at first rise gradually. The undergrowth consists entirely of a species of Strobilanthes, in flower at present. Soon it will all be dead and afford food for the destructive forest fires that sweep through the forests at this elevation. The bamboos (B. arundinacea)', too, have seeded, and the jungle fowl (Gallus sonneratii) are rejoicing exceedingly. There are several scratching under yonder clump. The old cock crowing defiance to another who, perched on a boulder in the middle of the stream, challenges him to. battle, whilst his hens cackle their approval. The booming note of the black langoor (Presbytia jubatus) now resounds through the forest, and presently we see him, his wives and children bounding from branch to branch as they approach to have a nearer look at us. He is a truculent looking old fellow this patriarch, and as he balances himself on a branch and barks angrily at us, we cannot help noticing his enormously long and sharp canines with which he can rip up a dog as with a razor.

We again cross the stream, and here the gigantic size of the trees strikes us with wonder. There is a black Hammer (Canarium strict uni) with a mass of resin, two feet long, that has poured out of a cut in the trunk, sticking to the bark, and here a noble Isonandra (/. Wight, iana), which we hack with a shikar-knife, and a stream of milk oozes out and flows down its mossy sides ; this rapidly hardens into a kind of guttapercha, for which no doubt some use will hereafter be found. Close to-the Isonandra is a curious little tree, Bnccaurea sapida , its trunk covered with racemes of pinkish red flowers. Most of these have withered now, and the curious little angular red fruit appear here and there. Im October when the cardamoms are ripe, the fruit will be the size of a duck's egg, and will prove a pleasant treat to the lucky finder for the-aril of the seed inside is sweet, sub-acid and pleasant, and very refreshing, tasting somewhat like a mangosteen. Here are cardamoms (Elletaria cardamornum) too, but most of the flowers have set, and we only find one at the extreme end of a raceme white, with the throat striped and spotted with violet and purple.

Be careful, however, what you are about, for overhead is the terrible LapOrtea crenulata or devil's nettle — the petioles of the leaves are hispid,

with poisonous hairs, the sting of which once felt will not be forgotten by you in a hurry — and yet another vegetable abomination in the shape of Mucuna pruriens , or cowhage. The pods of this nasty creeper are covered with a velvety armament of stinging hairs, so give them a wide berth, and do not pick the purple flower of that arum, it has a horrible smell.

We must now press on, for the sun is getting hot. We can sit down and have a sandwich higher up, where there is a stream of water, and a dnnk and smoke, and wait for our people to come up.

A turn in the road brings us to a coffee estate. The trees are from ten to fifteen feet high and covered with blossom. The air is scented

with its sweet odour, just like jessamine. Birds are numerous here. The pure white Tchitrea paradisi or paradise fly-catcher is busy catching insects. The two long white tail feathers wave like ribbons behind him as he flies from tree to tree, whilst his sober chestnut-coloured spouse is busy with the cares of maternity. When they have reared their brood they will leave us, for they are migratory.

Hovering in front of yonder flower is the purple sun-bird (Cynnirid lotenia), gorgeous in a mantle of the darkest steel-blue that flashes in the sun, whilst his quivering wings beat the air, as suspended in front of the flower, he quickly thrusts his tongue deep down into it and extracts the nectar. Another brilliant sun-bird (Cynniris zeylanica) is also busy at the coffee blossom. His wings are dark maroon, breast golden yellow, and his head is capped with metallic green, whilst his little throat is clothed with the most brilliant amethystine purple feathers imaginable.

Down in the rocky stream below, the Malabar blue thrush (Myiopho - nus Horsjieldii) is whistling gaily away. Soon, when the monsoon has burst, he will be busy with his wife in building a home for a future generation in some rocky cleft near a foaming torrent, inaccessible to mischievous monkeys and marauding snakes. And still we must toil upwards, for we have not reached the stream yet. Here, a pretty little squirrel (Sciurus tristriatus) dashes across the road, and a still smaller one (S . sublineatus) looks sharply at us from the gnarled knot of a forest tree overhanging the road. These, however, are but pigmies of the race, for we presently see a splendid male of the Malabar squirrel (S. Mcilabaricus) racing up the trunk of a giant Dammer (Vateria Indica) as he rattles out his disapproval of us in no measured terms. If you look up that buttress tree in front you will see a round hole, the edges of which look as if they had been recently cut out with a chisel, and so they have, for inside Pteromys petaurista is no doubt at home, and if you will go down and rap on the trunk with a stone, he will come forth to interview the

unwelcome visitor, and when he sees you, will spread his parachute and sail gracefully down the valley out of sight.

Perhaps, however, I am mistaken, and it is a smaller and rarer species of squirrel (Sciuropterus fusco capillus) that lives in that hole. What a multitude of noble and valuable trees are there here ! Look at that splendid iron wood (Mesua f erred) and this tree, known on the coast as Irrupu (Cynometra ramiflora), rare up here, but commoner down below, a splendid timber, and that fine Jack (Artocarpus integri folia), sixty feet to the first branch and over three feet in diameter ! ou never saw a boll like that in a cultivated tree, and see what a splendid Boon spar (Calophyllum Angustifolium) that is ! There are hundreds of others, but if I were to go on at this rate the whole of the space at my command would be taken up with the mere description of these trees.

Are they not better described in Beddome's magnificent 4 Ilora

Sylvatica " ? . - ,

Here we are at last ! This pure, cold mountain water is very refreshing. You need not be afraid to drink it, no malaria fiend lurks there.

FAUNA AND FLORA.

What a vast extent of forest lies stretched before us ! We can distinctly see the sea, and even the white sails of fishing craft ooming homewards from the fishing grounds, laden with seer-fish and pomfret and many other kinds.

Who would imagine that the whole of that vast forest that stretches from near the base of the hills to the very sea consists mainly of cooo-nut palms !

Look, too, at the rivers and backwaters glittering amongst the groves of far off palms.

But here com© our people, so we must press on. We have not far to go now, for we intend to spend the night at the head of the ghat, &nd to-morrow early we will come back to the toll-gate at the head of the ghat and go right up to the top of Balasore and explore the forests. And this is the toll-gate. The taluk boundary runs, you see, to the right and left up these conical forest-clad hills, and the next step we take brings us into Wynad.

We must descend now a little. That urticaceous plant in the ravine is a Boehmeria (B . Mnlabarica), and produces a splendid fibre. The string of yonder Coorcha's bow is made of it. What plucky men these Coorchas are ! I know an old fellow who lives in these same forests ; he owned a little coffee

garden some six miles from here, and one evening his nephew was busy weeding it when a tiger suddenly pounced on him and bore him away into the depths of the forest. The next monjing a searching party was organized and the remains of the poor fellow recovered. The Coorchas instantly surrounded the forest and beat the tiger out, when the old man drove an arrow through its heart as it bounded across the open grassy hill side to the next shola.

We spend the night very comfortably in the Koroth bungalow and make an early start for the great Balasore mountain, at the base of-which our bungalow is : we will not go back to the toll-gate, that would be too far out of our way.

We first toil through some abandoned coffee, with that curse of the country, lantana, growing in clumps here and there., It will soon overspread the whole face of the mountain now under coffee. We have passed this bit of planting now and enter a small patch of the original primeval forest. The ground is strewn with large, round prickly fruit (Cullenia excelsa) that look like green hedgehogs rolled up. We must clear out of this, or one may come down on our heads and that would be no joke, for they are very heavy and the spines three inches long. Bump! bump! how fast they are falling ! and no wonder fora tribe of Wandcroos (Innus silenus) or lion-tailed monkeys are feasting on the seeds. Here is a fearful thicket of rattans (Calamus rotang). Take care ©f the streamers ; they are twelve or fourteen feet long, as thick as a pencil, and armed with rows of the most fearful recurved spines. If they catch you by the lip or ear you will remember it. And this is the handsome Solatium robustum , with leaves three feet long and two feet broad, beautifully velvety ; but they and the stem are armed with

spines We will take home the handsome orange fruit ;• they are as big as badminton balls, and covered with a thick coat of fine spines. When peeled, the fruit looks just like the yolk of a hard-boiled egg We will have them made into a tart to-night for dinner, and I promise you, that they will taste nicer even than the Brazil cherry (Phy sails Peruviana) cooked that way. There is a large solanum that Mr. Broughton got from Peru. It is exactly like this, but unarmed. You will see it growing in the Conservatory (Botanical Gardens) at Ootacamund if you go there. Is not this a lovely Thunbergia, with its racemes of pendant golden flowers ! There is another species too here, much handsomer, with the flowers streaked with orange-maroon. Both species flower in the cold weather, and it is very curious that this one should have flowered like this out of season.

Here is a monstrous tree, it is a fig (Ficus parasitica) ; a thousand aerial roots have descended to the ground in every direction so thickly that we can

scarcely pass between them. Many have anastamosed with the main stem and with each other, forming quaint arches. The smaller roots produce a soft and silky fibre, very strong, used by the Coorchas for their bows, and known as coli nar. They, however, prefer the manali nar (Boehmeria) I told you about.

It is very curious how little leaf mould there is in the ground. What has become of it? Well, the termites have buried it. Turn over that rotten log and you will find millions of them hard at work, and see there is a splendid earth-snake under it, a very raro and handsome one, the rainbow, snake it is called, for its whole body gleams with the most lovely iridescent hues — shades of purple and metallic blue. We will put him into our death bottle ; and here is another treasure, the elephant beetle, the giant of his tribe, and if you travel through the deciduous forests on the Maisur frontier after rain, you will find him busy carrying out the purpose for which he was created, rolling great balls of elephants' droppings along the path and tumbling them into a hole he has dug with much trouble and patience. Break one of these balls open and you will find a. yellow egg, as big as the top of your little finger. Later on there will be a loathsome looking larva there, covered with parasites. This will form a toothsome morsel for the black sloth bear (JJrsus labiatus) when he comes shuffling along and sniffs out the nest with his keen nose.

Up the trunk of that Dammer we see a thin black line. It is the covered gallery leading to a nest of the arboreal termite, suspended a hundred feet overhead. If it happened to fall now and strike one of us it would be certain death, for that nest weighs sixty pounds and is as hard as iron. There are over twenty different species of termes in this province alone, and in Burmah there is a monstrous one, half an inch in length, that marches along pathways at night and makes the natives jump when they happen to tread on them in the dark.

Do you see those holes in the ground at the base of that whiteant'a nest ? They have been made by the pangolin or scaly ant-eater (Mcni *

pentadactgla), who is most probably rolled up inside fast asleep after having demolished the inhabitants of the colony. We are still in the third zone or tropical evergreen forest, the most interesting of all. On that block of gneiss a thousand rock-plantains' {Musa ornata) display their handsome leaves and curious bulbous looking stems, whilst the common wild plantain (M. super ba) grows in clumps in the ravine lower down. We cut down a bunch of the tempting golden fruit. There is nought inside them however but a mass of hard black seeds, thinly covered with farinaceous pulp. Our attendant Coorcha munches steadily through them, finishing up with a handful of

common figs {Ficus glomerutaY which he has picked on our way up and which swarm with a multitude of little two-tailed flies.

This is a Gamboge tree (Garcinia morella) ; the yellow gum comes slowly out when we cut the bark, and the larger one just ahead is the wild nutmeg (M grist ica lauri folia). There is another (M. Angusti/olia) lower down, but it is not so common as this one. And that tree you are passing, with the clusters of pale green flowers growing out of the trunk, is a Polyalthia (P. cofeoides). The bark is very fibrous ana strong. And here is another of the same order Anonaceae, quite a small tree with glabrous leaves ; it rejoices in the name of Goniothalmus (G.

Wight it). It is rare here, but much' commoner near Palghat in the Chenat Nayar forests.

We have to cut our way now through a dense undergrowth of the dwarf Screw-pine (Pandanus , sp. undescribed ?) and then through a lot of Strobilanthes (S'. paniculatiis) which higher up forms the sole undergrowth in places. The number of species of Strobilanthes is very great and varies according to the elevation.

We are now out again in more coffee, wretched sticks with hardly a leaf on them. The HemUcia vastatrix has destroyed them.

xr T!mn krge bird fljing aCr0SS is a hornbi11 (Dichoceros cavatvs). Hombills are breeding now and are very noisy. Who would believe

any bird capable of uttering such horrible cries as that old male perched on the dead tree opposite ? He roars like some wild beast, disgusted no doubt at having the trouble of feeding his mate, who is sitting comfortably on her large white eggs in the hole of some giant forest tree near, bhe is fat and jolly, for every ten minutes or so Mr. Hornbill comes lying up with some sweet and juicy fig or plum and pops it down her throat Lady Hombills are kept in due subjection by their lords, who build them into their nests by plastering the mouth of the hole up with clay and excrement, leaving a mere slit to feed them through. There must be some reason for the males undertaking this self-imposed task ; possibly their spouses are a giddy lot, and require to be restrained from leaving their nests to flirt while their eggs get cold.

It is very sad to look round us from where we are and see the vast

extent of forest that has been destroyed by the Mappillas all roimd for conee. "

After toiling upwards for another hour, we again find ourselves in

ehola, but of a different character to that we have left behind us. The trees are not so lofty, the undergrowth is much denser, the species of Strobilanthes here is quite different to that last seen ; birds, too, are more abundant, and bees and insects keep up a continual hum in the blossoming trees overhead.

We are now in the fourth zone or evergreen shola.

We enter a dense growth of dwarf bamboo (Bcesha Rheedii) and put up a barking deer (Cenulus aureus). Further on our Coorcha finds a bees' nest {Apis mellifica), and as there is a delightful purling brook close by we decide to have breakfast. How lovely these moss-grown rocks are, with lychopodiums and balsams growing all over them, and that funny frog (Hylorana sp.) squatted amongst them, every now and then raises his voice and treats us to what he no doubt considers music, a monotonous running up the scale, which sounds like " Tunc tuk — tuck — tuck, tuk, tuk."

Here comes our Coorcha with the honey which he has cut out of the hole of that Eugenia — a mass of goldeD. combs, with the divine scent of the beautiful camellia-like flowers of the iron-wood (Mesua ferrea), for most of the honey now is collected from that flower. The Coorcha reserves for himself the larvse and pollen, which he devours with much gusto as we smoke our cheroots. Half an hour is all we have allowed ourselves for this pleasure, for the top of the mountain is yet far off and we must cut our way soon. There is a family party of the spurfowl (Pteroperdix spadiceus). How fussy the mother is about her little brood. She is hiding them in the dead leaves, and there they will instinctively crouch till we have passed them.

The slimy hole you see in this bit of swampy ground is a sambur (Rusa aristotelis) wallow, and last night, after rolling in the mud, a stag has rubbed his back against this rock and then sharpened his horns against yonder Garcinia (G. purpurea). Our wide-awake fnend, the Coorcha, pockets a lot of the acid fruit of this tree, which are used by the

natives as a substitute for tamarind.

The Eugenia family is well represented here, and there are more

species than belpw, but I will reserve these for the list at the end. {Simplocos too, of which we see several species, and cinnamons ; but most of these are supposed to be only varieties of the common kind (Cm. zei/lontca). And there is Eurya (E. Japonic*) which is so like the tea shrub, and two species of Tetranlhera which the Atlas larva dcligh s o feed on, and Bmlwffia Jamnica—the A. Luna silk-worm loves it. And here is Evodia triphylta with several

gorgeous butterflies . (PapiUo Pans) hovering round it, and look at that chaste-lookmg Hestia (H Jasoma) with her lace-like wings. I have just secured three beetles, a handsome green elater, a large rose beetle, one of the ceionklw, and a fine specimen of the horned beetle (Odontolalns Burmeuten).

And the Coorcha has found a horrible scorpion eight inches long, ef a dark bluish green color, which look, like a small lobster. He tells us a wonderful story of a snake which chased him here, and declares it had

wattles like a cock on its head of a brilliant scarlet ! Most probably the snake was the mountain cobra (Ophiophagos elaps) which is given to be aggressive. This Coorcha knows the boa well enough, for he once killed one eighteen feet long with an arrow, so he says. Snakes are numerous hereabouts, especially a greenish brown viper with a villainous looking head. I have nearly been bitten a hundred times ; but luckily this snake is so sluggish that it is a long time before he will make up his mind to retaliate.

After another half hour's work we reach the region ot dwarf shola forest, or the fifth region, and here our troubles really commence. The undergrowth is very dense, and we have to cut every yard of our way. The ground, too, has become very broken. There are great stretches of boulders to be scrambled over, and we get badly stung by the common nettle (Girardinia peterophylla). The trees are principally dwarf Euge-nias and ilex (T. Wightiana) with a scrubby bamboo (Arundinacca Wightiana) only six or eight feet high. The species of Strobilanthes is ery harsh too, and difficult to struggle through. Flying from bush to bush we see small flocks of a rare laughing thrush (Trochalopterum Jerdoni), while the blue rock thrush (. Petrocincla cyanea) sits looking at us from a boulder above.

A multitude of other birds, such as Zosterops pnlpebrosus , Hypsipetes Nilgiriemis , Dendrophila frontalis, &c., are busy securing their food amongst the leaves and branches of the trees and shrubs, whilst the common green megalalma, seated on the topmost bough of the only tall tree near, utters his monotonous " koturr, koturr " the livelong day. Thousands of swiftlets (Collocalia unicolor) are hawking the insects about, amˆwill probably roost to-night in the caves of the Brama-giris, where, at this time of the year, they breed in thousands. Their nests are not edible, however, like the Chinese ones, though they are made of the same substance, inspissated saliva mixed, in the case of these birds, with moss and feathers.

A Nllgiri kestrel (Cerchneis tinunculus) is busy eating a mouse on a rock,

and flies away with his prey as we approach.

At last we gain the peak and look round. There, away to the east, we see the great pools of the Cubbani where the mahseer loves to dwell. To our right lie the serrated peaks and ridges of the Western Ghats with patches here and there of coffee near their bases, and beyond again the Nilgiri plateau with great masses of black storm-clouds gathered menacingly over it, whilst from their dark depths vivid streaks of lightning dart forth forked tongues of flame, and the boom of distant thunder echoes from the rocky cliffs around.

Clouds are gathering, too, on our left over the Bramagiri and Dindamal hills, so we will take the warning and hurry down again— not the way we came, but down the Terrioot face of the mountain.

It is late by the time we reach the foot, and, mounting our horses

posted for us there, we get back to tbc Koroth bungalow in time for a late dinner

At midnight the storm hursts, the rain pours in torrents, whilst the vivid and continuous flashes of lightning illuminate the country round. How the thunder peals and crashes overhead, as report quickly follows report, until the whole is merged in one almost continuous series of detonations echoed back from the mountain above. In an hour it is all over, a loud rumbling to the west denoting the course followed by the storm ; but the roar and rush of mountain torrents, careering madly down the steep slopes behind us carrying the surface soil away to the sea, continues for some time longer.

At day-break we are off, en route to Manantoddy, ten miles away. The air is fresh and cool, and a thousand birds rejoice ; here the exquisite scent of a lovely orchid fills the air with fragrance. It is the Dendrobium aumm. We pick a few of the delicate golden flowers and collect a host of others with which the trees are laden. In this hollow there is a great bed of wild ginger, and the trees are covered with festoons of Hoyas and handsome ferns, and there, on the bank, are some fine tree ferns (Alsophila glabra). Here the forest is principally deciduous, though many evergreen trees appear, such as Vateria Indica , Evodia triphylla , &c. The shrubby Wendlandia (W. notoniana) is abundant, and we may expect to find on it fine specimens of the larvae of the Atlas moth (Attacm Atlas).

The whole of the country about here has been ruined by koomree cultivation, the land having been tuckled for raggi for years, until it refuses to grow anything now but a scrubby vegetation, consisting mainly of such trees as Evodias, Lagerstrcemias, the Wodina (TV. icodier)y and Bignonias, with scattered trees of Careya arbor ea, surrounded by a heavy growth of

brackens.

There is an old avenue bordering the road, planted up with Vateria Indica , Ficus Bengalensis , Artocarpua integrifolia, &c. Between the patches of jungle are open grassy downs with herds of buffaloes and small black cattle grazing on them. These latter are not to be trusted, as they are often vicious and charge desperately, as I have experienced to my cost. Most of the animals have wooden bells on, and their loud and monotonous rattling is more curious than pleasant-

We pass numerous Mappilla houses od the road, each with its little coffee-garden shaded by jack trees, up the stems of which Dioscoreas have been trained for the sake of their tuberous roots.

As we approach Manantoddy the lantana becomes more abundant, till finally it seems to have taken entire possession of the country, affording a secure asylum to numerous panthers (Felts pardus) which prey on the village dogs, calves, &c.

We ride through the Manantoddy bazaar, a dirty and disreputable place, and finally reach our destination at nine o'clock, quite ready for breakfast, which discussed, we walk down to the Forest Office, a small building on the top of a hill, prettily situated. Here we find an experimental garden, in which Ccara rubber (Manihol Glazovu). mahogany

FAUNA AND FLORA.

(' Chloroxylon Stcietenia), cocoa (Theobroma cacao), the rain tree (Pithecolo - bium saman), sappan (Ccesalpinia sappan), and a host of Australian eucalypti, acacias, and exotic trees and palms are growing vigorously ; and then on to the new building for the forest officer, of which nothing is to be seen but the foundations, after which we mount our horses and are off again to Begur, the head-quarters of the Koodrakote forest, where forest operations are in full swing. After riding about two miles we enter the reserve, a huge signboard with the words " Imperial Forest Reserve, Koodrakote" informing us of this fact. This board has been nailed to a fine young tree of the Nauclea species, covered with its curious flowers just like olive-green badminton balls.

The Nauclea is growing in a swamp in a dense brake of screw-pine (Pandanu8 odoratissimus) with scattered trees of the common willow (Salix tetrasperma). Just above us, overhanging the road we have come, is a huge solitary tree loaded with the nests of the cliff bee (Apis dorsata), so, for heaven's sake, do not smoke, or the irascible little wretches will be down upon us, in which case we are certain to have a bad time of it, even if we

escape with our lives ! Here is a bridge with a notice that you are to walk over it. One of my rnˆouts lately, in the dark, took his elephant across it, so I do not think we need pay much attention to the notice.

The forest improves, and we presently leav# the Oliout police station behind us and reach the village of Sunnuthgoody. Here we turn off, the road to the right going on to Maisur. We will go that way to-morrow.

The forest we are now riding through is very valuable. It belongs to the seventh zone, and is first-class deciduous forest with teak. Yesterday, if you remember, we rode through the sixth zone, or open grass scrub and barqboos with mixed deciduous and evergreen forest. The prinoipal timber here is Mutty (T. tomentosa), or Kurra-maradoo as it is called in Canarese. See how abundant it is, and what grand logs it can produce Seventy and eighty feet long, and as straight as an arrow ! If we could but get an extensive sale for it at remunerative rates, what a mine of wealth these grand forests would become. But we cannot sell it now Natives do not value it here, though it is ° magnificent timber, very strong and tough. White-ants, however, dear it, and that is why it is not valued ; besides it is given to warping and dry rot ! However, when a railway affords cheap carriage and saw-mills are at work, we may hope to make a fair profit out of it yet.

Look at these magnificent logs ! They are Hone (Pterocarpus marsu • pium), the next best timber we have to teak. The merchant who has bought them has got his money's worth, for they have been so well and truly squared, and are so sound, that there will be little or no wastage in sawing them up. This mark in the corner of the log has been made by the Bet Kurumbar who squared it. What does this !~LJ hieroglyphic

mean ? It is only Kala s mark. He has no T-square, no tape, no foot-rule, chisel or hammer— nothing but his axe, and this is what it is like :

He has squared the log entirely by his eye. In the centre of the log we find stamped with a steel die,

which means that the number of the log is 276, that it is 30 feet long, and its mean quarter girth is 19£ inches and total cubical contents 77-2-4. The /83 denotes the year in which it was felled. (wrT) stands for Wynad forests and the (8) shows that it has been sold. The K. «T. in the right-hand corner are the initials of the purchaser. The hole in the corner is for the drag-chain to pass through.

The logs in the next depot you see are all Blackwood (Dallergia Icitifolia). They are for the coast market, and will be shipped by the purchasers at Tellicherry for the Bombay and Kurraehee markets. We are close to Begur

now, for on our left the forest is a gorgeous sea of flame : the Poinciana (P. regia) is in flower. The whole of this side of the road was once a splendid sheet of coffee, but the manager was foolish enough to plant this tree for shade, and, being a surface-feeder, its roots quickly starved the coffee out.

We leave the road now and turn sharply to the right, and ride through the estate. There are a few jack trees here and there, but our elephants have stripped the leaves and branches off them and they do not look happy. Those two large sheds you see below us aro the elephant houses, but the elephants have not returned yet from their work.

We will have tiffin now and then write some letters, after which we will go down to the stream close by and see if we can get a few carp for dinner. This is the forest hut ; it is built entirely of teak and shingled. It was nicely matted inside at one time, but I had the mats all pulled off the walls, as rats took up their quarters between and snakes followed them.

FAUNA AND FLOBA.

Here is old Khazi. He is a great fisherman and has turned up in the nick of time.

“ How is the water, Khazi ? ” “ Excellent, sahib.”

“ And the fish, are there lots of them ? ” “ Your lordship will have

good sport ; they are well on the feed.”

“ Well, we will take the rods and come at once.”

“ Here are the leaves , master.”

We carefully tie on a Yalisneria leaf to our hook, so that it is quite concealed, and wading into the head of the run, let our line, with six feet of the finest drawn gut at the end, float gently down the current. Just as the leaf passes the roots of yonder willow, sixty feet away, there is a swirl, and a plunge, and a sudden tug at the line, and our reel screams a merry tune. He is six pounds, if an ounce ! (Jently now, for he is trying hard to fray the gut against that snag. Now he makes a rush for that fallen tree in the water. Once under that, and he is gone. Oh ! run Kala, run ! Wade in and free the line ; it has twisted round that bamboo twig. Be careful ! He is off ! No, thank goodness, no ; he is on still. Now for the net. They have left it behind : how disgusting. Khazi ! help me to land this fish. Out with him now ! And Khazi deftly pushes his fingers in behind the gills and flings Barbus Carnaticus , quivering and gleaming, on the pebbly shore. He is quite four pounds we find. But see what

Khazi is up to. He has a dozen gourds, and is tying three feet of sago palm (Caryota urens) fibre on to the neck of. each ; and now he whips on hooks, baits them with Ageratum leaves, and sets them floating down the stream. There goes the little fleet, and bob ! down goes the leading gourd. Now it is up again, and seems to have gone mad, for it jumps and leaps about, then dives and disappears in the most surprising manner. But old Khazi knows what is up, for he has run to the bottom of' the pool, and, as the gourd passes him, seizes it, and lo ! there is a handsome three-pound barbus at the end of the line.

We go on fishing with varying success, and finally count up a bag of three brace of carp. Old Khazi has caught two, and has made besides a miscellaneous bag of mastacemblus—n fish that looks like a sharp-nosed

eelfour young labeos, several cat fish (silurus), and a heap of the little Barilius Bakeri.

On our way back we call on old Lutchmi, a dear old elephant, at the shed, and treat her to some jaggery and see Mr. Sankara fed. He has been naughty of late and became " must," so he has had to do double work. Here are Chloe and Phyllis, who were captured in the Alambadi khedda in Coimbatore. Vixen has gone to Nilambur. These last three are, I believe, the only ones alive now out of all those then captured ! They are going down to the river now to bathe, after which they will be hobbled and turned loose to graze all night.

Do you notice the number of young trees here that have grown ur everywhere in this abandoned coffee estate ? There are two teak '

lings twenty feet in height ; and these are all young black wood trees, growing vigorously.

Before dinner we will send for old Kurumbar Kala and the forester, and give them orders to have two Kurumbars ready to go with us to the Soola Bulla forest, near the Coorg frontier, early to-morrow morning.

Daybreak sees us up, and we are in the forest after sunrise. We march steadily along the forest road for some distance and turn off, after crossing a large bridge, to inspect a depot.

There are over seventy logs in this dep6t, all dead teak, for we have not felled living trees here for the last six years. The Kurumbars who have prepared these logs are waiting for the measurements to be checked, and this we do. A great deal of the timber you see is much cracked and flawed, but as long as we can make any profit out of it, it would be a great pity to let it get

burnt up and destroyed.

Look at the pugs of this tiger ! what a monstrous size they are ! He lives up on the Bramagiri plateau, and only occasionally comes down here when he is hard up for grub and has established a scare amongst the sambur up there. He is a grand old fellow, this tiger, and I once had a shot at him, but only wounded him slightly in the leg.

There are wild dogs (Cuon rutilans) crossing the road ahead, eight — nine — ten of them ! One stops and barks at us, with his brush up in the air, and then jumps lightly over a log and disappears. They are remorseless beasts, these dogs, and kill numbers of deer, both sambur (Rusa aristotelis) and spotted deer (Axis maculatus). Sometimes they go about in enormous packs : I have seen one of over sixty myself. The •wild dog has few enemies to keep it in check, and it is but rarely shot by sportsmen. I think, though, that a good many get killed in their encounters with dangerous game, such as boars and tigers. There are many instances on record of wild dogs having tree'd both tigbrs and panthers, and one, of their having killed and partly eaten a tiger at Bandipore on the Maisur frontier.

The forest we are now passing through has a dense undergrowth of Leeas and zingiberaceous plants, with a host of creepers trailing along the ground and twining up the trunks of the trees, in many instances distorting the tree, or even strangling it altogether. Many species of ficus are, however, far worse in this respect, for there, in front of you, is a mighty rosewood tree (JDalbergia latifolia), the trunk of which has been almost completely hidden by a fig (F. parasitica), and so tightly has it been embraced that there is nothing to denote that the rosewood is even alive but that miserable tuft of leaves showing overhead through the luxuriant foliage of its enemy.

We must keep a sharp look out now, for here are the fresh tracks of a solitary elephant, a rogue, no doubt, for he is constantly about here and is the terror of our Kurumbar axemen. I should not be at all surprised if we found him in company with Chloe and Phyllis, who were let loose to graze in this part of the forest last night.

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What is Kala running back for P He must have seen the tusker. No ; there is a large sounder of pig (Sus Indica), he says, in a swamp. There they go, headed by a grim old boar, who is grunting angrily and champing his tusks. We will let him pass as we are not armed.

Here we are at the big depdt, and there is old Lutchmi in the swamp. She has evidently not smelt that rogue, or she would have come straight home again,

for she does not like wild elephants, and is not given to flirting with rogues, like her giddy companions Chloe and Phyllis.

Just look at the magnificent trees here ! And no wonder they are so fine, for the soil is a deep rich loam, nearly black, and composed entirely of the rich surface-soil washed down from the low hills around by the monsoon rains. The rainfall is about eighty inches here annually. There stands a magnificent teak surrounded by thousands of Mutty trees (Terminalia tomentosa), and Yenghay (Pterocarpus marsupium), and Yenteak (Lagerstroemia microcarpa), with here and there a noble rosewood (Dalbergia latifolia). Here, just off the road, is a monstrous fig (Ficus Mysorensis) that was blown down in the fearful monsoon gales of 1882. A famous tree it was, too, known amongst the Kurumbars as the great " Goni Barray." Its branches bore twice a year a rich crop of wax and honey, for over a hundred colonies of the large bee (Apis dorsata) have resorted for years to this mighty tree to rear their broods in fancied security.

We must return now, for we go to Bhawully this evening. The forest here swarms with birds. That handsome black bird flying across the path is the Bhimraj (Edolius paradiseus), often tamed by Muhammadans for its song. It also possesses a strong power of mimicry, and, in captivity, will imitate the mewing of cats, crying of babies, and cackling of poultry in the most wonderful manner. In English it is known as the racquet-tailed drongo shrike, from the two elongated tail feathers, which are curled into the shape of a racquet at the end.

Seated on a twig is a male of the handsome Malabar trogon (Har-pactes fasciatus), his rose-pink breast contrasting beautifully with the delicatelypenciled black of his wings. Flashing like a meteor across the path, flies the lovely bronze-wing dove (Chalcophaps Indica) , the metallic green of his wings glittering like some jewel in the sunshine; and on the tree in front are a host of flame birds (Pcricrocotus flam-mens), the cocks clad in orange-red and black and the hens in gold and dark grey. The oriole (Oriolus kundoo) is here, too, resplendent in his gold and black livery, and the fairy blue-bird (Irena puella) with a back of the loveliest cobalt blue, the rest of his body a jetty black. Hodgson 8 wood-pecker (Pious Hodgsoni) is investigating the trunk of yonder hoary tree and making the forest resound again with his loud rat-a-tat-tat-tat-tat. The moment we catch his eye he slips round tho trunk like lightning. But how is it possible to describe the hundreds of species of birds that swarm in these forests, with the limited space at

my command ? I must even content myself with a dry list of them at the end.

We have reached Begur now, and so we will mount our horses and be off to Bhawully. At Karticollam we branch off to the MaisOr road, and, after going a short distance, pass the Padry Reserve signboard and a little further on reach the Bhawully bridge. We now dismount, and go down to the river and have a look at the oolonies of bees (Apis dorsata) that have built under the arches of the bridge. It is a wonderful sight truly ! There are over a hundred hives : the bees are flying in millions across the bridge, and we. see nervous travellers passing the bridge at a run to avoid being stung. Seated on a willow tree are about fifty or sixty birds — king-crows (Dicrurus macrocercus) and bee-eaters (Merops viridis and Swinhoii). Watch them, and you will see one or two leave their perches for a moment, fly rapidly through the arches of the bridge, snap up a bee, and retire to the forest on the opposite side to devour their prey at their leisure. This goes on continuously, and the numbers of bees devoured in this way must be something enormous.

Before returning to Manantoddy we will just take a run down to the pool in the Cubbani at Shanamangalam, and have a try for mahseer (Barbus mosal) and Carnatic carp (B. Carnaticus). There are some monsters in this great pool, and if we are fortunate enough to get a run, we must look to our tackle and see that it is in proper order.

Here is the pool, some four hundred yards long by one hundred yards broad, and from ten to seventeen feet deep ; a fine sheet of water. We will now unwind our reel, and dry the three hundred yards of strong cotton line it holds, in the sun for a quarter of an hour. We will also oil the winch, for it is a check winch invented by me, and see that it is in proper working order. Having done this, we will prepare our bait. First and foremost we cut a bamboo rod, seven feet long, and put on a single gut-line with a fine hair-hook ; next we deftly tie on a leaf-fly and then chuck in a handful of Valisneria leaf. See how the fish are rising : now is the time. Our fly falls gently in the very centre of a patch of floating Valisneria. There is a swirl, and a tug, and, after a little play, we land a nice little Camatio carp, nine inches long, just the right size. Our Kurumbars have meanwhile made a bamboo basket with a narrow mouth, and we put our bait into it and lower it into the water with a tuft of grass, to keep the fish from jumping out, shoved into its mouth. In ten minutes we have half-a-dozen young carp, and it is now time to reel up our line. This finished, we examine the three trebles and coat the silk whipping with a little fly-wax. These trebles are the very largest and strongest made for mahseer fishing. We now cut a strong bamboo rod, twenty-five feet long, nice and pliable, and lash it firmly to a willow tree so that the point overhangs a deep, shadv portion of the pool. Next we take out a carp and with a needle stitch a double thread through his back, just in front of the dorsal fin. We then pass one of the hooks through the loop of thread

thus formed, and tie our line to the tip of the bamboo rod, so that we oan lower our bait at will from the bank ; at the same time we make our tie just strong enough to hook the mahseer when he seizes the bait. Ve now drive

the spike of our reel deep into the bank, and reel up the slack line till the dorsal fin of the bait just shows above water. The bait is very vigorous, you see, for he dashes madly round in a circle, striving to escape. A screen must be made or the wily mahseer would never come near the place if he suspected that we were hero.

“We have another reel, and this wo will work in a different way. We will first drive the spike into the ground and then pull out thirty yards of line. About a foot from the hooks we tie a quartz pebble of a pound in weight, and then we bait the hooks with a lump of raggi dough as big as your two fists. We next gather the line into a neat coil and fling our bait far out into the pool. When the bait and pebble have settled at the bottom, wo gently pull in the slack lino till we feel the weight of the stone, and then take a double turn of the lino round a stake one foot long and as thick as your finger. This stake wc thrust deep into the sand, and then make the lino from the reel to the stake taut. All is ready now, and there is nothing for it but patience. The sun is just setting, and it is the hour when mahseer wake and begin to feed. Silence ! Not a word must be uttered, so we lie down behind our screen and lazily watch the green imperial pigeons (Carpophaga insig-ms) cooing and pruning their feathers on yonder bastard ebony tree (Diospyros embryopteris). Swimming slowly down the pool, notliing

visible but his bung-like eyes, goes a mugger (Crocodilus palustris) on the look out for grub. No chance of a mahseer as long as that scaly monster is on the move ! Some Wodagur women are coming down the bank for water opposite us with their polished brass-pots gracefully poised on their heads. The mugger dives and is gone, the wood pigeons flutter from the ebony tree and swiftly wing their way down stream a melancholy frog croaks dismally from yon slimy pool covered with ferruginous scum, and the hoot of the great eagle owl (Bubo Nipalbnsis) is echoed from the dark forest behind us.

. The stars twinkle overhead, and soon all nature is hushed, the silence being now and again broken by the splash of some great fish. Hours pass and no sign. It is drowsy work, and soon the heavy breathing of our Kurumbar is the only sound heard. We begin to nod too, when

5ˆsh • ! ;vhlr’r-r-r-r-r*r-r l There is a sound as if the

father of all fish had taken a header out of the water, and our reel sings

merrily as yard after yard is reeled out with the rapidity of lightning f Gently now ! We seize the line with a strip of chamois leather? it is cut iroug 1 in an instant. Lower the line under water ! Let him travel Ho not attempt to stop him or the line will part. One hundred and fifty yards out and still he g9es ! Ha ! his first rush is over, and now we

TiffTo. m T , L˚Ver handIn C0mes the line ’ a desperate tug ; he

the lintfstiff ˚ TTlm g˚‘ ˆearly two hundred yards out, and suddenly hehne st ffens. Heavens ! it will part. We feel the desperate tugs aˆ

p,!V rd 0ilt’ ˆ “ot ˚*ly ˆ come in, but when we let it oˆt, it

Blacks . The fish has fouled it and has beat us. The raft ! the raft 1

The Kurumbar lights a bamboo torch. I jump on the raft and my companion attends to the line. We pole rapidly down, line in hand. The fish has fouled in the heavy water below. We shoot past and over the spot. A few tugs at the line and it is free. Hurrah ! the fish is still on ! Let out line ! we cry as the fish forges ahead, nearly towing the raft. He has doubled and goes up stream, fouling the line again under the raft ; but we quickly free it, and now it tautens as he frantically dashes down again. Line ! line ! more line ! Ha ! see his tail as the water boils under its strokes. His race is run now, and he nears the raft. The glare of the torch lights up his massive back, and, horror of horrors ! shows one hook alone slightly attached to the very tip of his under lip ! One more pull, hands are slipped behind his gills, and he is ours as ho lays gasping on the raft. And now back to the hut, the Kurumbar frantic with joy. We land and weigh our prize, sixty-four and a half pounds, a splendid female. Enough for to-night. We get back to camp to sleep soundly till daybreak.

FAUNA.

In Appendix II will be found a list of the animals found in Malabar. To this list I might have added two new bats (Cheiroptera), but as they have not been named as -yet I have not done so. They were discovered in the depths of the primeval ghat forests, and are chiefly remarkable for being clad with a long dense fur. I have found it impossible to give a detailed description here of the fauna of Malabar, the space at my command being so limited; but a short description of the habits and distribution of some of the more remarkable forms may be of interest.

The wild elephant is the most important animal of the district. Without his assistance, when domesticated, it would be difficult indeed to work the forests. Wherever you go in the forests you find numberless pitfalls excavated

for his capture ; but, as a rule, they are mostly old ones, half filled in. Numbers of elephants are captured by Nftyars and Mappillas, and broken in for timber dragging, which is done entirely by the teeth ; the elephant seizing a thick cable made of grewia fibre in his trunk, and biting the end between his molars, drags the log, to which the other end of the cable has been made fast. In wet and slippery weather, when going downhill, a log often gets such way on that the elephant's jaw is either dislocated by the sudden jerk or a molar is pulled out. All elephants which are forced to drag timber in this brutal and irrational manner have their jaws very much disfigured by abscesses and suffer cruelly from toothache, often being laid up for. months at a time. Elephants are very abundant all along the chain of the Western Ghats and in the teak forests of Beni, Chedleth, and Koodrakote ; but here they are partially migratory, leaving Wyn&d in the heavy bursts of the monsoon for the drier climate of Mysore, where they eat quantities of the black saline earth in the salt lioks and thus get rid of the innumerable intestinal worms with which they are troubled. When the domestic

elephant, prompted by instinct* does this, the mahout thinks at once that he is ill, and the wretched animal is forthwith dosed with the most virulent mineral and vegetable poisons that the nearest bazaar is capable of producing, such as corrosive sublimate, arsenic, verdigris, croton-oil, marking-nut, nux vomica, &c., mixed up with such ridiculous ingredients, as bison flesh, peacock's fat, &c.

I have heard frequent complaints of the " want of constitution of Indian elephants " and such like balderdash, but when we consider the brutal and wicked manner in which this, one of the noblest creations of G-od, is treated, is it any wonder that the wretched animal, however powerful its constitution, succumbs ? Think of the dreary marches of a newly-caught animal — which lias already endured all the tortures of the damned in the khedda where it was captured — over dusty plains in the hot weather, picketted out in the scorching sun, often without a drop of water to assuage its burning thirst, fed for years on cocoanut leaves or the eternal banyan and fig, physicked when it is well and when it is ill, in a word — physicked to death !

In Malabar the system of catching elephants is to dig groups of pitfalls on the pathways and beaten tracks the animal has made for itself, and which it is so fond of using. As a rule, these pits are dug a little way off the road and a tree felled across it to induce the animals to go round; but so artful are they, that a cautious old female will often suspect the trap, and carefully uncover the pitfalls, to prevent her more youthful companions from tumbling in. Elephants are often seriously injured and even killed in these pitfalls.

The gaur (Garceus gaums) was in former years very abundant everywhere in the Malabar forests, but murrain has slain its thousands, and the native and European pot-hunters have not been bchind-hand in the work of destruction. I have heard well-authenticated cases of Englishmen who have shot three and four cow bison of a day and have left them to rot where-they fell

Now, bison are only to be found on the Bramagiri and Dindamul ranges of hills, in the Chedleth and Beni forests, and in the ghat forests near Peria in the Wynad. In the low-country the gaur is found all along the slopes of the Western Ghats, from the Coorg frontier to near Palghat in the Chenat Nayar forests ; but they are nowhere abundant.

Sambur (Rusa aristotelis) . — This fine deer is almost extinct in the Wynad plateau proper, but is still fairly abundant on the spurs of the Western Ghats and on the Bramagiri range. It is also found all along the lower slopes of the Westeril Ghats, but is not very abundant.

The spotted deer {Axis metadata). — This handsome animal is abundant only near the foot of the Karkur ghat ; elsewhere it is faj* from common, and may be , considered nearly extinct in the Wynad, where at one time it swarmed.

i ˆ1G, tl|frr ˆFdlS tigHs) is rare in the Wynad, not uncommon all along the Western Ghats, where each tiger has his own beat and does

not interfere with his neighbour. As a rule, the tiger in Malabar is restricted to such parts where game abounds.

• Jrhe _Panther (FPard us) “ particularly abundant at Manantoddy in Wynad, and in September and October may be heard roaring round your house in every, direction. Woe to the dog that leaves his master’s house, even for five minutes, there at night.

The wild pig (S. Indicus) is common everywhere in the forests, but is fairly kept in check by his natural enemies the tiger, pard, wild dog, and last, though not least, the native, who is very partial to pork, even though it may be measly.

The South Indian wild goat (Hemitragm hylocfJks) was abundant once all along the precipitous peaks and rocky hills of the Western Ghats from Naduvatam to near Valliyar, but it has been so ceaselessly persecuted by Europeans and natives alike, and the does so ruthlessly slaughtered, that where there were herds formerly of over a hundred, you rarely now meet with more than two or three, and on many great rocky ranges they are quite extinct.

The following interesting account of tame ibex is taken from the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, New Series, II, 82. It is sad to relate that these ibex have all been since ruthlessly shot down by persons who ought to have known better.

" No one lives upon this hill " (Malliattur hill-station, north-east of Ahlwye), " but the chapel" ("a very filthy little neglected church which bears a character of excessive sanctity ") " has a weekly visit from the priests at Malliattur, who at other times leavo the chapel to the care of a converted herd of ibex, which graze on the steep hill-side and shelter in the sheds and out-houses. I saw fifteen of these very ugly goats about the knoll, all males, which was remarkable, and I should have entered them in this my diary as having distinctly monastic habits had I not been told that there were many more in number of the other sex just out of sight among tbe bushes, which silenced the suggestion. These civilized members of a forest family have not lost all the habits of their race in general. They saunter with composure on edges as sharp as knives, and stand with all four feet upon a single point of rock. Nor are they less wary than the ibex tribe in general. Their cunning teaches them that they are safer in the sanctuary of the church than on their wonted haunts, the precipice ; and having taken up their abode upon the sacred hill, the}' bask in perfect safety as if aware that it was consecrated. In one of the chapel offices a black buck was lounging on a bedstead, who knew his place better than to take any notice of the heretic intruder, and such was evidently the feeling of the herd in general. This seems to speak of good intelligence, yet, judging by the head and face, the ibex is a sheepish jackass. Dull as these animals appear, they are said to have all the cleverness of priests, and, ■when anything goes wrong on the hill, one of the old bucks goes down immediately to report it in Malliattur. Only a few days ago one of these vigilant vergers is said to have taken the three-mile walk to ask a man

in the village when he meant to pay that silver elephant he had promised to the churclf if the pitfalls he was digging should prove successful, an elephant having been tjken and the vow forgotten." — (Captain Fred. C. Cotton' 8 account of a journey over the Annamullays for the purpose of examining the teak forests, Sfc. — Cochin to Annamullay.)

There are three fine species of large squirrels in Malabar. The Malabar red squirrel (Sciurus Malabaricu*) is abundant everywhere in the ghat forests, and is also found in the ravines of the deciduous forests. There are two varieties : the one has a yellow tip to its tail and the other has a tail wholly black.

The large flying squirrel (Ptcromys petaurista) is a very handsome animal. It is entirely nocturnal in its habits and very silent, only giving utterance to a low plaintive note at night. It grunts like a young pig when handled. The fur is beautiful and much valued. These squirrels are very abundant, but rarely seen, unless a forest is felled, when they fly out of their holes as the trees fall.

Fishes.

Of fishes there are innumerable species and varieties, and all waters teem with them. The most important amongst the sea-fish are the seer, the pomfret, mullet, barmin, and Nair fish. Sardines (Sardinella Neo - howii) are very abundant at times and very cheap. They are extensively used as manure, and an evil smelling oil is manufactured from them. Of fresh-water fishes the mahseer is the most important, and is found in most of the larger rivers. It does not, however, grow to such a size in these rivers as it does in the Cubbani in Wynad, where it is said to grow to over a hundred and fifty pounds in weight.

In Appendix III will be found a list of the fishes of Malabar taken from Dr. Day's work.

Birds .

The Malabar District is very rich in its avifauna. The list in Appendix IV contains four hundred and twenty species of birds, most of which have been entered in the list on undoubted authority, Mr. Atholl MacGregor, late British Resident in Travancore, having collected them and drawn up a list from Jerdon's "Birds of India," which has served as a foundation for the preparation of Appendix IV. Some few species, such as Lyncornis bourdilloni , Merula Kinisii , &c.f have been entered, as it is very probable that they will be found to occur, both species having been procured in Travancore. No doubt there are errors in this list ; but it is next to impossible, without the most careful and systematic collecting, to get anything like a really correct list of the fauna of a large district like Malabar.

Insects and Beptiles.

It is simply impossible to give lists of tho various species of insects and reptiles that abound. It would take up a great deal of time and

space, and both are here valuable. I have, however, given a list (Appendix V), though not a complete one, of the butterflies of the "Wynad and the Western Ghats.

FOREST TREES.

In Appendix VI will be found a list of the principal timber and forest trees of Malabar classified according to the forests in which they grow.

Section G. — Passes, Roads and Railway.

The climate, the physical character of the country, and, in most places, the nature of the road materials are all unfavorable to roadmaking in Malabar. Indeed, in ancient times and within the memory of people still living, bullock carts and made roads did not exist. The chief traffic of the country was, and in great measure still is, carried on, as already alluded to in the section on rivers, &c., by water and not by land. In ancient times the country was split up into rival principalities and roads were not a necessity. A force on the march went in single file and unencumbered by artillery, and it was only after the Mysorean invasions under Haidar All and Tippu Sultan that the necessity for roads capable of carrying heavy guns began to be felt. The following extracts from the records show how the matter stood shortly after the British acquisition of the province.

Minute by Colonel Dow on the state of roads in 1796. — " The general disorder that has hitherto prevailed in the Mappilla districts is greatly imputable to want of roads, which enabled them to trespass with security. The Mappillas hold all regular government in aversion, and Dever appear to have been thoroughly subjugated by Tippu. This habitual dislike to subordination is not to be removed by methods of severity, which are likely to excite resistance. A large body of troops should be stationed at their quarters, and their lurking-places should be kept open by constructing roads. At present no vestige exists of wheel-carriages having ever been in use in Malabar, and the roads are generally narrow, which are rarely better than foOt-paths nmning at random through paddy-lands without any regard to the convenience of travelling. The necessity for spacious and broad roads was not probably felt until the Muhammadan conquest. Tippu projected and in a great part finished an extensive chain of roads that connected all the principal places in Malabar and pervaded the wildest parts of the country. The grand termination of these intercommunications was Seringapatam, and as the route necessarily led over the ghats, neither labor nor expense was spared in rendering it practicable for artillery. This was the most politic and enlightened of any enterprise undertaken by that prinoe, and he appears to have been sensible that the construction of the publio roads was absolutely necessary for the maintenance

of his authority and to enable him to effect the forcible conversion he so long

meditated. Many works of utility have been abandoned since the province came into the hands of the Company. Works of great extent and magnitude should be proceeded with by degrees. The roads, whether projected or finished by Tippu, should be first ascertained and completed thoroughly before any new works are undertaken. His routes are in general well chosen and lead through almost every part of the provinoe. The work might be performed by the CherumSxs of the country. Having completed Tippu's roads, the Company should take up such roads as escaped the supervision of that prince. After completion, the roads should be maintained in good order by the labor of the community. Bullocks carrying merchandise might be tolled so as to provide a fund to meet contingent charges, &c."

Colonel Dow stated further : " Since the country came into the possession of the Company the roads have been gradually encroached on, and in many parts entirely shut up, by the inhabitants. The oountry is rendered scarcely accessible to the troops and the movement of artillery impracticable."

The task of securing good roads to all parts of the province was taken in hand, and, as a first step, the following information as to Tippu' 8 roads was obtained from the Zamorin's minister, and from actual inspection by an officer of .Engineers.

" Account of Tippu1 s Gun-roads by Shamnauth.

" 1. From Calicut to the present cantonment Polwye by Purri-nalettu, Cheakur, Tamracheri.

" 2. From Malapuram to Tamracheri.

" 3. From Malapuram to Pudapani and from thence to the ghat.

"4. From Calicut to Ferokia, Carate Hobli, Elamaruthoo, Chatamungul, Purrinalettu, Tamracheri.

" 5. From Ferokia through Shernad Taluk, by Chalapoora Hobli, Pooloor, Tirurangadi, Venkatakotta, Poolanalettu, Erakerlu, Kemaro, Waleakoomuttu, Tirucheraparamba, Cowlpara, Mungarey river, Pattambi, Walayar river, Coimbatore.

"6. From Palgh&t to Dindigul, Tallamangala, Wundelarrul-latiel, Nellimootiel, WellikUmbil, Margienaympalim, P eelachi, Worunmalakatu, Kannenerukuvaturu, Palni, Virupakshu, Dindigul.

1. From Venkatakotta, Purumbil, Walluanatakuny (Vela-teru), Palaketeri, Angadipuram, Muleakurchi, Karialutu, V ellatur, Rapelallawuloora,

Peynat, Koondepulla river, Mannar, Attaparu, Tengraumttooroo, Wellimamutu, Coimbatore.

The northern division is in like manner pervaded by roads, the

particulars of which may be easily obtained. It is sufficient at present to take notice that* they lead from mount Deli both by the seashore and through the interior parts of Chirakal, Cotiote, &c., generally having for their direction the passes of Pudiacherrim and Tamracheri."

Letter from CaptainLieutenant Johnson , of Engineers , on the subject of the gun-roads in the province, dated 1*$ December 1796.—" The roads practicable for guns are as follows : one from the south side of the Beypore river to Tanur, Ponnani, Balliancota, and keeping about one mile .to the westward of Chavakkad, proceeds along the island of Chetwai to Cranganore, where it stops. This road is throughout good, but has five rivers to cross, four of whioh require boats ; but as the road lies near towns close to each of these rivers, boats are easily procured when wanted.

" The next begins at Tanur, from whence it proceeds through Pudiangadi, Tirunavayi, Omalur, Tirttala, Cowlpara, Lakkidikotta to Palghat, and from thence to Coimbatore to the eastward, as also through .Chittur, Tattamangalam to Kolangod. The first part of the road requires hardly any repairs as far as Tirunavayi, where, near the Ponnani river, road is so much encroached on whenever it leads through batty fields, that in such places it can hardly be called a foot-path j not only this, but the more effectually to prevent cultivated spots from being marched through, hedges, banks and ditches are made to cross the roads, or trees felled which require time and .trouble to clear away. These appear to be the first obstacles to be removed and prevented. The latter part of this road, as it mostly runs over high jungly, hilly grounds, only requires here and there repairing, which being once done, the inhabitants of the country might be induced to keep it so, as it is one of the first marks of attention very readily shown to many of the natives of rank to clear and repair, and even clean, the road over which they have to pass.

" There is also another gun-road leading from Pattikad Chokee to Trichur, Ulhur, Pudcad, through Iiamesvaram gate to Amolum eastward of Cochin, which is kept in repair by the Cochin Kajah, whose guns are moved over it frequently.

" Of roads formerly intended as gun-roads there are many leading in every direction, the principal of which are one leading from Ferokabad to Trevengarry, and by passing near Venkatakotta, to Angadipuram, from whence it leads through Cherpalcheri to Mannar Town. The first part of this

road, so far as Venkatakotta, is mostly over uncultivated rocky heights, abounding in forage, but affording little wood and water, which would only require a little repairing at the ascents and descents here and there, after which, going toward Angadipuram, there are batty fields and nalas that require more work to make them fit for guns, but the expense, even there, cannot be great, as such places bear a very small proportion to the tract of country over which this road leads, which is generally high and even, but also abounds in wood and

water, which are to be found in abundance everywhere but on the seacoast.

" The next is a road from Ferokia to Konduvetti, and from thenca to Errowinagarry, Nilambur, and by the K&rkur pass to the top of the Gazalhatti pass. The first part of this road bears evident marks of having been made for guns at a great labor, and appears more to require clearing of small trees, &c., than making ; it also abounds in wood, water and forage throughout, but is destroyed whenever it crosses batty fields. This road strikes to southward from Errowinagarry to Whurum-puram, the first half of which I have not seen ; but, supposing it resembles the latter, will require very little expense to make it practicable for guns. There are also many of this kind of roads — such as one from Mannar to Cowpiel, from Cherpalcheri to Lakkidikotta, from Venkata-kotta to Tirunavayi — all of which require more to be cleared and repaired than made. Very little more can be said concerning them."

Though the matter thus received early attention, but little was done in this direction for over fifty years, and it is only within the last thirty years that the opening up of the country by good roads has been vigorously pushed on. The main lines of road eastward and the coast-lino absorbed all the money that could be devoted to them, and the following roads, which enabled the produce of Malabar to be exchanged for that of the eastern districts, were maintained in fair order during the first period of fifty years.

1. The Perambdrli ghat road, leading from Tellicherry and Canna-nore through Coorg, to Seringapatam and Maisur, by which sandalwood and pepper and grain, and chillies and pulses, and, latterly, coffee were brought to the coast, and return loads, chiefly of salt, were taken back. The route has been partly altered and the gradients on this line have

been greatly improved of recent years. The ghat portion of it lies in Coorg territory;

1. The Peririh ghat road, from Tellicherry and Cannanore through North Wynad to Maisur, conveying much the same traffic as the road last-

mentioned between the same places. This road has been very greatly improved in recent years. It was originally required as an alternative route for the passage of troops from the coast to Maisur, which, going this way, avoided passing through the Coorg Raja's country. The ghat has been retraced in recent years, and all the old steep gradients cut down or circumvented.

2. The Kuttiyadi ghat road, leading from the head of the navigable waters of the Kotta river into North Wynad, which at first was made .md afterwards maintained, chiefly for military purposes, in connection the Pafasai Raja's rebellion. This ghat road remains in much t le same state as formerly. A new and easy trace up the mountains las been laid out, but it has not yet been widened sufficiently for carts.

,1 m traffic which exists is still carried on bv means of pack-bullocks and by coolies.

1. The Tamrachin ghat road — one of Tippu's military roads — leading from Calicut through South Wynad to Maisur, was the line judiciously selected by Colonel the Honorable Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) as commander of the forces for the operations against the rebellious Palassi Raja. It had the advantage of splitting up the oountry of that chieftain in Wynad and of enabling the military commanders to operate, according to circumstances, against any position where the rebels seemed inclined to make a stand. For this purpose stockades 1 or small forts were made at easy distances apart throughout its length. The labor of moving guns on this road must have been most severe, as the original trace ran straight up the almost precipitous face of the mountain. In recent years a well-graded ghat road, seven and three-quarter miles in length and rising nearly three thousand feet, has taken the place of the old short direct track. For the first three miles from the top of the ghat the road has literally been blasted out of the solid rock, which at that place crops out precipitously on the face of the mountain. The view, from the upper zigzag, of mountains and forests, and of the plains of Malabar with the sea in the distance, is superb.

2. The Sissapara ghat road was made from the head of the navigable waters of the Beypore river, through the head of the Silent Valley, also called Vallaghat, up to the summits of the Kundah mountains on the Nilgiri plateau, for the purpose of enabling visitors from Bombay and the west coast generally to reach the Nilgiri sanitarium. Except from the river to the foot of the hills it was, and still is, only passable for baggage animals, but it has, ever since the opening of the railway, been discarded as a route to the Nilgiris.

3. The Palghat gap afforded an easy means of communication between east and west, and a good road has always been maintained between Ponnani on the coast and Coimbatore and Palani inland. This road passes through Palghat, where it bifurcates, one branch going to Coimbatore, the other to Palani. From Tirtala, too, a branch struck off north-westwards to the coast road and afforded the usual route adopted by travellers to or from Calicut.

4. Finally the coast road, from Calicut to the extreme north of the district, united all the above lines at the points where they touched the Beacoast, and afforded a ready means of bringing detachments of troops from the military brigade stationed at Cannanore to any point where their services were required.

These were the main lines of communication kept up till within the last thirty years, but a good deal used to be done besides to keep up oountrypaths, running in all directions over the country, but utilized

• Lakkiddbtta means literally stick or timber fort, and this is how the place at tne head of the ghit obtained its name.

only by men and animals. These country-paths were maintained by the occupiers of lands through which they passed.

In the last thirty years great strides have been made towards opening up the district, and there is now scarcely any considerable portion of it to which wheeled traffic has not been extended. The roads, exclusive of those within the limits of municipalities, now number ninety-eight and the total length maintained is one thousand, four hundred and sixty-three miles, four furlongs. The details will be found in Appendix VII.

The south-west branch of the Madras railway was opened in the following sections on the following dates : —

Sections.

Miles.

Dates.

Beypore to Tirur

12th March 1861.

Tirur to Kuttipuram

1st May 1861 .

Kuttipuram to Pattambi

23rd September 1861.

Pattambi to Podanur

14th April 1862.

And with the opening on 12th May 1862 of the section beyond Poda-nur, the west coast was put into direct railway communication with the presidency town. The total length of line within the district is eighty-nine miles, and the following are the railway stations : —

1. Ottapalam.
2. Lakkidi.
3. Parali.
4. Palghat.
5. Kanyikod.
6. Valliyar.

But it has been felt ever since that it was a mistake for the railway to stop at Beypore, which is only an insignificant fishing village, and that the fine should have been brought into Calicut, the head-quarters of the district, only seven miles distant from the terminus. On 9th February 1880, after much previous discussion, a public meeting was held at Calicut, and resolutions were passed and a memorial drawn up, praying that the line might be brought into Calicut. The prayer of the memorialists was favorably received and the preliminary survey of the line has recently been completed.

There are but few works of any engineering consequence on the line of railway in Malabar, but the following may be mentioned

1. Beypore (C hall i yam).
2. Parappanangadi.
3. Tanur.

4. Tirur.

5. Kuttipurara.

6. Pattambi.

7. Cheruvannur (Shoranore).

MALA Pi AR DISTRICT.

Dimension* of principal bridges on the Madras railway in Malabar District.

Bridges.

Mile.

Telegraph

post.

1. Kadalundi Bridge, No. 1, at

Do. do. No. 2, at

1. Canal Bridge

2. Tirur do.

. . at

. at

1. Tudhakal River Bridge at

2. Kottakkftd Bridge

at

1. Valliyar do. .. at

39o

31G

Remarks.

840 feet in length. Twelve 70feet iron girders on piers of east-iron cylinders

of 6 feet diameter, 12 spans, each 64 feet. No floor.

. inS;

560 feet in length. Eight 70-feet iron girders on piers of screw-piles, 8 spans, each 64 feet. Depth of sorew-piles 30 to 35 feet below rail level. No flooring.

210 feet in length. Three 70-feet iron girders on piers of screw-piles, 3 spans, each 64 feet. Depth of screw-piles 30 to 35 feet helow rail level. Floored.

370 feet in length. Five 70-feet and one 20-feet iron girders on four piers of screw-piles and one pier of latcrite stone 4 feet 10£ inches thick, 5 spans, each 64 feet, and 1 span 16 feet l£ inch. Depth of screw-piles 30 to 35 feet below rail level. No flooring.

744 feet in length. Twelve 62-feet iron girders on piers of laterite stones 7 fpet thick, 12 spans, each 55 feet. Nature of foundation, clay; platform, timber over wells. No flooring.

620 feet in length. Fifteen 30-feet arches on piers of granite stones 5 feet thick. Nature of foundation, on rock. No flooring.

100 feet in length. Three 30-feet arches on piers of masonry 5 feet thick. Nature of foundation, gneiss. Depth 7 feet. No flooring.

The following heights above mean sea level give a very fair idea of the gradients on the line : —

Height above mean sea level.

FEET.

Passenger platform, Beypore 14-43

Kadalundi bridge 1 1 *64

Parappanangadi platform . . . . . 37’60

Tanur do. 22 54

Tirur do. 16*61

Tudhakal bridge parapet 48 20

Cheruvannur (Shoranore) platform . . 94 ’58 Ottapa.lam platform 115 67

Palghat do. . . . . • • 255 73

Kanyikod do. .. .. •• 3 < 6’77

Valliyar boundary bridge parapet . . 689 23

PORTS AND SHIPPING FAC1IJTIKS.

The heaviest’ gradient west of the boundary bridge is one in sixty-six. J

. The *raffic 011 the line in goods shows no tendency to expand, nor is this likely to be the case till a more suitable terminal station is obtained ; but some concessions to third-class passengers have resulted in a considerable increase in the passenger traffic of recent years

Monthly average number of passengers and tons of goods passed in and out of

Bey pore railway station.

Y ears.

Monthly average.

Passengers.

Goods.

1.

NO.

12,729

13,219

14,826

15,507

16,291

15,628

14,767

15,492

14,311

14,751

18,297

20,012

21,796

TONS.

2,134

4,279

7,480

4,986

3,776

4,383

3,054

8,650

3,199

3,431

3,206

2,709

2,931

Section H.— Ports and Shipping Facilities.

aro I!d DUmbe.r of P˚rts .!■> Malabar is very large, but many of them nly occasionally visited by small coasting craft. The following

are'worthy if noti˚“ n˚rth ˚ *8˚Uth' 8U˚h particular8 «* as 2 eu 7h! ,i-SmTncraft enter the mouth of the Kavvay; ™r.

1. Ettikkulam — This is a small, picturesquely situated village in a bay just under the mount Deli promontory, and commanded bˆthe old

” n°Z m rains’ When tb* ™d - from nordi-north-

sbeH» g*L vmbenSJ0f C0Untry craft bound to the northward take

i™tt ’?• h’S rban and Wdt tiU th° Wind takes a f«orable slant for the

of tT ’ ie‘r l°WeSIn f0™er daT8 this W was u regular resort o the pirates who infested the coasts, and who came in hlx“

waylay their victims and to take in wood and water.

oort ofˆirTn ‘’~F0Urteen miles n0rth of Cuuuanore. A very small

s;’*r vr* — >- —<■

the country produce brought to market at Valarpattanam by the rivers (Valarpattanam and Taliparamba) which here unite theirstreams.

1. Cannanore. — This is the principal port of the group composed of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. The average tonnage is 333,408 per annum. The imports average Rs. 19,44,093 and exports Rs. 12,30,068. It was described by the first Europeans who saw it as “a large town of thatched houses inside a bay.” — (Correa, p. 145). Most of the houses are now tiled, and the barracks of the European troops, and the bungalows of the officers dotted along the low cliffs, and the fort built* by the Portuguese on the promontory norˆh of the bay, stand prominently out when approached from seaward. ’Being the head-quarters of the Malabar and Canara brigade, coasting steamers call here regularly ; but of trade there is not much, particularly since the excise system of managing the Government salt monopoly was introduced. The best anchorage for large vessels in the roads is with the following bearings Flagstaff N.E. by N. to N.E. by E. in from five and a half to six fathoms, and about two and a half miles off shore, while small coasting craft find shelter in the bay under the guns of the fort situated on a promontory commanding the native town. The port limits are as follows

To the north. — The boundary pillar one mile north of the fort.

To the south. — The boundary pillar two mil0B south of the fort.

To the east.— The seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water

mark, spring tides.

To the west.— The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water. There is a flagstaff in the fort with a light for the shipping in the roadstead.

1. Elara or Agarr — This port is at the mouth of a small stream, the bar of which, however, cannot be crossed even by small craft. The English factors at Tellicherry had a warehouse here .for collecting pepper.

2. Dharmmapattanam. — A small bay at the mouth of the southern branch of the Anjarakandi river, which, however, cannot be entered by

any but the smallest coasting vessels.

1. Tellicherry This is the principal port of the group composed of Nos. 6, 7, 8 and 9. It is not, as sometimes supposed, a place of ancient trg.de. It was the Honorable East India Company s first regular settlement on the Malabar coast. " Let us be sole Masters of the pepper trade " they said, and accordingly selected the site of the town as the most favorable point they could at the time obtain for commanding the pepper trade in the Kottayam and Kolattiri Rajas' dominions. Dharmmapattanam (No. 7) would have suited their purpose better, but this ancient trading post was at the beginning of the eighteenth century in dispute between three country powers—the Kolattiri and the Kottayam Rajas, and Ali Raja of Cannanore. And it was not till

some years afterwards and under pressure of a Canarese invasion, that a favorable opportunity occurred for securing Dharmmapattanam Island for the Honorable Company. A scheme for moving the Tellicherry Factory bodily to Dharmmapattanam Island was sanctioned immediately after the acquisition of the latter, but, on account of the expense of moving, the scheme was never carried out, though it was steadily kept in view even up to the time (1792) when Malabar was finally ceded to the British by Tippu Sultan. The Factors completed about 1708 the building of a fort on a rocky cliff projecting into the sea at Tellicherry, and this port continued to be one of the principal trading posts of the Honorable Company down to 1792. It was subordinate to the Company's chief settlement at Bombay. The average tonnage nov/-a-days is 355,834 per annum. The imports average Rs. 21,32,437 and the exports Rs. 66,55,171. It is a place of considerable trade, of which the most valuable articles of export are coffee and pepper, and the most valuable imports are rice and salt. The best anchorage for large vessels is with the following bearings : — Flagstaff N.E. by N. in six fathoms and about two miles off

shore. Coasting craft come into the bay, lying south of a reef of rocks, which, at a distance of about a thousand yards from shore, runs parallel to the coast line. Instances have been known of vessels of six hundred or eight hundred tons in ballast passing the monsoon under shelter of this reef. The custom house is in the centre of the business quarter of the town. The port is supplied with a flagstaff on a bastion of the Honorable Company's fort. And here, too, is a white light (sixth order diopteric) displayed at a height of ninety feet above water mark and visible about six miles. The limits of the port of Tellicherry are as follows : —

To the north . — The boundary pillar one and a half miles north of the custom house.

To the south. — The boundary pillar one and a half miles south of the custom house.

To the east. — The seashore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark, spring tides.

To the icest. — The space enclosed by the two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

1. Talai/i. — Is a small port on the open coast about one and a half mjles south of Tellicherry.

2. Kalldyi. — This port is inside the bar of the Mahe river, which can be entered by small-sized country craft. There is little coasting trade, but the land customs of the French settlement provide some occupation for the establishment here maintained. There is no port subordinate to it. Its average tonnage is 12,390 per annum, imports Rs. 1,92,908, exports Rs. 72,717.

3. Chombayi or Chomhal. — This port is on the open coast, and an occasional load of coconuts is taken to market. It lies about five miles north of Vadakara.

«w'*1 Sfu(fun!>al -Th° remarks apply 'to this port, which lies

about three m.les north of Vadaiara. It was a notorious haunt of pirates in former days.

*3' Vfahl™– This is a place of considerable trade on the open coast, and coasting steamers occasionally call. The chief exports are coffee and dried and fresh coconuts ; the chief imports rice and salt. It is the chief port of the group composed of Nos. 11, 12 13 and 14. Its average tonnage is 109, !58 per

annum. Its avenge imports are worth Ks. 7,20,120 and its exports Rs. 9,45,862.

1. mtakkal.-M the mouth of the Kstta river, was a famous resort for prates in former days. They made prizes of all vessels not carrying the pass of the Kadattunad Rajah, their sovereign', who was styled the lord of the seas. But for" the fact that a canal, partly natural partly artiffcial, gives access from the Kotta river to Vadakara, the trade at this port would he considerable.

2. Tnkkodi and 16. Kadalur.— Are small ports, with occasional craitˆcalhng to load with coconuts and other country produce.

-0w-~fhis is the Northern Quilon, as distinguished from Quilon proper in Travancore, which is styled Southern Kollam by Malayalis. Some confusion has sometimes arisen from the fact not being known that there are two Kollams, both of which were important places in former days. This place, about one and a half miles north of Kovilkandi(Quilancly, Coilandy), is sometimes also called by another name which it bears, Pantaldyini , or Pautaldyini Kollam. This is the Pandaram of Portuguese writers, the Flandrina of Friar Odoric, the Fandreeah of Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul-Mujahidln, the Fandaraina of Ibn Batuta. Some accounts say that it was here Vasco da Grama brought his ships (probably from Kappatt), and it was here he landed. This is not at all improbable. It was certainly here that the Morning Star , a vessel belonging to the Honorable Company, was wrecked as already described (ante , p. 36), and the fact of the existence of the mud-bank gave color to the story that it was here that Vasco da Gama lay with his ships, protected by the mud-bank, during the monsoon of 1498. The mud-bank still exists, and in the monsoon season it is generally possible to land in a small bay immediately to the south of the promontory which is used as a Muhammadan burial-ground. Moreover, even now, sailing ships from the Arabian Coast and Persian Gulf invariably touch here if the monsoon is still blowing when they arrive off the coast, and the fact that Vasco da Gama's expedition reached the coast on 26th August, at a time, that is, when the monsoon must still have been blowing, is much in favor of the supposition that it was here, and not at Kappatt, that Vasco da Gama landed. Indeed,

(oirea s account, which is evidently the most trustworthy, is silent on the point, and his statement that the anchors were dropped at Kappatt is quite reconcilable with the other account which points out Kollam as the eventual landing-place ; for this accountalso says the sliips were

brought subsequently to " Pandarane" (i.c., Pantalayini), and this is not contradicted by (Correa.

1. Kovilkandi (Quilandy, Gotland}/). — This port has some trade, and the ports Nos. 15, 16, 17, and 19 are subordinate to it. Its average tonnage is 25,394 per annum. Its average imports are valued at Rs. 2,16,534 and exports at Rs. 2,15,857. Some years ago this was the favorite starting and landing place for Muhammadan pilgrims to Mecca, but of recent years and since the introduction of steamers the passenger traffic has fallen off.

2. Kappait or Kappattangadi. — This little port on the open coast is famous as the place where Vasco da Gama's expedition first dropped anchor. Correa's account may be here transcribed. " The ships," after sighting mount Deli and passing Cannanore, " continued running along the coast close to land, for the coast was clear, without banks against which to take precautions : and the pilots gave orders to cast anchor in a place which made a sort of bay, because there commenced the city of Calicut. This town is named Capocate." The " city of Calicut " does not commence for eight miles more to the southward, but what was meant probably was that there commenced the dominions of the Zamorin of Calicut. The place is an insignificant minor port where country craft sometimes come to lade with bulky country produce.

3. Ellattur. — A small port at the mouth of the river of the same name. • Small vessels do not enter the river j they call here occasionally for country produce.

4. Puiiyangadi. — A small port on the outskirts of Calicut, where country vessels sometimes call.

5. Calicut. — This is one of the largest ports in the presidency. The tonnage frequenting it annually averages 503,332 tons. The average value of its imports, chiefly consisting of grain, salt, and piece-goods, is Rs. 41,53,898, and of its exports, chiefly consisting of coffee, pepper' timber, ginger, &c., Rs. 67,79,835. It was in ancient days, when the Zamorin's influence was supreme on the Malabar Coast, a place of great trade. The nations of the West came here for spices, pepper, and cloth {calico)', the Chinese even came from the far East in their gigantic floating hulks. It probably rose into importance about the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. In the first half of the fourteenth century, when Shaikh Ibn Batuta visited it, it was certainly a place of great trade, and so it continued till the arrival of the Portuguese in the end of the fifteenth century. After that its decline was rapid owing to the interference of the Portuguese with the Muhammadan trade and it has never since then recovered its position, as

Cochin, its rival' under 1 ortuguese and Dutch influence, has, with its greater natural facilities a ways hitherto had an advantage. In later times the French, Danes' and English hpd small trading factories at Calicut. It was here that the notorious pirate Captain Kydd began his career of crime. Aided by several noblemen, he had, in 1695, fitted out his ship the " Adven-

ture, a galley of thirty guns with two hundred men, to attack and destroy the buccaneers who had their rendezvous at Madagascar, and who preyed to such an extent on the native trade that the Honorable Company feared the Mogul Emperor would take to making reprisals on them. His mission failed if it ever was seriously undertaken, and Captain Kydd finally threw off the mask and made prize of a small Dutch bark at Calicut, carrying it off to Madagascar. Shortly afterwards he took the " Quedah Merchant," of four hundred tons, with a cargo valued at four lakbs of rupees. After this he was joined by others, and his force was eventually composed of five ships (one hundred and eighty guns), two of which constantly cruised off Cape Comorin and the three others off the Malabar Coasjt, the port of Porcat (Porukatt) being free to them. After a short but brilliant career he returned to St. Mary's Island off Madagascar and partitioned his gains among his crew. He then sailed for the West Indies, was arrested in America by one of the noblemen (Lord Bellamont) who had helped to fit him out, was tried, condemned, and hanged in chains at Tilbury (23rd May 1701), and his property becoming forfeit, was presented by Queen Anne to Greenwich Hospital. This severe example did not, however, prevent others from following in his footsteps, though, perhaps, the trade was carried on less openly afterwards, and Captain Alexander Hamilton narrates how he met at Calicut, in February 1703, a certain Captain Green, who admitted to him he had helped the Madagascar pirates with arms, and who, undei the guise of lawful trading, did not let slip any opportunity of enriching himself by plundering others who were weaker. Captain Green, too, had his crimes brought home to him, and was executed in Scotland. Other nations also, it would seem, engaged in this unlawful trade, and the " Formosa," an English ship of Surat, was never heard of more after leaving Calicut one night on her voyage home. The people ashore heard a great firing of cannon at sea next forenoon, and two Danish cruisers were believed to have rifled her and then sunk her and her crew.

Calicut possesses an iron screw-pile pier extending out to twelve feet of water, and it has a lighthouse exposing a good dioptric light. The best

anchorage for large vessels is marked by a buoy, and is with the following bearings : — Lighthouse E. to E. by N. in five to six fathoms, and from two to three miles off shore. Small craft, of which large numbers frequent this port, lie close in shore, but they should not anchor further south than with the light bearing E.N.E. as the ground then becomes foul. The latter frequently lie aground on the soft mudbank which from time to time forms off the lighthouse. This mudbank is of small extent and gets broken up by heavy weather, but it at times suffices to still the surf created by ordinary sea-breezes and thus affords facilities for landing and shipping goods. The entrance and exit to and from the anchorages, particularly from the southward, is cumbered by a reef known as the “Coote Reef,” from one of the Honorable Company’s vessels having grounded on it. This is probably

also the reef alluded to by Captain Alexander Hamilton as “ the ruins of the sunken town built by the Portuguese.” In standing into Calicut roadstead his ship struck on the “ ruins,” and in describing the eyent he conjectures how the “ ruins ” got there, and quaintly winds up with the observation “ but so it was, that in six Fathoms at the mainmast, my ship, which drew twenty-one Foot water, sat fast afore the chest - tree.”

That the sea has encroached at Calicut cannot be doubted, bui that a Portuguese fort once stood where the Coote Reef now is cannot be believed, although the tradition alluded to by Captain Hamilton has great currency on the coast. There is no doubt that the tomb of an Arab of Himisi in Egypt, by name Shaikh Mammu Koya, once stood on a spot now covered by the sea, but his bones were recovered, and a birth-feast (mavalud) is now held annually in his honor, in the month Rajab, at his mosque. The encroachment on this occasion could evidently not have been a serious one. Recent experience shows that if the sea encroaches one year it recedes again speedily, a fact which is perhaps to be accounted for by the rocky (laterite) nature of the bottom opposite the lighthouse, and for a considerable distance further north. In 1877 it encroached so much on th,e beach opposite the new custom house (about a thousand yards north of the lighthouse) that the abutment of the pier and three of the pier bays were carried away ; but now (April 1883) the sea beach has reformed at this spot, and the sand now extends fully up to or beyond its former limits.

The limits of the port of Calicut are as follows : —

To the north. — The boundary pillar erected three quarters of a mile north of the new custom house-To the south. — The boundary pillar two miles south of the custom house ; the seashore between them to within fifty yards of

high-water mark spring-tides.

To the east. — The harbour or backwater, and the Kallayi river as far as the junction of Conolly's canal with all creeks and channels leading thereto, and so much of the shores thereof, whether of the mainland or the islands, as are within fifty yards of high-water spring-tides.

To the west. — The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

The ports immediately subordinate to Calicut are Nos. 20, 21, and 23.

1. Molarnkadavu . — A small port at the mouth of the Kallayi river, about a mile south of the Calicut lighthouse.

2. Beypore. — The present terminus of the Madras railway southwest line is usually called Beypore, but this nomenclature is not correct, for Beypore, the port properly so called, lies on the north bank of the river of that name, whereas the terminus of the railway is on what is known as the island of Chaliyam. The custom house is on the north bank of the river, but the marine establishment, with a flagstaff, is located close to the railway station on the south side. The anchorage

..'Tv 'TT® the nVer' cl0Be t0 the north bank an«l imme-

Th nr!7' hh°W ! 0f.kterit0 r,'ck which Proiects far i»to the stream.

1 her,, is here too, a tide-registering apparatus. The best anchorage in

the followin? bearings :_Port flag-

trl f ' f « J T N' ® by EiD W and a liaIf to six fathoms and from two to three miles off shore. There is one port subordinate to it,

°' .5. . The average tonnage of the port is 276,071 per annum. Its

r«nrafne7 imP,0rt8' C°n81stinˆ chi(% of 8alt grain, are worth Rs.

°hieflj °f C°ffee and Cotton > are WOrth Rs. 37,66,095. The limits of the port are as follows

To the north and south. — The seashore within fifty yards of

high-water mark spring-tides, from boundary pillars one and

a half miles north and south of the river's mouth.

To the west. The anchorage between two lines running west

from the boundary pillars to nine fathoms water.

To the east— -The banks of the river, backwater, creeks, and

islands within fifty yards of high-water spring-tides, and

within a distance of one and a half miles from the river's mouth.

1. Kadalundi. This is a small port at the mouth of the river of the same name, where native vessels occasionally come for country produce. I he bar of the river prevents even small ' native craft from entering it.* It is possible that this port was of considerable importance in ancient times, inasmuch as the late Dr. Burnell has taken this to be the site of the " village of great note situate near the sea " known to the author of the Periplus Mar. Enjth. as Tandis. There is some color for this conclusion in the name itself, as Kadalundi is probably lcadal (Mai. sea) and tundi (Mai. navel). Moreover, Tundis1 was, according to the Periplus, distant five hundred stadia from the mouth of the Mouziris river, which has been pretty satisfactorily identified with Muyirukodu or Cranganore (Kodungallur), and as matter of fact Kadalundi is sixty-six and a half miles or five hundred and seventy-eight stadia from the mouth of the Cranganore river. There is a temple of some note in the neighbourhood with a tradition going back to Rama's conquest of Ceylon. The services rendered on that occasion by the monkeys secure daily food at the present day for their descendants left behind by Rama, on his return journey, at this temple. They come up boldly directly they are called. There is also a sacred spring which holds only a gallon or so of water, but refills as soon as the water is drawn. There are no remains of mark, but as in the first, century A.D. Tundis was only a " village," not much can be expected in that way.

2. Paiyanangadi. — This is a smnll port on the open coast, with some trade in salt-fish and country produce.

1 Tundis was on a river, and the only other river that could be refefTed to in the Periplus is I onndni, the mouth of which is a long wav short of 500 stadin fmm fho mouth of the Cranganore river.

PORTS AND SHIPPING FACILITIES.

1. Tdnur. — This is another small port and fishing village, also on the open

coast. Subordinate to it are the ports Nos. 26 and 28. Its average tonnage is 6,406 per annum. Its imports average Rs. 7,247 and its exports Rs. 90,345.

2. Paravanna and 29. Kuttayi resemble Nos. 26 and 27.

3. Ponnani. — This port is of some importance owing to its position at the mouth of the river of the same name, and also owing to its being the nearest port to the great gap at Palghat in the Western Ghat chain. There was in fact, on this account, a proposition at one time to place here the terminus of the Madras south-west line of railway. A large part of the country east of the ghats used to be supplied with salt brought from Bombay to this port, but the railway has revolutionized this trade. The average tonnage frequenting the port is 39,203 per annum. The average imports (grain and salt chiefly) are valued at Rs. 1 ,01,260 and the exports (chiefly timber, pepper and coconut produce) are valued at Rs. 4,25,57 6. Coasting craft of small size can enter the river, the mouth of which is, however, much cumbered by sand-banks. Subordinate to this port are Nos. 29 and 31.

4. Veligankdd — Is a small port of call for coasting craft loading with coconuts and other country produce, and is placed at the mouth of the river of the same name.

5. Chavakkdd— This port is not situated at Chavakkad itself, which is an inland place, but at Chctivai ((Ohcttuvali) at the mouth of the river of that name. Its chief trade is in salt-fish, coconuts, &c., carried in small coasting craft, which, however, do not enter the mouth of the river. Average tonnage 4,987 per annum. Imports Rs. 671, exports Rs. 31,927.

6. Mdddyiy 34. Attakuli , 35. ICurkkuli , 36. Attupuv am : — Are all small ports of call for native coasting craft, and are all situated on the open coast respectively forty-eight miles, forty-two miles, thirty-six miles, and thirty miles north of Cochin, to which port they are all subordinate. These ports, however, all belong to the Ponnani and not to the Cochin Taluk, being situated in the Vaddnapalli , Pallipuram , Keippamangalani, and Panangad amsams of the former taluk.

7. Cochin. This is the second or third largest trading port in the presidency. Its imports, valued at Rs. 57,46,987, the average for the seven years 1875-76 to 1881-82, consist chiefly of food-grains, metals., piece-goods, seeds, wood and manufactures, and its exports valued at Rs. 74,44,303, the average for the same period of seven years, consist chiefly of coir yarn, rope and fibre, coffee, dried coconut, coconut-oil, pepper and wood,

and mnmrffl.ctiir«s. Tbe average tonnage freouentinff this port is 474,357 per annum. Gochin lias an inner narnoui ww outer roadstead. The former is comprised of a narrowish patch of deep water created by the heavy scour of the tides rushing into and out of the immense tidal area of the backwater lying both to the north and south of the port. This deep water lies chiefly on the south bank close to the town of Cochin, and also between the jaws (as it were) of the harbour

On passing beyond the points of the land, the stream of the tides naturally diffuses itself over a wider area and the ship channel gradually diminishes in depth till the bar is reached. The bar, which is at a distance of about a mile from the shore, is marked with buoys about five hundred yards apart, and carries a depth of never less than twelve feet and never more than eighteen feet of water. For the first half mile beyond the bar the depths lead only to twenty-one feet, and to secure thirty-six feet another mile has to be passed. The roadstead for vessels of great draught, therefore, lies about two to two and a half miles from shore in five and a half to six and a half fathoms with the following bearings i flagstaff E. ˆ N. to E.N.E. Cochin possesses great natural facilities for trade as it is the centre of an immense area of rioh country, tapped in all directions by inland backwaters and navigable creeks, and it has the further advantage of affording security to the small shipping which frequents the port ; but it fails to oome up to the requirements of modern trade in the matter of harbour accommodation for the large ocean-going steamers now used. In the monsoon months, when the bar is usually impassable, the shipping takes refuge at the mud-bank of Narakal lying off Cochin State territory, five miles to the north ; and trade, though slack in the rains, is still carried on there. The limits of the port of Cochin are as follows •

To the north. — The boundary pillar on the northern point of the entrance to the harbour or backwater.

To the south. — The boundary pillar three miles south of the southern point of the entrance to the backwater. The sea shore between them to within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides.

To the east. — The harbour and backwater, with all creeks and channels leading thereto that may be within the Honorable Company’s territories, and so much of the shores thereof, whether of the mainland or the islands, as are within fifty yards of high-water mark spring-tides.

To the west. — The space enclosed by two lines running due west from the

boundafy pillars to nine fathoms of water.

Cochin is really the successful rival of the very ancient trading city of Mouziris mentioned in the Periplus Mar. Eryth. which was written in the first or the third century A.D. The account given of that city in the said work is so interesting that it deserves to be here transcribed.

From the Periplus Maris Erythrcei (M'Crindle's translation).

" 53. After Kallienna, other local marts occur — Semulla, Mandagora, 'Palaipatmai, Mel zeigara, Buzantion, Toparon, and Turannosboas. You come next to the islands called Sesekreienai and the island of the Aigidioi and that of the Kaineitai near what is called the Khersonesos, places in which are pirates, and after this the island Leuke (or the white"). Thon follow Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of Limurike, and after these Mouziris and Nelkunda, the seats of government.

PORTS AND SHIPPING FACILITIES.

"54. To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras, Tundis is subject, a village of great note situate near the sea. Mouziris, whioh pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from Ariake and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of five hundred stadia , whether this is measured from river to river or by the length of the sea voyage, and it is twenty stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nelkunda from Mouziris is also nearly five hundred stadia , whether measured from river to river or by the sea voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom, that of Pandion. It likewise is situate near a river and at about a distance from the sea of one hundred and twenty stadia.

" 55. At the very mouth of this river lies another village, Bakare, to which the ships despatched from Nelkunda come down empty and ride at anchor off shore while taking in cargo, for the river, it may be noted, has sunken reefs and shallows which make its navigation difficult. The sign by which those who come hither by sea know they are nearing land is their meeting with snakes, which are here of a black color, not so long as those already mentioned, like serpents about the head, and with eyes the color of blood.

"56. The ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists. The imports here are principally—

Great quantities of specie. (Topaz?) gold-stone, chrysolite. A small assortment of plain cloth.

Flowered robes.

Stibium , a pigment for the eyes ; coral.

White glass, copper or brass. Tin, lead.

Wine, but not much, but about as much as at Barugaza.

Sandarach (Sindura).

Arsenic (oipiment), yellow sulphuret of arsenic.

Corn, only for the use ,of the ship's company, as the merchants do not sell it.

" The following commodities are brought to it for export.1

Pepper in great quantity, produced in only one of these marts and called the pepper of Kottonara.

Pearls in great quantity and of superior quality.

Ivory.

Fine silks.

1 It will be observed that there is no mention among these exports of coconuts or of coconut produce of any description. If the coconut tree had existed at this time (first certury A.D.) in Malabar, it is pretty certain that the produce of such a notable fruit tree would have been exported and must have been here mentioned. It may be safely concluded that the coconut— the southern tree as the Malayans call it— was introduced on the coast after the first century A.D. It was probably cultivated on the coast at the time of the Syrian Christians' copper-plate grant— the date of which is placed in the early part of the ninth century A.D. —for tfhe professional planters of the coast, the Tlyar (islanders), Cingalese, organized as a civic guild, were then well established, and tradition says that they came from the south bringing with them the " southern tree," the coconut to wit.

Spikenard from the Ganges. Betel — all brought from countries further east. Transparent or precious stones of all sorts.

Diamonds.

Jacinths.

Tortoise-shell from the Golden Island, and another sort which is taken - in the islands which lie off the coast of Limurike.

“ The proper season to set sail from Egypt for this part of India is about the month of July, that is, Epiphi”

Mouziris , as already noticed, has been satisfactorily identified with Muyiri-kodu , alias Kodungallur , alias Cranganore, the capital city of the Chera empire, and its site was manifestly well selected as a place of trade before the mouth of the Periyir (great river) was blocked up by the sand-banks and alluvial islands whinh now hamper it. The Portuguese would no doubt have made their chief settlement at Cranganore instead of at Cochin had the advantages been in favor of the former, but Vasco da Gama’s successor, in 1500 A.D., wisely selected a site for his factory at Cochin, situated at the principal mouth of the system of backwaters. It was described at this time as a long, low, sandy island covered with coconut trees, and divided by a deep river from Vypeen. Since that time it has continued to be a place of great trade, first under the Portuguese (A.D. 1500 to 1663), then under the Dutch (A.D. 1663 to 1795), and finally under the British. The mouth of the system of backwaters has thus been fixed and protected, a fact of importance to the stability of trade at any part of a coast where the littoral current and the surf are always at work attempting to block up existing waterways and to open others. A breach, in fact, did take place in 1875 at what is called the Cruz Milagre Gap, about two miles north of Cochin, and to shut up the deep channel which was immediatelv scoured out was a labor of difficulty and expense. The existing waterway at Cochin can only be maintained by preventing the opening out of other waterways in the long reach of low sandspits stretching from Cranganore river to beyond Alleppey, a distance of over sixty miles.

The limits of the minor ports, namely. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 36 in the above list, have been authoritatively 1 laid down as follows : —

“ Half a mile on either side of the landing-place, extending to ten fathoms water seaward and fifty yards above high-water mark landwards.”

The Appendices VIII and IX give additional information as to port rules, fees, and other matters at the various ports.

1 Government notification, 18th June 1881.

CHAPTER II.

THE PEOPLE.

Section A. — Numbers, Density of Population, Civil Condition,

Sex and Age.

In 1802 the population was estimated at 465,594, in 1807 at 707,556, in 1821-22 at 907,575, in 1837 at 1,165,791, in 1851-52 at 1,514,909, in 1856-57 at 1,602,914, in 1861*62 at 1,709,081 and in 1866-67 at 1,856,378.

In 1871, when the first really trustworthy census was taken, the number was found to be 2,261,250 living in 378,228 occupied houses, and in 1881, 2,365,035 living in 404,968 occupied houses.

The population is naturally densest on the seaboard, the number of persons (census, 1881) per square mile being —

Persons.

Highest in Ponnani . 974

Lowest in Wynaad . 92

and on the average . . . 272

The average number of persons per occupied house (census, 1881) is found to be —

Highest in Wynaad …

Lowest in Kurumbranad and in the district generally …

The civil condition of the people (census, 1881) js represented by the following figures : —

Single Married . Widowed.

(Males (Females

Males

Females

Males

Females

Not stated. J Mnlos (remales

Total ..

Males

Females

688,027

539,109

465,083

476,711

20,283

174,079

1,174,274

U90.761

1,227,136

941,794

194,362

1,743

2,365,035

Of tlie ages of the people (census, 1881) the following figures give the chief facts : —

Y ears.

Males.

Females.

0 to 5

5 to 10 . .

10 to 15 .

15 to 20 .

20 to 25 .

25 to 30 .

30 to 35 . .

35 to 40 . .

40 to 45 . .

45 to 50 . .

50 to 55 . .

55 to 60

60 and upwards . .

Not stated

Total ..

170,649

166,072

150,611

112,686

98,892

102,538

89,614

76,618

60,627

41,570

38,050

22,722

43,377

174,780

155,077

133,233

115,632

116,012

110,603

91,231

65,907

61,857

39,087

43,178

22,068

61,900

1,174,274

Section B. — Towns, Villages, Dwellings and Rural

Organization.

The Hindu Malayali is not a lover of towns and villages. His austere habits of caste purity and impurity made him in former days flee from places where pollution in the shape of men and women of low caste met him at every corner ; and even now the feeling is strong upon him and he loves not to dwell in cities.

On the margin of a fertile valley or ravine, with bright green fields of rice in front of his door, he likes to select the site of his dwelling. The stream coming down the valley or ravine is skilfully turned aside to right and left high up in its course where the first of the rice-fields is terraced out of the steep hill-side. This device serves several purposes, for first of all the divided stream is carried along the sides of the valley at a higher level than the middle of it and thus irrigation is easy ; then, again, the channels serve as catch-drains for the streamlets coming down at intervals along the hill sides ; and, finally the water serves many domestic purposes as it flows close past the outer gateway of the house.

This outer gateway is the first thing that catches one's eye as the dwelling is approached : it is quaintly placed, quaintly constructed, and quaintly neat and tidy in all its surroundings. It is essential that a stair or a ladder should lead up to it from the bank of the green level paddy flat, reminding one in its construction of the days when security of life and limb and property depended on one's ability to laugh a siege to scorn ; when a Nayar's house was his castle; and when here, at the gateway, were posted the retainers to keep watch and ward against enemies. Seats for them to rest on, to right and left, both outside and in ; a quaintly and solidly carved door and lintel ; a room

above approached by a ladder from inside, with a window or openings whence deadly shots are even now-a-days sometimes discharged on lawless intruders; and, finally, a thatched roof, complete the characteristics of the gatehouse. The Malayali is scrupulously particular about the tidiness and cleanliness of his house and its surroundings, and nowhere perhaps is this

more conspicuous than at the gateway of his dwelling.

But a gate-house without flanking defences would be of little use, and the attention is next drawn to the massive bank of earth which hems in the spacious orchard in which the dwelling is placed. A neat interlaced and most serviceable fence of dry prickly bamboo thorns now generally tops the massive bank of earth and takes the place of ae dense mass of living bamboo thorns which in former times used :o be relied on for keeping out enemies. The house was evidently never meant to stand a long siege in former times, and the defences were mtended merely to ward off a sudden raid and give time for ' the occupant s friends and retainers to rally round him as was their wont.

On entering at the gateway the most prominent feature is the expanse of cool shade thrown by the umbrageous trees that surround the dwelling. The coconut, the jack with its dark glossy leaves and massive shade, the slender areca-nut and the broad-leafed plantain, all contribute to this effect. The earth around is cooled, and an agreeable freshness is perceptible even in the hottest and most scorching days in April and May.

A broad smooth path of hard baked clay, with raised banks a few inches high on either side, leads to a square, flat, open yard, where at midday the sun shines dazzlingly and scorchingly down on the stores of paddy and other grains laid out to dry. The floor of this yard is well rammed and made smooth by cow-dung mixed with charcoal dust, often renewed in the hot weather, and the same bank of smooth clay hems in this yard on the open side.

The neatness, tidiness, and cleanliness of the approaches are not belied on closer acquaintance with the dwelling itself, and speak volumes for the housewifely qualities of the ladies who inhabit the main dwelling ranged round three sides, or sometimes all four sides, of the open yard just described.

The main building must face the rising sun — the east— and yet rather inconsistently it is called the Padini/atta-pura or western dwelling. The reason of this is explained that the building is opposite to the rising sun, and the Padinyatta-muri — the central chamber, the honoured guest •chamber in the house, the sanctuary of the ancestors of its occupants— must be placed so as to admit of entrance through its doorway of the sun's earliest rays. Another way of looking at it is that it is called the " western dwelling " because there cannot be any portion of the house to the west of it again. It in fact hems in as it were the dwelliug on the western side. On either side of it, forming two sides of the

square, are the vatakkina and teklcina — the northern and southern rooms — the former used for cooking and the latter for ordinary purposes of the household. These three are the main rooms of the dwelling, hut the fourth side of the square is sometimes occupied by another room called the kilakkind or eastern room, and behind one or nmre of the chambers is sometimes placed another called the chdgpu , or lean-to, forming an enclosed verandah room.

lu selecting the. exact spot for his dwelling a Malayali is guided by a very simple rule. The garden in which it is to be placed must bo intersected into' as far as possible equal portions by lines running due north and south and due east and west. Four divisions are thus formed and the exact spot where the padinyatta-pum is to be placed is in the north-east division, and in the inner corner or south-west angle of that division. The reason for the selection of this spot is explained to bo that a Malayali tries to be as far as possible away from the polluting caste people who may approach the house as far as the fence, but may not enter the garden.

However high a man's position ma}'- be, and however numerous may be his dependents, his house must, if he attends to the customs of his ancestors, be a succession of dwellings made in the above style ; but upper storeys are often added, verandahs generally find a place both upstairs and down, and are made both open and enclosed. Long, cool, comfortable quarters are to be found in these enclosed verandahs, which, by an arrangement common on the west coast, are screened from outside observation by a pent-house roof with a massive carved wooden reverse slope to the eaves filled in with horizontal bars.

The woodwork of the dwelling is solid and substantial and is often beautifully carved. The walls are generally of laterite bricks set in mud, for lime is expensive and scarce, and till recent years the roof was invariably of thatch. This custom of the country was very strictly observed, and it was not till after the Honorable East India Company had had settlements on the coast for nearly a century that they were at last permitted, as a special favour, in 1759 to put tiles on their factory at Calicut. Palaces and temples alone were tiled in former days.

Of the surroundings of the dwelling there is generally a cattle-shed, and sometimes an excavated tank for bathing purposes, often full of fish and water-lilies ; a well of water at the rear of the cooking room, so arranged as to admit of water being taken direct from the well into the cook-room, is generally present. A chapel of the household deity is found in all considerable houses, and there is sometimes a separate dwelling (matam) for Brahman travellers and Brahman visitors.

The houses of the poorer classes, though smaller, are built on the same lines as a rule, and are usually kept as neat, and tidy, and clean as those of their superiors.

The furniture of all the houses is very simple: a metal pot with a spout, a few metal plates and saucers, a few metal pans of sizes, a

spittoon of brass, a betel box, a few mats, a knife, a cot or two, a few wooden bins for grain, &c., are nearly all the requirements of a household in this respect.

The house itself is called by different names according to the occupant's caste. The house of a Pariah is a cheri , while the agrestic slave— the Cheraman— lives in a chain. The blacksmith, the goldsmith, the carpenter, the weaver, &c. and the toddy-drawer {T'ujan) inhabit houses styled para or kadi ; the temple servant resides in a vdriyam or pishdram or pumatham , the ordinary Nayar in a ridu or hhavanam, while the man in authority of this caste dwells in an idum ; the Raja lives in a korilakam or kottaram, the indigenous Brahman (Namhutiri) in an i/Iam, while his fellow of higher rank calls his house a mana or manakkal.

Inferior castes, however, cannot thus speak of their houses in the presence of the autocratic Namhutiri. Ip lowliness and self-abasement they have, when talking to such an one, to style their houses " dung-heaps, and they and their doings can only be alluded to in phrases every one of which is an abasement and an insult.

The Nambutiri's character for hospitality stands high, but only among those of his own caste. Here is a graphic picture from the Travaneore Census (1871) Report of the Namhutiri in his own home, related apparently from personal experience : —

" The Nambutiri's hospitality and charity are proverbial. The Brahman guest in the family, especially if he combines with that character some little influence, is most kindly treated, and in spite of the uncouth manners and queer conversation which he may meet with, he is certain to carry away the happiest recollections of the illam. On entering the gate of the extensive property— in the midst of which is situated the palatial mansion with its suburban buildings severally dedicated for the household god, the younger members of the family, the -cutcherry of the I ravritti officers, and for the wearied Brahman traveller — 'the visitor is received by the lord of the manor, who in his native simplicity inquires if he has bathed without any further ado about the health or other concerns of his guest. If the answer is in

the negative, he himself leads the guest to the bathing-tank with its cool shed and refreshing waters, most politely inquiring if oil, enja (. Acacia intsia) and thali are required, all the time innocently gaping at the dhowti, the walk the arrangement of the hair, the moustaches on the face, the absence of the nanamundu and the conventional waist-string and undercloth, while the stranger, accustomed to more formal societies, smarts with shyness at n queer looks of his host. The Namhutiri must be asked to leave the bath for a short time before he can be expected to go. The visitor is next led into the illam and asked to sit before the leaf spread out not

ˆ but in 0ne 0f the 0uter r00ms> *espect-

i>ug 1 , but the inevitable thought occurs that you are treated like

an ou cas e. Even the gin and dhal eating propensities of the visitor are attended to, though they are carefully eschewed and even disliked

by the Nambutiri in his own meals. Before serving rice, the Nambutiri inquires if the morning prayers are over, which he thinks improbable on account of the speed with which the visitor has returned from the tank, and feels a conscientious but inexpressed hatred of the light manner in which religious observances are regarded by the Brahmans of the other coast. The feeding of Brahman travellers is not, however, such a rare or difficult business with the Nambutiri. It is a matter of course with him ; he makes it a rule of his life to treat the hungry Brahman : the traditions of his family are full of the proudest feats of charity and hospitality, and the number which he daily feeds is limited only by the measure of his affluence."

It may be gathered from the above descriptions that quiet and retirement are what the Malayali looks to in selecting a site for his dwelling, and that towns and town-life are not congenial to his tastes. And the fact is that the coast tracts are so densely populated that it is difficult to say where one of the municipal towns begins and where another ends. From end to end of the district on the lowlying lands near the sea there is an unbroken belt of coconut-palm orchards, and the description which Shaikh Ibn Batuta gave of the country in the fourteenth century A.D. is equally applicable to it now. "We next, " said he, " came into the country of Malabar, which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabur to Kawlam.

The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees .

And in all this space of two months' journey there is not a span free from cultivation. For everybody has here a garden and his house is placed in the middle of it ; and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood, up to

which the ground of each inhabitant comes.”

The fact which on the coast of Malabar indicates the existence of a town is the occurrence of one or more streets of shops — bazaars — longer and busier than those to he met with elsewhere in the district. The foreign Brahmans, the Eurasian population, and, to a certain extent, the Muhammadans also, live in streets of houses built in continuous

rows.

The following statement shows at a glance the chief circumstances connected with the town ‘population m Alalabar .

Area

in

acres.

Houses.

Floating

population.

Total popu

lation including floating.

Religion.

Towns.

Occupied.

Unoccupied

Males.

Females.

Males.

Females.

Total.

Hindus.

Muham

madans.

Others.

Oannanore

2,48?

2,655

8,447

5,821

4,038

3,426

8,540

6,081

2,411

1,943

2,118

1,512

1,653

13,046

13,340

26,386

10,856

11,617

4,087

12,939

13,471

26,410

57,085

15,488

9,149

1,765

Telhcherry

1,140

30,009

27,076

33,875

20,257

2,909

Calient

17,673

18,666

36,339

30,424

4,854

1,061

Palghat . .

Cochin

2,692

8,374

7,324

15,698

4,383

2,942

8,360

These towns have enjoyed municipal government for many years past.

For administrative purposes the district is divided not into villages as in the eastern coast districts, but into amsams, that is to' say, parishes, of which the following statement gives the numbers in the different taluks : —

Taluks.

Number

of

amsams.

Estimated area in acres.

Total

population of taluk.

Average area per amsam in acres.

Average

population

per

amsam.

Ohirakkal

644,453

272,669

14,646

6,197

Kottayam

420,080

165,775

15,002

5,920

Kurumbran&d ..

261,163

261,024

4,581

4,579

Wyn&d

612,240

88,091

47,095

6,776

Calicut

765,680

205,962

18,675

5,023

Ernad

1,527,332

296,143

29,371

5,695

Valluvanad

448,961

308,102

7,015

4,814

Patghat .. ..

614,400

342,454

10,971

6.115

Ponnani . .

258,154

392,654

3,536

5,378

Cochin

1,085

17,161

1,085

17,161

District totals and

averages . .

5,553,548

2,350,035

12,945

5,477

As the district has never been surveyed in detail, the areas of arnsams are not wholly reliable, and in fact there are several obvious errors in the census (1881) statistics on this point, as, for example, the amsam of Arakurissi in Valluvanad Taluk is said to embrace only 29,555 acres, whereas the whole of the Attapadi Valley, a very sparsely populated tract — probably 200 square miles in extent — ought to have been included, but is omitted from the statement of this amsam.

Subordinate to the amsam comes the desam or k&miet, which has often been mistaken for the village of the east coast. The fact, however, was that the desam was the territorial unit of the military organization in the ancient regime , and the true village, that is, the territorial unit of organization for civil purposes, was the tara. The amsams as at present defined are a modern and very recent creation for administrative purposes, but tarns and desams, and the distinction that existed between them, take the enquirer back into ancient times and necessitate an investigation of the ancient system of government. This would, however, be out of place here, and it will more appropriately fall under the sections devoted to the history of the country.

It will suffice here to note that the earliest of the British administrators asserted repeatedly that the Hindu village did not exist in Malabar. Each State, said Mr. Warden, " was partitioned into gradations of military divisions from the Nddumli 1 to the Desaodli " Every division and subdivision was designated by the allotted quota of Nayars

' Xiidurtfti = the ruler, commandant of the ndd or county ; Dctavdli — the ruler, commandant of the dtS'iin or parish.

it was required to bring into the field." " The designations of tfte different military divisions remain to this day in every district in Malabar. The chieftains of the military divisions, large and small, held their dignities as hereditary in their respective families, and had appropriate titles of distinction. They were not always in attendance on the Raja s peison. If not

required on particular State duties or religious services, they were only caHed out for defensive or offensive

warfare. • (Report to Board of Revenue, 12th September 1815, paragraphs 63, 64.)

Sir Thomas Munro seems to have felt, and felt truly, that this could not have been the real state of things in a Hindu State, and in 1817 he paid Malabar a flying visit to satisfy himself on the point. The result of this visit was embodied in a very interesting report dated the 4th July 1817, and the conclusion he arrived at was that for some purpose or other Malabar " was in the earliest times divided like the other provinces of India into districts and villages, the limits of which, but more especially of the villages, remain unchanged to this day." The districts and villages he found to be under hereditary chiefs, and the village was called the desam, the name by which it is still most commonly known.

Mr. Warden and Sir Thomas Munro were both in the right to a certain extent, but they both failed to recognize the importance of that most influential territorial unit of organization — the Dravidian farad Sir Thomas Munro indeed mentions the word, but only as the name which the experienced Mysorean administrators of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan applied to the territorial units which they endeavoured to foster and keep alive as villages with hereditary heads, " an essential branch of their system " as Sir Thomas Munro pointed out. This fact ought to, and probably would, have opened his eyes to the real state of the case had his stay in Malabar been prolonged. The influence of the tara organization cannot be overrated in a political system tending always to despotism. Tho Nayar inhabitants of a tara formed a small republic, represented by their Kdranavar or elders, and presented in that respect a striking resemblance to the " village republic " of the east coast districts as sketched by the Board of Revenue at the time when the village lease settlement system, as opposed to the ryotwari settlement system, was being discussed (Revenue Selections I, 487). The desam and the tara were not conterminous. If Sir Thomas Munro had enquired thoroughly into the matter he would, for instance, have found that the hundred and twenty-five desaras which, according to information supplied him, formed the Calicut ndd or county, embraced precisely the same lands as the seventy-two taras into which that ndd was likewise divided. Tho ndd or county was a congeries of taras or

1 Torn foundation, mound, "round, village. quarter; similar to Tamil and Malayajam tfn>, T* lugu lerutu , Cttnamse and l ulu (era in.

village republics, and the kuttam or assembly of the nad or county was a representative body of immense power which, when necessity existed, set at naught the authority of the Raja and punished his ministers when they did “ unwarrantable acts:” These are the very words used by the Honorable Company’s representative at Calicut when asked to explain the origin of certain civil commotions which had taken place there in 1746. His report deserves to be quoted in full, for it gives a vivid insight into the state of things as it then existed. “ These Nayars,” he wrote, “being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the king’s dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts.” (Tellicherry Factory Diary of 28th May 1746.)

The tara organization instituted by the Mysoreans was unwisely changed into the hobali system or subordinate district establishments under the Honorable Company, the taros being enlarged for this purpose. Sir Thomas Munro pointed out that the establishment thus organized was ” so inadequate to the object of its institution that it required a complete revision.” It was, in fact, not a village establishment at all, and instead of bringing the Collector more immediately into contact with the people, it only served to lengthen the chain, already too long, of officials between them.

The hobali system was abolished, and the existing amsam system was organized in its place by Special Commissioner H. S. Graeme in 1822-23. In doing this Mr. Graeme was at some pains to search out and instate as head of the amsam or adhikdri , the most influential of the Desavalis under the ancient system, but many desams had to be rolled together to form one amsam. There were formerly two thousand and odd desams ; there are now only four hundred and twenty-nine amsams. The Disavali selected was not always, or even generallv the Desavali of all the dfsams comprised in his amsam, and it was a’ new and unaccustomed role for him to be placed as headman in civil matters over people who had not previously acknowledged his authority. Indeed Mr. Graeme was careful in his sanads of appointment to preserve the rights of other Desavalis to the Sthdna Mdna avakdsam

(rights and privileges of office) in tracts which had previously been under other men. J

Bui Mr. (iraeme made the great mistake of thinking that the desam and he tara were synonymous, and so in his scheme of amsam establishments, the real civil organization by the Karanavar or elders of the people was ignored, and in its place authority of various kinds was

8˚me ˚“!y of tbe men wh < > tad been the local representatives of the ruling chieftains of Malabar. The mistake was of importance because it diverted

attention away from what had been the ancient organization and placed the real power in the hands of only one man out of several who had previously acted together in a body in the kuttam assembly of the tara. In these popular assemblies existed the nucleus

of what might have been organized by judicious treatment into real local self-government, and it was a great misfortune that this important point escaped notice at the time.

Each amsam or parish has now besides the Adhikari or man of authority, headman, an acoountant or writer styled a Me turn (literally, superioi man), and two or more Kolkars (club men or peons), who between them manage the public affairs of the parish and are the local representatives of the Government.

Section C. The Language, Literature, and State of Education

AMONG THE PEOPLE.

The vernacular of the district, popularly known as Malayalam , but more correctly written as Malayalma or Malayayma, " claims to be placed," says Dr. Caldwell, " next to Tamil in the list of Dravidian tongues, on account of the peculiarly close relationship to Tamil in which it stands." Indeed the relationship is so close that Sanskrit writers class both tongues as Dravida, although from remote times a separate name has been applied by them to the Malayalam country.

Whether Malayalam is a " very ancient " and " much-altered offshoot " of Tamil, as Dr. Caldwell holds, or whether, as Dr. Gundert holds, " the two languages of old differed rather as dialects of the same member of the Dravidian family than as separate languages," is a point into which it is unnecessary to enter here in detail beyond remarking that Dr. Caldwell's main argument from the words denoting east and west seems to be a fanciful though ingenious one. Because the Malayalam word for east, kilakku , means beneath , and because tnelku 1 (west) means above , Dr. Caldwell argues that the Malayans must have come from the Tamil country east of the ghats, since there they had the low level of the ocean on the east and the high level of the ghat mountains on the west. But it is quite as reasonable to suppose that the Dravi-dians, in finding names for east and west, selected words denoting that east was where the sun appeared from below, as it would seem to them, and west as the place where he similarly disappeared from above. The languages

were no doubt identical in ancient times, but with a high range of mountains intervening between the two countries, rendering intercommunication difficult, and with further obstacles thrown in the way by differing political institutions, it is not to be wondered at that they split into two dialects, and as time advanced that they became two tongues.

The chief difference between them, and indeed between Malayalam and all the other Dravidian tongues, lies in the absence in Malayalam

1 Th“ more common wad in Malnyajnm for west is pa<l% meaning the setting

snn

of the personal terminations of the verbs. In treating of the Dravidian conj ugational system Dr. Caldwell writes : “ The tenses are formed, not by means of the position of the pronouns, but by particles or signs of present, past, and future time suffixed to the theme ; and the personal signs, as in the Turkish and Finnish families, are suffixed to the signs of tense. The only exception to this rule is that which forms the most characteristic feature of Malayalam— a language which appears to have been originally identical with Tamil, but which, in so far as its conjugational system is concerned, has fallen back from the inflexional development reached by both tongues whilst they were still one, to what appears to have been the primitive condition of both — a condition nearly resembling the Mongolian, the Manchu, and the other rude primitive tongues of High Asia. In ancient times, as may be gathered from the Malayalam poetry, and especially from the inscriptions 1 preserved by the Syrian Christians and the Jews, the pronouns were suffixed to the Malayalam verb precisely as they still are in Tamil. At present the verb is entirely divested, at least in the colloquial dialect, of signs of personality ; and with the pronouns the signs of number and gender have also necessarily disappeared : so that the pronoun or nominative must in every instance be separately prefixed to the verb to complete the signification ; and it is chiefly by means of this prefixed pronoun that a verb, properly so called, is distinguished from a verbal participle. Though the personal signs have been abandoned by the Malayalam verb, the sijrns of tense or time have been retained, and are annexed directly to the root as in the other dialects. Even in modern English some persons of the verb retain archaic fragments of the pronominal signs (e.g., lore st, /weth) ; but in modern Malayalam every trace of these signs has disappeared. Thus, whilst we should say in Tamil aditten , I beat ; adittdy , thou didst beat ; aditian , he beat ; Malayalam uses in these and all similar cases the verbal participle adichu (for adittu), having beaten,

with the prefixed pronouns I, thou, he, &c. {e.g., nyan adichu, I beat ; ni adichu , thou didst beat ; avan adichu, he beat). Though the pronominal signs have been lost by the Malayalam verb, they have been retained even by the Tuda ; and notwithstanding the comparative barbarity of the Gonds and Kus, their conj ugational system is peculiarly elaborate and complete."

The complete disappearance of signs of personality in the Malayalam verb raises a doubt whether they were ever really adopted in the colloquial language. For the evidence in favour of pronouns being suffixed to the Malayalam tenses — it being admitted that verbs in all Dravidian languages were originally uninflected — is derived from ancient poetry and ancient inscriptions, and these did not necessarily correspond with the spoken language. It is to be noted that the written tongue in ancient times always tended to become a speciality, the speciality of a

1 Dates about A.D. TOO to A.D. 820.

class or caste who got a livelihood by it. Moreover, as will be seen further on, the precise time to which Dr. Caldwell alludes— the time of the Jews' and Syrians' deeds— was precisely at that epoch (about eighth century A.D.) in the history of the couutry when Vedic Brahmanism is believed to have finally supplanted Jainism as the religion of the Aryan immigrants. The J aius, whose period of greatest literary activity in the Tamil country was subsequent— ninth or tenth to thirteenth century A.D. to the dates of the Jews' and Syrians' deeds, seem to have encouraged the study of the vernaculars and to have developed the languages of the common people ; the Vedie Brahmans, on the other hand, encouraged — and that only among themselves —the study of nothing but Sanskrit, of which and of the religion and arts and sciences embodied in that tongue they held a practical monopoly for many centuries, beginning from probably the end of the seventh or commencement of the eighth century A.D. One would expect therefore to find — and such is the actual fact — that Malayalam is much fuller than any of the other Dravidian languages of pure Sanskrit words (tatsamam) and Sanskrit derivatives (tadbhavam) : this is, indeed, the only other chief difference between it and the other Dravidian tongues.

The most probable view is that the Vedic Brahman immigration into Malabar put a stop to the development of Malayalam as a language just at the time when the literary activity of the Jains in the Tamil country was commencing. It is admitted that this immigration took place at an earlier point of time into Malabar than into the other South Indian countries, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that at the time when this took place the use of verbal inflexions had not taken hold of the colloquial language. The Vedic Brahmans (. Nambutiris) were, and are still it may be added, the last persons

in the world to approve of educating the commonalty, for that would have tended to take from themselves the monopoly of learning they so long possessed.

It was no less than a revolution when in the seventeenth century one Tunjatta Eluttachchan, a man ofthe Sudra (Nayar) caste, boldly made an alphabet — the existing Malayalam one — derived chiefly from the Grantha — the Sanskrit alphabet of the Tamils, which permitted of the free use of Sanskrit in writing — and boldly set to work to render the chief Sanskrit poems into Malayalam. Regarding the obstacles which he had to meet and the opposition which was offered to him Mr. F. W. Ellis has the following remarks in a dissertation on the Malayalam language : “The difficulties with which he had in consequence to struggle gave him an energy of character which it is probable he would not have possessed had his caste been without blemish.1 The BraL-

1 Mr. Ellis supposed him to be the illegitimate son of a Brahman woman, but there is nothing to support this, and, on the contrary, tradition says he was a Sudra (Nayar). Mr. Ellis may have confounded the tradition about the great Sankara Acharya with the tradition about him.

mans envied his genius and learning, and are said to have seduced him by the arts of sorcery into the habit of ebriety, wishing to overshadow the mental powers which they feared. The poet, however, triumphed on his habits, though he could not abandon them, and, in revenge against those whom he considered the cause of his debasement, he opposed himself openly to the prejudices and the intolerance of the Brahmans. The mode of vengeance he chose was the exaltation of the Malayalam tongue, declaring it his intention to raise this inferior dialect of the Tamil to an equality with the sacred language of the gods and rishis. In the prosecution of this purpose he enriched the Malayalam with the translations I have mentioned,1 all of which, it is said, he composed while under the immediate influence of intoxication. No original compositions are attributed to him.” Tunjatta Eluttachchan’s success even in his own lifetime seems to have been great, and it wras in consequence of his influence and success that Malayalam, as a written language, obtained its most recent development.

The site of his house is still pointed out at Trikkandiyur near V ettattp udia ngad i in the Ponnani Taluk, and, as usual among Malayalis when a man has risen a bit above his fellows in good or in bad qualities, something of superstitious awe attaches to the place of his dwelling. It is said that as Tunjatta Eluttachchan lay on his death-bed he told his daughter that at a

particular hour, on a particular day, in a certain month and a certain year which he named, a youth would come to his house. His daughter was directed to have the house swept and garnished as for a distinguished guest, and his directions were that to this visitor his sandals and his books should be given. On the appointed day and at the appointed hour came one Surya Narayanan Eluttachchan, then a youth of sixteen years and of the Taragan caste. He recei ed the sandals and the books and went his way. This Surya Narayanan became Gurunadhan (tutor, teacher) to the Zamorin, and afterwards set out on pilgrimages to Benares and other places, wandering about leading a holy life till he was thirty-two years old. He then returned to Malabar, and was directed in a vision, thrice repeated, to settle on the river bank (then a jungly place) at what is now Chittur lekke (jramarn in Cochin territory, east of Palghat. He there bought some ground and, helped by the Zamorin and others, built on one side of the street a row of houses for Brahmans and in the middle, on the opposite side, one for himself. He next invited some Brahman families to settle there, which they did, attracted by the holiness of Surya Narayanan Eluttachchan's life and character. He never married but 1 ved and died a sanyasi (ascetic), and Tunjatta Eluttachchan's relics were, it is said, there sacredly preserved and worshipped till, with one

•"Viz., "All the works of note in the original language" (Sanskrit). He is tradi tionally reported to have translated into Malayalam the following : Ramayanam, Maha-bh&ratam, lihagavatam, besides others.

exception, they were destroyed by fire some thirty or forty years ago. The stool and staff mentioned by Dr. Burnell in his " South Indian Palaeography " belonged, it is said, to the ascetic and not to the father of modern Malayalam. And another fire has, it is believed, destroyed these relics since Dr. Burneirs visit, and also probably the Bhagavatam, the only thing saved from the previous conflagration. Tunjatta Elutta-chchan's memory, however, is not likely to die down, for relics thus lost are easily replaced and the sacred honors paid to them are easily shifted to the substitutes.

On the development of Malayalam since Tunjatta Eluttachchan's time Dr. Burnell has the following remarks in his "South Indian Palaeography " The Sanskrit literature was, after this, no longer a secret, and there was perhaps no part of South India where it was more studied by people of many castes during the eighteenth century."

Of the Malayalam poetry which thus originated Mr. F. W. Ellis gives the following account : —

" The language of Malayalam poetry is in fact a mixture of Sanskrit, generally pure, with Sen and Kodun Tamil but in Tamil " declined or conjugated forms

from the Sanskrit are not admissible." " They are not admissible, also, in Malayalam prose, but in verse they are often used with such profusion as to give it the appearance of that fanciful species of composition called in Sanskrit Mani-pravdlam and in English ' Maccaronic verse,' rather than the sober dress of grammatical language : often, indeed, the whole verse is pare Sanskrit, connected or concluded by a few words of Malayalam." And " this profuse intermixture of the grammatical forms of the Sanskrit in the higher order of Malayalam composition would seem to have led certain recent Italian writers into strange misconceptions. Though one of them, Paulinus a St. Bartholomoeo, has composed a grammar of the Sanskrit, he does not seem quite clear that there is any radical distinction between what he calls the lingua Sanscredamico-Malabarica and the Samscredamica ; and the author of the introduction to the Alphabet um Grandonico-Malabaricum sice Samscrudoni cum, by which he means the Arya character of the Malayalam, though he be sadly puzzled to discover whether the Samscrudonica lingua be the mother of the Grandonica or vice versa , expressly says : ' Lingua igitur vulgaris Malabarica, ea nempe qnce usurpatior a Gentibus littoris Malabarici insolis, a Promontario Comorino usque ad vnontem Deli prope Regnum Canara, nil nisi dialectus cst Sanscrudonicce linguae .' "

Mr. Ellis goes on to remark : " The Malayalam has never been cultivated as an independent literary language, nor does the Tamil literature, notwithstanding the length of time the country, was subject to the Kings of Seram, appear to have been extensively known here, or at least has not survived that dynasty. This is the more extraordinary as some of the earliest and best of the Tamil works were composed in Seram. This remark, however, applies more to Keralam proper than to

Mushikam or Travancore ; the residence of the Seram viceroys was in this province, and a knowledge of pure Tamil has always been more prevalent here than in the northern districts. Of the historical portion of these remarks this is not the place to speak, but it is necessary to observe that Tamil, as an independent literary language, flourished in the tenth to thirteenth centuries A.D., some considerable time after the last of the Perumals (to whom apparently Mr. Ellis refers in speaking of the viceroys) disappeared, an event which, for reasons to be assigned in the proper place, was probably contemporaneous with the commencement of the Kollam era, 25th August 825 A.D.

Mr. Ellis is right in saying that Malayalam has never been cultivated as an independent literary language, and he continues : " There exists in Malayalam, as far as my information extends, no work or language, no

grammar,1 no dictionary,1 commentaries on the Sanskrit Amarakosha excepted. The principal work in prose is the Keralutpati ,2 which is also said to be translated from the Sanskrit, though the original is now nowhere to be found." This last-named work is an account chiefly from the Vedic Brahman point of view of the origin and history of Keralam. As a historical work it is of little use, but as a mine of half forgotten and wholly forgotten native usages and customs it is most valuable.

While, however, Malayalis have no literature to be compared to the Rural of Tiruvalluvar or to the polished 3 verses of Sivavakkiyar , they have many folk songs, few of which have been reduced to writing, but which are extremely popular, being composed in the ordinary dialect of the people and treating of subjects in which they have an interest. Of these, perhaps the most popular are the ballads relating the deeds of Tachcholi Meppayil KunhrOthenan. The original Tachcholi pat , describing one of Othenan's exploits — whether the final exploit of his life or not is uncertain — is a great favourite, and several Tachcholi pats, as they are called, have since been composed in the same metre regarding the doings of other men. There is one commemorating the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's rebellion (1797-1805 A.D.), another about Tippu Sultan, a third about the mythical feats of Yeikeleri Kunhi Kelappan. A specimen

1 This was written some time before 1819, the year in which Mr. Ellis died. These complaints exist no longer, thanks to the learning and research of Dr. Gundert.

- Origin of Keralam.

3 Arium alia, Ayanum alia, Not Brahma, Vishnu, Siva,

Aranum alia — appuram ;

In the Beyond is He ;

Karumei, semmei, venmeiyum, Kadantu nindra K&ranara :

Not black, nor white, nor ruddy, This Source of things that be :

Peri turn alia, siritum alia, Pennum ipum allave ;

Not great is He, nor little, Not female and not male ;

Duriamum Kadantu nindra — Dura, dura, duramfl.

But stands far, far, and far beyond All beings utmost pale.

(Sivavakkiyar.)

(R. C. r'aldwell.)

of the metre (the first few lines) of the original Tachcholi pat is subjoined : —

" Otayottidattile KandassSri Lokanar Kavile Kavuttftna Kavur vannum pulannu vell5 Nammala Kavilum pova venam TachchSli Meppayile Kunynyi Otenan Tanre chamayam chamayavum eheythu Tanre idattatum valattatumayi Munnile pokunna Kandassgri Valiye madliakkaran Kunynyi Ot £nan Iruvarum kudiyallo porunnata."

The metre falls in the class of what are known as " Vishamarriftam " or irregular metres. The lines contain generally ten or more syllables or fourteen mdtrtis (time required to utter u) and each couplet ought to have twenty-eight mat ran.

Of the hero of the original Tachcholi pat — the Itobin Hood of North Malabar — many traditions are extant. He was apparently a man of fine physique and skilful in the use of arms, who attracted to himself a large and mixed following. It is not exactly said that, like his prototype, he robbed the rich to give to the poor, but he was evidently not too particular as to his means of taking what he wanted for himself or followers. This, no doubt, brought him into collision with the authorities, and the well is still pointed out near Vadakkara in Kurumbranad Taluk which he is said to have cleared at one boimd to prevent his capture by the followers of the Kadattanad Raja. The well is a fine masonry-built structure, still in excellent preservation, and at the spot where Tachcholi Otenan is said to have cleared it it is twenty feet six inches between perpendiculars. There is a massive conical-shaped block of laterite some three feet in height planted erect in the ground about fifteen paces from the well, and one mythical tradition says he jumped the well with this and a jack tree in his arms. In the popular ballad he is stated to have been treacherously shot, but whether mortally or not is uncertain, by a Mappilla on returning to search for a dagger he had accidentally dropped in a duel in which he had discomfited his enemy. The following is a literal translation of the ballad, narrating with much quaintness the events of this duel, and shedding various interesting lights on native customs and habits.

Tachcholi Ballad.

To his squire Odayottidattil KandSssSri (Chappan)

«5aid Tachcholi ivieppayii Kunhi Odenan. For the Lokanar Kavil Kavut,

Winch day of ceremony has come and dawned,

We to that temple must go."

Tachcholi MSppayil Kunhi OdCnar His apparel he put on,

His sword and shield he took in his right

and left,

In front walked KandassSri,

In the rear the nobleman Kunhi Odenan, Together proceeded in company.

Said dear Kunhi Odfinan To his wife Kavile Chathoth Kunhi Chiru,

"Till I go and come " Don't you go down the gate steps ;

" Do caress child Ambadi ;

Give him milk when thirsty " And rice when hungry."

So Tachcholi MSppayil Kunhi OdSnan Took leave of Kavile Chathoth.
Odayottidattil KandassSri Took a lance made of the first-rate cocoanut tree ;

Armed with it,

They proceeded together ;

Walked (the whole distance) in one march.

On arriving at the Lokanar Kavu It appeared as if it had been fenced with men on all fcur sides.

All the Ten Thousand Nayars had assembled ;

Also the Princes of the Four Palaces,

The reigning Raja of Kadattanad,

The heir apparent of PuramSri,- And the Raja o£ Kuttipurain,

Had put in their royal presence.

Tachcholi Meppayil Kunhi Odenan Went and ascended the entrance steps,
Walked straight up to the Tachcholi's seat —

The platform under the Banian tree—

Where the good fellow sat, and amused himself,

Gazing at the comers and Looking all round about the temple.

While thus sitting,

The Mathilur Kurikkal with his disciples—

The two and twenty youngsters _

Arrived at the Lokanar Kavu,

Went to the Goddess' divine presence,

Most devoutly worshipped with clasped hands,

And, alter worshipping, left the temple

To occupy a seat on the Tachcholi's platform,

On the south part of which they went and sat.

This with his own eyes Kunhi Odfnan saw, And lie thus exclaimed :

" Lo ! Odayottidattil KandassSri !

" What (a) strange (thing is) all this !

On the platform under our Banian tree " Wbat Nayar cometh to take a seat ?

" Make haste and see who he is."

Thus said Meppayil Tachcholi Kunhi OdS-nan —

A very jealous Od§nan —

" What Nayar art thou That went to the Banian tree? "

Odenan seeing this with his own eyes Rolled his jet black eyes in burning rage, Shook his legs in excitement,

Clenched his fists in anger,

And spoke thus : " Odayottidattil KandassSri !

“ Go home quick, and get “ My silver-handled gun ;

“ In our western chamber it stands “ Full loaded with two bullets and two plugs.

Hasten thou and come soon.

“ One word more to you ! KandfissSri !

“ The Poratara Peacock “ With its young brood Is perching upon our Banian tree.

I 11 shoot them dead one by one.”

This one word was said.

At once Kurikkal said,

“ Hark ! My beloved youths!

“We must start at once ;

“ We must go to our Poratara.”

So the Mathilur Kurikkal and pupils Proceeded back with their heads covered and hung down in disgrace.

Again said the Kurikkal,

“We should not wait to see the Kivut.” Thus the Kurikkal left at once With his two and twenty pupils.

When descending the steps,

The Kurikkal shouted loud and challenged : —

“ My good fellow, Tachcholi Kunhi Od6na !

“ Jf the tenth and eleventh of Kumbham shall come,

“ If God will spare my life,

“ I pledge my word to be at Pomyyat.

“ There under tho Banian tree

In .single combat could we test our supremacy.

“ That (lav let us meet again ! ”

Tfius the Kurikkal declared the war,

In the midst of the Ten Thousand,

And proceeded back on his way.

The sight-seers trembled At this throwing down and taking up the gauntlet.

A stillness prevailed like that after a heavy rain.

A panic spread Over all assembled.

Tachehdli Koma Kurup (elder brother of OdSnan),

On this very news coming into his ears. Beat his breast and exclaimed in tears : —

“ Alas ! You saucy fellow !

“ Is it at a mountain that you are throwing a pot ?

“ On Thursday in Kumbham next “ You have agreed to enter the lists.”

The Kurup hastened on to interpose :

The Kurikkal, on his way from the temple, Is accosted by the Kurup.

Whom the Lord Kurikkal treats with «on-teinpt,

Spits ou his face with betel juice,

And says to the Kurup :

“ Get thee gone ! What (an) unmanly thing !

“ What meanest thou by untimely interposition ?

“ If God spares me “ I will make him atone for it.”

Thus saying the Kurikkal went his way to Poratara.

Tachcholi Koma Kurup

Went however to the Loknnftr Kfivu.

He was met by his brother,

Who was returning having seen the KSvQt. They walked home straight.

On their way the Kurup wept,

Beating his breast, shedding bloody tears, And thus addressed his brother
“My beloved brother ! how impudent you are !

“ You have engaged to fight on the 10th and 1 1 th Kumbham !

“ What do you think of doing next ? ” Immediately replied Kunhi Odfinan,

“ Brother ! Wh) do you weep ?

“ Am I not a man like himself?

” Is it enough always to give ?

“ Can’t I receive it once ?

“ Let it happen as fate wills it 1 “ Why cry for it ! ! ”

“ Hear me,” said the Kurup,

‘ 4 In whose charge do you leave me ?

44 Am I not in my dotage ?

44 If fate should call me away any moment, 44 To perform the funeral rites
44 No male exists in our family.”

Thus saying they were going.

The Kurup further observed :

44 My dear brother OdSna !

44 Your nice little face of ripe areca-nut color

“ How came it to be changed into a new pot’s color ? ”

By this time they reached the Tachcholi M§ppayil house.

Their sister Tachchoji Unnichira Seeing them come,

Brought a gindy pot of water (to wash hands and feet with)

And asked her dear brother to partake of kanji ;

But Kunhi Od8nan said he must bathe.

So he bathed, dined, and spent that day there.

The next morning dawned,

And the Koma Kurup said : —

“Brother Tachcholi Mgppayil Kunhi Od§- nan !

44 The fatal 10th and 11th of Kumbham 44 Are drawing closer and closer.

44 On Thursday week, in Kumbham next.

44 At Ponniyfit Banian tree, you must “ Go to fight the duel.

44 Your friends in all 44 You must go and call —

44 Kottakal Ahamad Marakkftr,

44 Yadakkara Pldigayil Kunhi Pokkar —

44 To them you must go, and tell particularly

44 That they should accompany you personally.

44 Again, EtachSri Od6nan Nambiy&r 44 And Panangfttan Chandu Kurup 44 Must also be requested “ To accompany you to Ponniyftt.

THE LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, &C.

“ Hear me again, Kunhi Odenan !

“ There is Payyampalli of Katirfir Tara,

“ The Kunhi Chandu of that house “ You must also take along with you.” They were all accordingly invited.

Chandu. on being asked, said : —

“ Odbnan ! don’t you go this year to Ponniyat.

“You have an evil time of it,

“ And I shall not come with you.”

At once returns Kunhi OdSnan,

Walking hastily through PonniySt Kalam held,

Crossing the Ponniyam and Puttalam rivers,

And passing tlie Chamb.lt Puncha land, Arrives at his Tachchbli Meppayil house, Bathes and takes his food,

And spends the day there.

Next morning he went to Lbkanlr Kavu ; Bade the priest to open the shrine And light up lamps on each side of the idol,

And caused the musicians to beat tom-tom. The treasure-box was brought out,

And the idol in procession marched out.

At this juncture

A Nambutiri youth received divine inspiration,

And pronounced the oracle : —

“ You should not go to Ponniyat this year ; “ Your evil star is in the ascendant ;

“ I can do nothing for you.”

When this was heard

Odbnan prostrated himself before the Goddess

And prayed : — “ 0 ! noble Goddess !

“ When I go to Ponniyat “You must stand on my right.

“ I have no other help “ But my mother Goddess ! ”

The oracle then gave him leave To stay in the arena till noon,

And not to remain there longer ;

And further assured him That if he looked up to the Banian tree He would see the Goddess herself in the disguise of a yellow bird.

But after noon she would not be there.

Ami therefore ho shcdd not be there

Kunhi Odenan then from his waist cloth took

Sixteen silver Fanams, which in the sacred box he put.

Thus worshipping, he returned

With his attendant Odayottidattil Chlppan

To the Tachcholi Meppayil house,

And told his brother Korua Kurup All that the oracle had said.

“ Don’t you then go this year,” says Korna Kurup.

But OdSnan replies- “ Should I die even, it matters not ;

“ I must go to Ponniylt to-day.” Remonstrance had no effect —

Either brother’s or others’.

“ Let us go,” says Odenan to KandSssSri, “To Ivlvile Chathoth house.”

Thither they went accordingly And saw his wife Chlru.

Taking the child Ambadi in her arms,

And looking at the husband she cried : —

“ Oh ! my daring husband !

“ Y”ou have engaged to fight “ At the Banian tree in Ponniyat :

“ To whose care will you entrust us ? ”

“ Dear ChTru,” says Odenan in reply,

“Am I going to die?

“ Is not man equal to man ? ”

Bathing and eating he spent that day there. Next day broke ;

Kunhi Odenan rose

And proposed to go to Mbppayil house Then Chlru prepared milk kanji,

Which Odenan took and went home.

In taking leave of his wife, he told her .

“ My dear Kunhi Chlru,

“ Till I come back “ Don’t you stir out of the house.”

When words like these were heard,

Beating her breast, she cried.

“ Why do you cry, my dear? ” said OdSnan,

“ I am not going to die ;

“ I shall come very soon.”

Thus saying, he took leave of her.

When descending the gate steps Her eyes were full of tears Which were Howing by the breast in bloody difips.

MALABAR DI8TRICT.

He walked straight to his Tachcholi Mgppayil house,

Where, in the west room, he found That his brother was still in his bed.

He sat on the bed And placing his feet on his lap And rubbing them gently He waked his brother from sleep.

“Who is this at my feet?” asked the brdther ;

“I am, I am, my brother,” was the answer. So and so he passed that day there.

The next day came,

And the eventful Thursday came.

There came then the Kottakkal Ahamad Marakkar And his followers,

Vadakara Pidigayil Kunhi Pokkar And his followers,

Edachˆri Od£nan Nambiyar And his followers,

KallSri Kunga Kurup And his followers,

Panangatan Chandu Kurup And his followers,

All in a body assembled Numbering about five hundred.

Tachcholi Mgppayil Kunhi Odenan Took an oil bath, and rubbed over his body A mixture of perfume, sandalwood and musk,

And sat down feT dinner.

A Kadali plantain leaf was spread.

His sister Tachcholi Unichira Served him the dinner —

Fine lily-white rice,

A large quantity of pure ghee,

And eleven kinds of vegetable curries.

He fed himself sumptuously on all these And washed his hands and mouth after it. He then sat in the south verandah. KandfissSri Chappan, his squire,

Served him betel to chew.

Chewing and chatting he sat there for a while ;

After which he rose and opened his west room,

“Where he stood in devotion to family Gods, And offered them vows if success he got, And besee< hed them to stand on his right. (

He then prostrated himself before them, And went to dress — a full dress.

He wore God -ofSerpent’s head earring in ears,

Combed down his hair,

And wore a flower of gold over the crown, A silk cloth round the loins,

A gold girdle over it,

Gold rings on four fingers,

A bracelet worked in with scenes From Kamayanam and Bharatam High up on his right arm,

A gold-handled sword in his right hand, And a tiger-fighting shield in his left hand. When coming out thus dressed, he looked Like melted gold of ten and a half touch ! Like the rising sun in the east !

Like the setting moon in the west !

He took leave of his brother Koma Kurup By falling prostrate at his feet,

Who then blessed him thus —

“ May God help you !

“ May you gain the victory ! ” Odayottidattil Kandassgri Took a spear — a tiger spear —

And led the way on ;

All in a body went on ;

Numbering about five hundred.

They proceeded on in one single march From Kadattanad to Ponniyat.

They halted not on the road,

They drank not when thirsty,

They sat not to chew betel.

Fatigued as they were by the march,

They came to the Peringalam river And they crossed the river.

Through the Chambftt Punja field,

And through the good village of Chambfit, They made a rapid march.

They reached the mango grove For tightening girdles above.

From under the Ponniyat Banian tree The noise of the <;rowd assembled,

The sound of swords clashing upon targets Were heard, and OdSnan said To his brother and comrades That Kurikkal and his party had taken the field.

Odgnan; from his waist cloth,

Took sixteen silver Fanams,

And, presenting the same To Kottakkal Ahamad Marakkftr, Prostrated himself at his feet.

In the name of Allah he blessed him :

“ The plot you stand in,” said he To pdSnan, “ shall be the Kalari —

“ The seat of the God of war.”

In like manner did he receive blessings Of KallSri Kunga Kurup and Of his brother Korea Kurup.

With the latter’s permission,

OdSnan tied his girdle One end to a mango tree The other to his loins.

In one pull the tree’s leaves came down,

A second pull brought down the branches. Then took he in his right and left The sword and shield,

And ran off, crossing the new river,

To the PonniySt Banian tree,

Where, in formidable array, people stood ; But to OdSnan and his party they gave open way.

On his glaring at them The Mathilur Kurikkal and pupils wero startled.

Leaving his waist dagger behind,

OdSnan jumped into the arena Like a cock running to tight And combat ensued.

It was then about noon.

OdSnan took his enemy’s sword seven times.

On looking up to the tree at these times He saw the yellow bird —

The LfikanSr Kftvu Goddess.

On looking up again,

It was ia vain ’

And OdSnan retired from the arena instantly,

And marched home triumphantly.

But, as ill fate would have it,

When Ponnivam new river was arrived at He found his dagger had been lost.

At once sayeth he —

“ Hark ! my brother !

“ I left my dagger in the arena “ And I forgot to take it.

“ What shall I do now ? ”

“ If that is lost,” replies the brother,

“ I shall give you another like it.”

“ It’s all true, my brother,

“ But go and take my dagger I must.”

The brother’s remonstrance had no effect. OdSnan ran back to the arena ;

The Kurikkal seeing this said To Chundanga poylil Mayan Pakki —

“ The Tachcholi, who went away, is coming again ;

“ Now he will not alloˆ us to survive.” Hearing words tp this effect,

Pakki took up his gun, and Loaded it with two shots,

And concealed himself behind a tree.

On OdSnan coming* near,

The M&ppilla, taking good aim, shot At OdSnan’s forehead.

He fell down on his knees,

But would not let his mean enemy escape. He threw his sword at him,

Which cut not only the tree But Pakki himself into two.

Tearing off his silk turband,

OdSnan dressed his wound on the forehead. The Kurup, his brother, seeing this Burst into tears.

But OdSnan remained bold and said : —

“ Brother! don’t you show your weakness “ In the midst of these thousands of men.

“ How simple you are !

“ Has anybody as yet died “ From arrows on the neck ?

“ Or from bullets on the forehead ?”

They then began to retreat Through the Chambftt field And reached home — MSppayil in Kadatta-nftd — that day.

The common people still compose ballads in memory of passing events, and one of the most remarkable relates the circumstances attending one of the Mappilla outrages, and reoalls with graphic power and a great deal of exaggeration of course, the chief incidents that occurred.

Translation of some Mappilla Gitans.

The first part relates the cause of the murder of a Hindu by a fanatio Mappilla and the circumstances attending the outrage down to the time when the fanatic, joined by six others, selected a place in which to make a stand against the troops. The song then proceeds as follows : —

“ The news now spread, and a petition from the taluk reached the inizur cutcherry. Then the chiefs were angry and assembled officers, Bubadars at the huzur ; a company was got ready, the Feringees gave the order to go quickly ; there were many Mussulmen in the company ; the drums beat, and Pallakar Raman went with the company ; the Kafirs were all delighted at its going out, and many persons accompanied it to assist and to see the fun.

“ The Mussulmen in the company said to one another, ‘ The Ferin-gee’s order is given to fight ; if we do not fight we shall be brought to ‘ Kott-mashal ’ (court-martial) ; go along quickly ’ (sic). The sepoys with belts on and guns on their shoulders, Pallakar Raman Menon with his people marched away !

“The officerˆ in palkis, &c., cried out, ‘ Ghal ! chalo ! (sic Get on ! get on /)’ The Pallakar’s people said ‘ Keep together , and do not separate .’ Kassim, subadar of the company, said, ‘ Do not fear ! we shall soon catch them ! *

“ On hearing Kassim, all the men of the company were pleased and went on. The bugle went ‘ D/di ! didi ! ’ and the drum ‘ Dado ! dodo d6 !* All kept step with the music, but in their hearts they were afraid !

“ The officers’ bearers called out ‘ Tukkadu dam tukkada dam dim , dim, dim ! ’

“ The sound of the bugle and the tramp of the sepoys’ feet were very stirring ! Our Commanding Officer was on a horse ; he instructed the men and called out ‘ Chal ! chalo ! ’ {Get along, get along).

“ The sepoys began to think, ‘ Here is trouble on our heads ; Kassim Subadar is taking us, poor Mussulmen, along with him!’ The Jemadar Mallikappen also told the m9n to go along rapidly, and they would he rewarded if they caughtthera; he said, ‘ Cannot we, a hundred men, seize seven ? There is nothing to be afraid of. My sword tells me we shall be victorious to-day ! *

“ Going along altogether, about 2,000 persons may have joined.

“ They reaohed Achali Pannikar’s house and surrounded it ; nobody knew how many persons were inside.

“ As a man in the jungle approaches a tiger’s lair cautiously, so did these men go up to the house. They were as wary as if they were walking into a lion’s mouth !

“ Pallakar Raman (wearer of a ball of hair, i.e., a Nayar) called out * Are you afraid of seven half-starved wretches ? We know all about them ; they are not demons from another world. Here you have arms ! Thin is not a fort you have to take : these men must die if not taken by v. > alive ! ’

“ Al1 went close to the house. They wanted to take the Mappillas alive, hut on getting close their intention vanished as an image from a glass !

“ Pallakar Raman called out, ‘ Why do not you seven come outside ? Your time is up ! ’ The men insido replied, ‘ Wait a lit ; as soon as ice finish a prayer or two we will come. Get ready for ns ! We have dov% this by Si/ed Ahci’s order, and with his blessing , to remove the slur from our religion .’ Then saying ‘ Praise to God the highest, 8fc., fyc. !’ the seven kissed eaoh

others hands and came out. It was a rainy day and the guns fired at them missed their marks ; the Mappillas got into the midst of the sepoys ; all bolted as a snake makes for its hole when men assemble and attack it. Of all the persons who had been standing outside not one remained. The number of men killed by tiger Hussein's blows and the number who fell by Bookari's strokes — heads down, feet up, broken necked (an immense number) — we know not, and the number of heads and arms separated by Ali Hussein's blows we cannot tell, neither can we estimate the number who, on hearing Mussa Kutti's voice, fell down, or the number destroyed by the lion-child Mohidln. The Mappillas called out to the sepoys, ' You have come to fight us ; why do not you stay l ' and to the company officers ' Kum hir ! Kdtt -mdshal ! Koni luff ysholder ! Kumpani ! IS hut ! phdyr ! ' (sic — Come here ! Court-martial ! Company left shoulders ! Company ! Shoot ! Fire !)

" Then all stopped and loaded again, firing from different places. Kassim Subadar seized Bookari, who was pursuing the fugitives. Bookari released himself and stabbed Kassim, cutting him in half. An officer came in front ; he was cut into two also : after that Mussa Kutt killed eight persons and wounded nineteen. The sepoys formed up, all the cutcherry people with them, but the Mappillas broke them again. Then the Mappillas congratulated each other and said ' We are now contented ; the disgrace to our religion is far removed.' The Mappillas called out to the regiment, ' Do not run away ; we arc all badly wounded and cannot fight any more ; you may now come and take our lives.' Then the Pultun people fired again and killed them.

" The seven died as martyrs, and houris of paradise comforted them and their bodies remained where they fell in a place pleasant for them.

" The names of the seven were notorious over the world, and I also write these praises on their behalf. All Mussulmen should remember these martyrs and should hold them in veneration over their nearest relatives. I have made this poem by order of certain Sahiban, viz., Kadir Saib Markar, Kunji Mohidin, inhabitants of Vettatt Pudiangadh and they highly approve of these verses.

" May God give courage to all Mussulmen to remove disgrace from their religion, and let all persons pray that in similar cases the martyrs may be admitted into paradise ! ! " 1

1 Most of the facts related are of course without foundation, hut the sepoy troops were so often broken by the fanatics that the authorities decided at last not to employ them again in such expeditions.

Malayalam is rich in proverbs , in " wise saws and modem instances," and there is nothing the Malayali loves better than to give a turn to conversation by an apt saying. The proverbs depend as much on rhythm and alliterative and other affinities as on terseness of expression, *and on sarcasm, wit, and humour as much as on common sense. The seoond, for instance, of those that are to be found printed in Appendix X runs thus : "Akattu kattiynm—purattu paltiyum " : literally "knife inside, plaster outside," reminding one of the Old Testament verse : "The words of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart : his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords." Ps. 55, 21.

The fifty-fifth is also very terse in its expression, and though it is wholly Sanskrit it is in common use in Malabar : " Arthain anartham " : literally, " riches (are) ruin."

In the hundred and eighty-fourth the Malayali gives expression to his scorn of the sordidness of foreign Brahmans • " Uttu ketta pattar — attu ketta panni meaning the Pattar runs as fast to a rice distribution as the wild pig runs from its pursuers. The Pattar is often the butt for a Malayali s wit and sarcasm, and in one proverb he classes him with black beetles and bandicoots (a kind of large rat) as among the plagues of Keralam. The proverbs translated in the appendix are only a few out of hundreds, and are taken from the beginning of a small pamphlet of them published in Malayalam at Mangalore in 1868 and containing nine hundred and ninety such phrases.

Malayalam is written in more than one alphabet , and that employed in the most ancient written documents extant— the Jews' and Syrians' copper-plate grants — is known as the Vatteluttu. Besides it there is its derived alphabet called Kolelvttuy chiefly used in keeping the records in Rajas' houses. And lastly, there is the modern Malayalam alphabet introduced by Tunjatta Eluttachchan .

Dr. Burnell styles the Vatteluttu "the original Tamil alphabet which was once used in all that part of the peninsula south of Tanjore, and also in South Malabar and Travancore." In a modern form it is still known, but if used at all its use is very limited. Its origin has not hitherto been traced. Dr. Burnell said of it: "The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the S. Acoka and Vatteluttu alphabets are independent adaptations of some foreign character, the first to a Sanskritic, the last to a Dravidian language." And he thought that both had " a common Semitic origin." The Vatteluttu alphabet " remained in use " in Malabar, Dr. Burnell wrote, " up to the end of the seventeenth century among the Hindus, and since then in the form of the Koleluttu (= sceptre writing), it is the character in which the Hindu sovereigns have their grants drawn up."

The modern Malayalam alphabet introduced by Tunjatta Eluuach-chan comes from the Orantha — the Tamil-Sanskrit character — and Dr. Burnell says of the application by Tunjatta Eluttachchan of the

Ari/aeluttu (as it is sometimes called) to the vernacular Malayalam that " beyond adopting the Vatteluttu signs for r, l and l (o, sp, and a.) he did nothing whatever to systematize the orthography, which till lately was most defective, or to supply signs for letters (e.g ., u) which are wanting in most of the other Dra vidian languages."

It will be seen from the above account that there is but little of interest or of importance in Malayalam literature, and the scholars who have of late years studied the language have been attracted to it rather by the philological interest attached to it than by anything else. Mr. F. W. Ellis in his essay, from which numerous quotations have been taken, long ago saw the importance of comparative philology, and the following further quotation from his essay on Malayalam is very interesting from a historical point of view : — u He who shall conquer the difficulties which the absurd speculations of the idle or the ignorant have thrown in his way, and establish etymology on the firm basis of truth and reason, will suggest to the philosopher new and important speculations on mankind, and open to the historian views of the origin and connection of nations which he can derive from no other source." Commenting on this and the essay generally Dr. Burnell observes : " It was not till 1816 that Bopp published his ' Conjugation system,' which was the beginning of Comparative Philology in Europe," so that Mr. F. W. Ellis had, probably by some years, anticipated in his Malayalam researches the importance to which this science would rise, and Dr. Burnell justly adds: "His unfortunate end — he was poisoned by accident — prevented his doing much, for he was only forty when he died, but he cannot be robbed of his due fame by the success of others more lucky than he was." Among those who have followed in the path traced out for them by Mr. Ellis, not the least successful is the author of the standard Dictionary of Malayalam and English — Dr. H. Gundert. The lavish industry, research, and ability displayed in this work, which was published in 1872, are beyond all praise, and have opened up to the enquirer, as Mr. Ellis foresaw, new and truthful explanations of what was in former days all mystery and doubt. There is hardly a page in this present work which in one way or other does not derive authority or enlightenment from Dr. Gundert's labours and scholarship.

Besides Malayalam there is one other territorial language in Malabar — Mahl to wit — the language of the Minicoy Islanders. Owing to the remoteness of the island, its small size, and the scanty means of communication with it,

very little progress has been made in the knowledge of its language ; but in Appendix XI will be found a vocabulary taken down at odd times from the lips of Ali Mdlikhdn , the late headman of the island. The vocabulary was taken down in Malayalam, and it has been transliterated in the method used in this volume. But it has not been carefully revised or even arranged, and any conclusions to be drawn ironi it should therefore be accepted with caution. There is no doubt, however, that their system of notation is the duodecimal modi-

tied by the introduction of various foreign terms. There also seem to be, as in Malayalam, no personal suffixes to the verbal tenses. It is singular that living in an island, they have no word for such a thing except country. They have names for each day of the week, chiefly Sanskrit derivatives, but no word apparently for " week " itself. They use Dravidian words for quarter and three-quarters, while for " half " there seems to be an indigenous term.

It only remains to speak of the state of education among the people, and the chief facts are contained in the subjoined statement taken from the census (1881) figures

Taluks.

Under

instruction.

Instructed.

Illiterate, including Not stated.

Total.

Chlrakkal

Kottayam . .

Kurumbranad . .

Wynad . .

Calicut

Ernad

Valluvanad

Palghat . .

Ponnani . .

Cochin

Islands . . . ,

9,486

5,567

7,944

1,370

6,384

5,114

7,117

11,018

12,769

1,799

17,772

12,764

20,206

3,853

18,721

14,823

19,149

25,703

27,762

4,046

2,377

245,411

147,444

232,874

82,868

180,857

276,206

281,836

305,733

352,123

15,515

8,178

272,669

165,775

261,024

88,091

205,962

296,143

308,102

342,454

392,654

21,360

10,801

Total . .

68,814

167,176

2,129,045

2,365,035

Of those “ under instruction ” 59,264 were males and 9,550 were females; of the “instructed” 147,167 were males and 20,009 were females ; and of the “ illiterate and not stated ” 967,1 73 were males and 1,160,471 were females.

To cope with this dense mass of ignorance a good deal of attention has been bestowed in the last twenty-five years on schools and education, and the progress obtained will be seen from the following figures : —

Years.

University

pupils.

High school pupils.

Middle school pupils.

Elementary

pupils.

Normal school pupils.

1857-58 ..

1862-63 ..

1867-68 ..

2,012

1,013

1872-73 ..

3,696

11,671

1877-78 ..

1,180

27,527

1882-83 ..

1,431

37,196

Of the pupils in 1882-83, 5,270 were girls. Many Malayali youths proceed to Madras and elsewhere to complete their education, and if the numbers of these were added, there would be a considerable increase in the numbers shown in the column headed “ University pupils.”

THI LANGUAGES, LITERATURE, &C.

The above includes only such pupils as attend schools brought under inspection and control by the Educational Department. There are, as a comparison of the two statements will show, numerous other scholars educated after a fashion in indigenous schools. Of the system of teaching adopted by the educational authorities it is unnecessary to say anything here, but of the Hindu system which it is gradually supplanting— the indigenous methods — the following notes may be of interest. The first step in such schools is to teach the boys, and girls too — for the indigenous schools are freely attended by girls — the alphabet : some sand is spread on the floor and the letters are learnt by tracing them in the sand with the forefinger. The teacher next writes on a cadjan leaf some slogams (verses) relating to Ganapati and other gods. These are spelt out by the boys and girls and learnt by heart and sung. The next stage is the reading (singing) of the A maram , a collection of slogams (verses) telling the names of all things in heaven and on earth and under the earth — gods, and men and living animals; trees and stocks and stones. After this comes grammar, taught on cadjan leaves, and also by means of slogams (verses) which are sung. Finally, the pupils who have advanced thus far are set to read (sing) the Rama-yanam, Bhagavatam , &c., written in the “ maccaronic verse ” described above by Mr. F. W. Ellis. The Vyagaramm and other sastrams follow on this. A pupil who has advanced thus far is considered very far advanced in learning, but those who get so far as to be able to read and understand the Ramayanam and the other epics are usually considered quite learned enough, and the generality of people do not get further than spelling out the Amaram. It will be seen that reciting or singing plays a very important part in this system. For indigenous Brahmans there are three Sanskrit colleges, two of which — Tirunavayi in

Ponnani Taluk and Pulayi in Kurumbranad Taluk — are in Malabar, and the third is at Trichchur (Tirusivapperur) in the Cochin Native State. E&cli college is presided over by a Vadhyan or teacher. The generality of the Brahmans educated in these places are taught to repeat their particular Veda without understanding it. It is only a very small number who can both read and interpret the Vedas, and the proportion in which these are studied by the Nambutiri families is as follows : —

Rik Vedists … … .;. … 532 families.

Yajur do. … . 407 do.

Sama do. … … … … 7 do.

Excluded from reading the Vedas or

uncertain . 71 do.

Total … 1,017 do.

But it must not be supposed that the teaching which the Nambutiri Brahmans receive is wholly religious. The study of the different

scienoes seems to have descended in particular families, and astronomy in particular has had great attention paid to it, and the knowledge of it is fairly exact. These Brahmans had a monopoly, of learning for many centuries, and doubtless this was one of the ways in which they managed to «ecure such commanding influence in the country.

Muhammadan ohildren are likewise taught to repeat, without understanding, the Koran, and in addition to this elementary Malayalam writing is taught. But at Ponnani there exists a Muhammadan college, founded, it is said, some six hundred years ago by an Arab named Zeyn-ud-din. He took or received the title of Mukhaddam, an Arabic word meaning the first or foremost in an assembly, &c. He married a Mappilla (indigenous Muhammadan), woman, and his descendants in the female line have retained the title. The present Mukhaddam at Ponnani is the twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth in the line of succession. The students at the college are supported by the Ponnani townspeople, the custoni being to quarter two students in each house. The students study in the public or Jammat or (as it is sometimes called) Friday Mosque, and in their undergraduate stage they are called Mullas. There is apparently very little system in their course of study up to the taking of the degree of Mutaliyar, i.e ., elder or priest. The word is sometimes pronounced Musaliyar , and very often by ignorant people as Moyaliyar. There is no examination, but the most diligent and most able of the Mullas are sought

out by the Mukhaddam and are invited by him to join in the public reading with him at the " big lamp " in the Jammat Mosque. This invitation is considered as a sign of their fitness for the degree, which they assume without further preliminaVies. Genuine Arabs, of whom many families of pure blood are settled on the coast, despise the learning thus imparted and are themselves highly educated in the Arab sense. Their knowledge of their own books of science and of history is very often profound, and to a sympathetic listener who knows Malayalam they love to discourse on 6uch subjects. They have a great regard for the truth, and in their finer feelings they approach nearer to the standard of English gentlemen than any other class of persons in Malabar.

Section D. — Caste and Occupations.

In Chapter XI of the Madras Census (1871) Report, in treating of caste, Surgeon-General Cornish wrote as follows: " The subject of caste divisions among the Hindus is one that would take a lifetime of labour to elucidate. It is a subject on which no two divisions or subdivisions of the people themselves are agreed, and upon which European authorities who have paid any attention to it differ hopelessly. The operation of the caste system is to isolate completely the members of

each caste or sub -caste; and whatever a native may know of his own peculiar branch, he is, as a rule, grossly ignorant of the habits and customs, or the origin, of those outside the pale of his own section of the community."

To reduce the subject to something like order and method, the Madras Town Census Committee proposed, in 1869, a system of classification, which was adopted in the census 1871, and this system is thus described by Surgeon-General Cornish : " The committee started with the assumption that the present Hindu castes must all have branched out from a few parent stems ; that from the first there must have been a primitive division of labour, and hence of caste, corresponding to the great divisions of labour now existing, i.e ., Professional , Personal Service , Commercial , Agricultural , Industrial and Non-productive ." They are probably correct in stating that in " early times the present almost innumerable sub-divisions of castes did not exist, and that a large number are mere repetitions of castes in another tribe and language. Long separation and infrequent communication have led to insulation so complete that former union is forgotten and intermarriage is prohibited. Another very large aggregate of the population has sprung from a few root castes, simply because of local variations in the mode of labour.

Length of time has fossilized minute changes, and new castes have grown up. These also, from an ethnic and social point of view, remain one and the same caste." The committee accepted, without question, the divisions of the Hindu community into (1) Brahmans , (2) Kshatriyas, (8) Vais y as y (4) Sudras , and (o) Out-castes.

After examining, at some length, the Hindu sacred writings Dr. Cornish observed : " It is plain that in a critical inquiry regarding the origin of caste we can place no reliance upon the statements made in the Hindu sacred writings." The tendency of these writings was too obviously the exaltation of the Brahman at the expense of the other castes. He concluded, moreover, that " the whole caste system, as it has come down to us, bears unmistakeable evidence of Brahmanical origin ;" and finally arrived at a " natural explanation " of the origin of caste which he thus described : " The later Aryan colonistsevidently saw that if they were to preserve their individuality afid supremacy, they must draw a hard-and-fast line between themselves, the earlier and partly degenerated Aryans, and the brown and black races of the country, and hence probably we get a natural explanation of the origin of caste."

As bearing upon this important subject of the origin of the caste system the evidence of the early Syrian Christians' deed, translated by Dr. Gundert in Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Vol. XIII, Part I, deserves, it would seem, a prominent place, but a few preliminary remarks are necessary before setting forth this evidence.

If it were necessary to sum up in one word the law of the country as it stood before the Muhammadan invasion (1766 A.D.) and British

occupation (1792 A.D.), that word would undoubtedly be the word " Custom." In Malayalam it would he " Marydda," " Mdrggam" " Achdram" all signifying established rule and custom, and all of them Sanskrit words. There can hardly be a doubt that the high degree of civilization to which the country had advanced at a comparatively early period was due to Aryan immigrants from the north, and these immigrants brought with them Aryan ideas of method and order in civil government which became the law of the land.

Among other things which they imported was " jdti" (caste). There is no indigenous word either in Malayalam or in any other of the Dravidian languages to signify caste. Jdti itself, like all other Malayalam words beginning with " j," is a foreign word and expresses a foreign and not a Dravidian idea. The root of the word is the Sanskrit " jan ," and it simply means "birth." As applied in the law of the land, it was the " custom"

connected with “ birth.”

But of course Malayalis have an indigenous word for “ birth,” and, in common with Tamil, Canarese and Tulu, they use a verb signifying to bring forth, and from it the Tamils and Malayalis form a verbal noun piru (birth). And this word pern occurs in the well-known compound word nir-atti-peru, signifying the “ water-contact birthright ” in land, equivalent to the later Sanskrit word janmam (birthright) used for the same purpose. The indigenous word for “ birth ” seems thus to have acquired at a very early period a peculiar signification of its own for it occurs in this sense in the Cochin Jews’ deed — of date about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. — and it was thus perhaps not available for the purpose of defining “ caste.”

The word Jdti (caste) was not, however, the only Sanskrit word used in the development of the caste system, and the words Kardlar and Kdrdnmei (modern Kdraymd) — the former used twiod and the latter once in the second (of date about the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.) of the Syrians’ deeds — deserve attention. These are not pure Sanskrit words, but they come from a Sanskrit root with a Dravidian termination, and they originally implied a trust and correlative duty. Certain classes of oitizens were, according to that deed, entrusted with certain functions, which functions it was their duty , as an organized community in the body politic, to fulfil.

A certain class called the planters — that is to say, the caste now known as the Thjar (Dwipar = islanders) or linear (Simhalar , Sihalar , Ihalar = Cingalese)— were entrusted with the duty of planting up the waste lands. They are specifically referred to elsewhere in the same deed as the Islanders with a headman of their guild. Two of the.r specific privileges are also mentioned in the deed, namely, the hoot-rope right (for mounting trees) ” and the “ Ladder right (for a similar purpose).” Curiously enough, although the word Kdrdnmei (modern Kdrdyma) has come in the course of ages ordinarily to signify something very different, yet the ancient meaning is still occasionally to

be met with by the diligent observer. He will find it, however, not in the mouths of the learned or the well-to-do, but in the mouths of the poor cultivators in out-of-the-way parts of the country, where archaic forms of words and archaic ideas still survive. The Iluvar or planters in these parts still look upon it as their duty in the body politic to form gardens and to plant up

the wastes with trees.

So it was with the " setters," whose duty it was to " set " the rice plants. This class or caste is also specifically named in the deed as the Velldlar (that is, irrigators), a caste which subsists to the present day, but which, for reasons to be presently alluded to, has not kept itself as distinct as the planters in the body politic.

Again it was declared to be' the duty of the Jewish and Syrian guilds assembled in their respective corporate head-quarters at Anju-vannam and Manigramam to protect the church peoples (Pallvyar) town. This duty of " protection " was a most important function in the body politic. The Jews and Syrians were by other deeds incorporated in the Malayali nation, and in the second of the Syrians' deeds it is clear that the position assigned to them was that of equality with the "Six Hundred" of the ndd (that is, of the county). The "Six Hundred " are both in this deed and in another ancient one referred to as the protectors, and in the latter they are also referred to as the supervisors (the Kanakkar), a word which has come down to modern days and which has been much misunderstood. The Nayars (so styled from a Sanskrit word signifying leader , in the honorific plural lord1 and in ordinary sense soldier) were the "protectors " of the country, and, as such, crystallized readily into the existing caste of Nayars, with numerous branches. Their other function of supervision (Kdnam) still also remained with them almost unimpaired down to the time of the British occupation ; but of recent years, owing to the ignorance of the British courts of justice, the term has quite lost its proper signification. The Nayars were, if we may credit tradition, also Velldlar (that is, irrigators), but of course their most important, most consequential, and most acceptable function was the protection duty and trust, and so there are comparatively few of the original Velldlar (irrigator) caste in the district.

Then, again, it was the duty of the heads of the Syrian Church (Palliyar) to render to the powers above them — who were respectively the Ron or king, or Perumal or emperor, and the Jewish and Syrian protector guilds in their corporate capacities — a trustworthy account of the shares of produce of the land which respectively fell to them. But it seems very doubtful if the shares which respectively fell to the powers above them were shares of the land produce alone : it would, of course in an agricultural country be the chief source of their revenues, and probably as regards the protector guild the only one. The word Varak-kdl , used in the deed, means, however, simply " sharing staff of office," and the wording of some of the clauses seems to point to a, share in all

gains, however made, being paid to the central authority— the Ron (that is,

shepherd or king). As matter of fact this system of sharing gams has not survived in Malabar in any other industry but agriculture, but the history is peculiar as will be seen further on, and fully accounts for this fact. On the other hand of course, the sharing system in a pure Hindu State is well known and exists to the present day, and extends to

all classes of the community, no matter how humble or how despised their callings may be.

Finally, the Palliyar themselves were on the precise footing of members of the " protector guild " established in out-of-the-way parts of the country. Their " sharing staff " duty would ordinarily have constituted of them a distinct caste, but as members of the " protector guild " the protectors' duty would overshadow their minor duty as " sharing staff " office holders. And this seems to have been what actually happened to the Ndyars who were scattered over the face of the country not only as supervisors holding the " sharing staff" of office, but as local militia and " protectors." Down to recent times the Nayars were primarily the "protecting" caste, but as matter of fact also they inherited the " sharing staff " office functions as Kdnakkar . In this way there came to be therefore no distinct caste of " sharing staff " office holders, or at least none are traceable now.

If this reasoning and the facts on which it is founded are correct, then it follows that the origin of the caste system is to be sought, not so much in any ethnic circumstances of blood connection as Dr. Cornish suggests, as in the ordinary every-day system of civil government imported into the country by Aryan immigrants, and readily adopted by the alien peoples among whom the immigrants came, not as conquerors, but as peaceful citizens, able by their extensive influence elsewhere to assist the people among whom they settled.

The idea in fact embodied in the caste system of civil government was the idea which permeates Hindu society — the idea of the family household. The Aryans thought, and to a certain extent wisely thought, that they could not do better in organizing their State than to copy the example continually before their eyes and to organize it on the model of a well-regulated household. There they saw each member of it told off to perform certain clear and distinct functions. The clearer and more distinct those functions were, the better were the household affairs managed. The cook must attend to tho kitchen, the lady's maid to her mistress' attire ; the sweeper must not interfere with the food, nor the water-man with the lady's muslins. In no country under the sun has the efficient organization by households — by families — been better understood or more extensively carried out than in India. And when questions of civil administration were under consideration it

was the most natural thing to turn to the family as a model. The soldier was told off to his especial calling, the merchant to his accounts and trade, the cultivator to his plough. Nothing strikes the fancy more

strongly in the old Hindu world s'tories than the picture presented of fighting men killing each other in one field, while the husbandman peacefully tilled the one adjoining, and the Brahman sat silently contemplating creation under a neighbouring sacred tree. Busy each in their own spheres, it mattered very little to'them how it fared with others having other and distinct functions.

Society organized on these lines was capable of easy and rapid development, and this no doubt accounts for the advanced state of the people in early times, on which it is unnecessary here to dwell.

A time came of course, and came quickly too, when development ceased, when custom became lord paramount, and when society, turned in (as it were) upon itself, began to waste its energies in multiplying distinctions of caste and in searching out hair-splitting differences. This followed of necessity, for the bonds of caste being inherited at birth are as rigid as they are strong. Even criminals at last set up as civic corporations, as witness the powerful thief or robber caste in Southern India. Eveu now, when custom is no longer sole lord of the land, castes continue to multiply, nor will it be otherwise till British freedom evokes, as it is sure to do in good time, a national sentiment, and forms a nation out of the confusing congeries of tribal guilds at present composing it.

Looked at from this point of view, it is clear that questions of caste and questions of hereditary occupation ought to be considered together. The census figures unfortunately give insufficient data for an analysis of the extent to which castes have fallen away from their hereditary trades and professions, but something may be learnt from the returns. It is unfortunate, however, that such an essentially European classification o#f occupations has been adopted in the census returns, for it is only confusing to suppose (as the Madras Town Census Committee supposed) that castes naturally ranged themselves at first under the heads adopted in the census tables of Professional, Personal Service, Commercial, Agricultural, Industrial, and Non-productive. Some of these divisions are right, but others are not merely wrong, but misleading. What ought to have been done was to have adopted the four great divisions into which the Hindus themselves say they were originally divided viz. : —

1. The sacrificers (God compellers) and men of learning ;

2. The protectors and governing classes ;

3. The traders and agriculturists ;

4. The servile classes ;

and to have added to this a fifth class of apparently later origin —

1. The mechanics and handicraftsmen ;

and all other classes now existing would have fallen under a separate class of —

1. Miscellaneous.

l;j

It would have been interesting to have noted to what extent persons belonging.to one or other of these great caste divisions had encroached upon the hereditary occupations of persons belonging to other divisions ; hut occupations have been treated in the census 1881 returns as something quite unconnected ’with caste.

Foreigners (such as the British and Parsis) and people of foreign religions (such as the Muhammadans) should then have been separately treated in order to slioW to what extent they too had encroached upon the hereditary occupations of the Hindus.

The census returns do not permit of ’such a comparison being made, nor are the returns even of castes so distinct as could be desired, so that the following is merely an attempt to classify the Hindu castes under the indigenous hereditary occupation or caste guilds.

Division I.

The Sacrificers (God-compcllers) and Men of Learning.

Totals.

Brahman (Malayali and foreign) 47,683

Division II.

The Protectors and Governing Classes.

Maravan (Tamils — Watchers) , .

Mutrdtcha (Tamils — Watchers) . .

Nayars (Militia) .. .. •• ..

321,674

Rajput (Foreigners)

Division III.

(a.) The Traders.

Balija (Telugus) .

1,466

Komati (Tamils)

1,096

Shetti (Tamils)

20,945

Vaniyan and Gdndlu . . . .

42,781

Vanniyan (Tamils)

1,259

(h .) The Agriculturists.

Agamudayan (Tamils)

Golla or LUiiyar (Herdsmen)

% 2,889

Gouda (Herdsmen)

1,062

Kurumhar (Shepherds, Junglemen)

2,062

Kuruba Golla (Herdsmen)

Padaydchchi (Tamils)

1,008

Reddi (Telugus) .

Shandn or ldiga . . . • • j

559,717

Thy an or Ilavan (Planters) . .)

Telvgdlu or Vadugar (North country-

men) . . . . • • • • • •

7,811

Velldlan (I rvi gators)

7,525

Yudautlu Telugus)

e

322,178

67,547

582,417

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

Division IV.

The Servile Classes.

Totals.

Palli (Ploughmen)

40,809

Par ay an (Slaves) . .

93,612

Ambattan (Barbers — Serving all castes,

but not indiscriminately)

8,347

Oddar (East Coast tank-diggers)

1,682

Upparavan (East Coast tank-digger) . .

Vanndn (Wasnermen — Serving all castes,

but not indiscriminately)

37,556

182,007

Division V.

Mechanics and Handicraftsmen .

Devangulu (Telugus) . . . . . .

Kaikalar (Weavers)

20,465

Kamsalar or Kammalar (Carpenters,

Braziers, Stone-masons, Goldsmiths,

Blacksmiths) . .

51,553

Kummara or Kushavan (Potters)

11,770

Madiga (Workers in leather?) . .

181,614

Sale (Weavers)

21,589

Seniyan (Tamils — Weavers)

287,487

Division VI.

Miscellaneous.

Ambalakdran (Tamils — Chiefs of the

KallarJ.)

Besta or Valayan (Fishermen) . .

16,024

Lihgadhari (Lirigavites — No caste)

Kalian (Tamils— Thief, Robber caste). .

Shembadavan (Fishmongers) . . , .

Others .

162,175

Not stated

1,441

179,952

Grand Total

.. 1,669,271

The names of the differeifit castes in the above list have been adopted from the census tables but they are not strictly applicable to Malabar.

It will of course be urged against this table that such castes as the planters the Tiyar or llavar — should not find a place in the division corresponding to the agriculturists of the original Aryan organization, but it must be remembered that the Aryans were, in dealing with the aboriginal population

of Malabar, not dealing with their own people but with an alien race. They had no sufficient body of " protectors " of theirown race to fall back upon, so they had perforce to acknowledge as

" protectors " the aborigiual ruling race, — the Nayars — whom they designated as " Surfra but in reality treated as Kshotriyas. If their " protectors " were called Sudras (servile classes), then the castes below Sudras would not have any footing in the original Aryan organization. This is so, and it is moreover, most strenuously maintained to the present day. Nevertheless it is perfectly clear from the wording of the 8yrians' deed that the planters — the islanders — who are still the most numerous body of Hindus in the district, were originally an organized agricultural caste with a distinct function in the body politic. The real fact seems to have been that the Aryans who introduced the political system of caste into Malabar were unwilling to raise even the aboriginal ruling race to the dignity of the pure Kshatriya caste of Aryans. Very possibly they were Kshatriyas 1 themselves who introduced the system. And yet the State organization required that there should be a protector or Kshatriya caste, so they solved the difficulty by inventiug a term — Nay an , pin. Nayar (Sans, leader, soldier) — §nd by applying it> to the caste whom they constituted protectors and yet treated as " Sudra (servile caste). In this way the real agriculturists except the Velldlar (irrigators) out of whom the caste of Nayars seems to have been originally formed, came to be treated as being outside the caste system altogether. To the present day tho higher castes maintain most strenuously that the Tiyar— the islanders, the planters of the community — are outcastes.

The final organization of castes in Malabar probably took place about the eighth century A.D., simultaneously with the rise of the Nambutiri Brahmans to power and influence. The Aryan Jains who had preceded the latter had probably already organized the community in the Aryan fashion into corporate guilds, and it only needed the idea of caste as a religions institution to be imported into the country by the Vedic Brahmans to bring about the crystallization (so to speak) of the various caste elements.

In the census 1881 returns the population has been classed according to actual occupations as follows : —

Males.

Females.

Total.

I. — Professional.

1. Government . !

2. Defence .. . •• •• ••

3. Learning, literature, &c. ..

Total . .

7,206

2,274

27,657

14,588

7,263

2,274

42,245

37,137

14,645

51,782

1 Conf. the Dutch Chaplain (but a Tamil by birth) P. de Melho's account of the tradition current in hie time. He said that the Chera, ChOja and P&ndya rulers were all Kshatriyas and belonged respectively to the races of the fire, of the sun, and of the moon. Ind. Ant. X,'8e

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

Males.

Females.

Total.

1. — Domestic.

1. Wives

2. Personal offices . .

5,793

6,001

11,794

Total . .

5,793

6,867

12,660

I II. — Commercial.

1. Money, house, goods dealing

2. Carrying .

16,968

32,299

2,304

2,133

19,272

34,432

Total . .

49,267

4,437

53,704

1. — Agricultural.

1. Occupancy of land, and agriculture

9 . Care of animals

346,868

13,082

228,631

3,948

575,499

17,030

Total ..

359,950

232,579

592,529

V. — Industrial.

1. Art and mechanics ..

2. Textile fabrics and dress ..

3. Food and drinks

1 3. Animal substances . .

1. Vegetable substances

2. Mineral substances . .

19,673

30,097

72,632

27,830

65,708

61,973

52,998

1,599

14,030

6,742

20,090

92,070

125,630

2,304

41,860

72,450

Total ..

216,645

137,769

354,404

1. — Indefinite and Non-productive.

1. Labour (specified) ..

2. Rank and property (without occupation).

3. No specified occupation

29,066

476,385

18,081

776,336

47,147

1,252,721

•Total ..

505,482

794,474

1,299,956

Grand Total . .

1,174,274

1,190,761

2,365,035

Of the different castes in Malabar much information has been collected and a great deal might be written, but it will probably suffice to notice here the chief peculiarities of the more noteworthy among the Malay ali castes.

And first it may be noticed that the Malayalis distinguish two kinds of pollutions, viz., by people whose very approach within certain defined distances causes atmospheric pollution to those of the higher castes, and by people who only pollute by actual contact.

Among the first class may be mentioned the following, and the prescribed distances at which they must stand, viz.

FEET •

The Nayd'li (dog-eaters) . 72

The Pulayan (agrestic slave) . . . . , # 64

The Kanisan (astrologer) . . . . . > > 35

The Mukkuvan (fisherman) . . . . t s 24

&c. &c. &e.

But women, even of equal caste-rank, pollute if at certain times they come within certain distances, and this custom seems to prevail even among the lowest castes. A newly confined woman has to stand at a distance of eighteen feet and a menstruating woman at twelve feet j hence the necessity in all respectable houses for special buildings set apart for'special use by the women.

Among the second class are ranked Muhammadans, Christians and foreign

Hindus, who defile only by touch. And it is a sufficiently remarkable fact that a corpse even may be defiled by touching it. This feeling on the part of the Hindus leads to various inconveniences, for it is only in the very last resort that a European or a lowcaste medical man is permitted to touch a sick person.

Pollution, however acquired, by the near approach of a low-caste man or by touch, can only be washed out by complete immersion in water. Even to use hot water seems to be against the canon. And great are the perplexities of the strictly conservative, and noteworthy are some of the devices by which the better castes try to turn the flank (so to speak) of this law, now that greater freedom in moving about the country is necessitated by modern requirements. The water must be in a natural tank or stream : even Ganges water if confined in a tub would perhaps fail to wash away pollution. The strictly orthodox are sometimes driven to emptying big kettles of boiling water into the stream above the place of bathing in order that the health of the bather may not suffer when on a journey in a cold climate. The orthodox fashion is to hold the nose with finger and thumb and dip completely under the surface when nothing more loathsome has to be washed off than the polluting touch of a European's friendly shake of the hand. This bath is necessary before food can be partaken, or a sacred place entered, or several other aots performed.

The highest castes are naturally the greatest sticklers for this observance, and although British freedom has made inroads on the Hindu custom' in this respect, chiefly through the influence of education and extended knowledge, it is too soon yet to look forward to the final extinction of this anomalous custom.

Of the Malayali castes the most exclusive, and the most conservative, and, in the European sense, nearly the most unenlightened, is that of the indigenous Malayali Brahmans called Nmnbntiru. If they did not introduce caste, as a political institution, into the country, they at least seem to have given to it its most recent development, and they are its staunohest upholders now. They seem to have embodied in the

Sanskrit language rules of life regulating their most trivial actions, and at every step their conduct is hampered and restrained by what appear to European eyes absurd customs. They shun publicity, and it is exceedingly difficult to obtain exact knowledge of what they do, or think, or feel.

In ancient times their influence seems to have been supreme in the State

councils, as indeed their caste name implies, ‘for Dr. Gundert derives the word from the Dravidian verb nambiika { — to confide, desire) and the common Sanskrit affix tin 1 (= = office, dignity). There are several other derivations, but all are more or less fanciful, and the above may be accepted as the correct one since it not only has the authority of so distinguished a Dravidian scholar as Dr. Gundert, but because the character of confidential adviser and trusty friend of Rajas and people of influence is even now the peculiar character which this caste bears.

The Nambdtiri-s are Vedie Brahmans. It has been conjectured from the use of the phrase Anjija Bmhmanar that they are of pure Aryan descent, but the fact requires proof, and is certainly not borne out by personal appearances. The bulk of them are followers either of the Rik or of the Yajur Veda, while a very few follow the Senna Veda, and some are excludedfrom studying the Vedas altogether.

The existing actual distribution of the several schools is shown in the following table* which was prepared a year or two ago * —

Taluks.

Number of

Of whom there are

Nambutiri families settled in each taluk.

Rik

Vedists.

Yajur

Vedists.

Sama

Vedists.

Excluded from Vedas or uncertain.

1. Chlrakkul
2. Kottayam
3. Kurumbranad

4. Wynad

5. Calicut

6. Evnad

•7. Valluvan&d

1. Pai <;hat

•

1. Ponnani
2. Cochin

Total . .

1,017

It is asserted that the Panniyiir (literally, pig village) Gramarn is totally excluded from the Veda. In that case twenty-one of the families in Kurumbranad, shown as of the Rik Veda school, and one of the Ya/vr Veda school, should be transferred to the last column of the statement ; and similarly, in the returns for Ponnani, forty-five of the Rik Vedists and one of the Sama Vedists should be transferred to the last column.

- Tiru, blessed, fortunate — art.

MAI.AHAR DISTRICT.

In the early history of the caste there was a split into two factions, the Panniyur Gramam adopting the Vaishnavite faith with the Vaish-navite emblem, the pig or boar, and the Chovur Gramam that of Saiva. It will be noted in the historical chapter that a more or less successful resistance, probably with Brahman aid, was made by the Malayaiis against the aggressions of the Western Chalukya dynasty, and as the boar was also thte Chalukya emblem, it is probable that the decline of the PanniyOr Gramam and the ascendancy of the Chovur Gramam was brought about at this time. At any rate, the Chovur Gramam had the best of the quarrel. The whole caste has, however, since adopted the Vedantist doctrines of Sankara Acharya, himself believed to have been a Nambutiri.

Their organization is by Gramams (villages), just as the Nayars were organized by tar as and nads , and Tiyars and other foreigners by cherts. The principal pure Nambutiri Gramams now extant are —

1. Sukapuram or Sivapuram (probably identical with the ori

ginal Chovur or Chovaram = Sivapuram).

1. Peruvanam.
2. Irinyalakuda.
3. Panniyur (the other original village).
4. Karikkad.
5. Trissivaperur.
6. Perinchellur.
7. Venganad.
8. Alattur.
9. Edakkad.

The only two villages mentioned in the Syrians' deed of A.D. 774 are Panniyur and Chovur (Chovaram, i.c., Sivapuram = Siva's town) ; so it is difficult to resist the conclusion that there were but two organized villages of Brahmans in Malabar at that time, both Vedic, but of opposite religious views. The other Gramams, besides others now extinct, probably either branched off from the two original villages or settled in the country subsequently. The mythical story of Parasu Kaman reclaiming the land of Keralam from the sea, for the benefit of sixtyfour Brahman villages, and in expiation of his sins in slaying twenty-one heroie dynasties of "Kshatriyas (as the Malayali tradition runs) is not in accordance with such scraps of history as have oome down, nor with facts as they exist, but this matter will be better dealt with in the subsequent chapters.

Besides these there are several classes of inferior Brahmans styled Nambidisy ElayadSy and in one instance Embrantiri, who have succeeded in later times in securing, or being thought fit to assume, tb<» name of Nambutiri, and there is yet another class, the Mussat, or more properly the Ui.ilparisha Mussat, who are privileged to eat with Nambutirtsy but do not intermarry with them, por are they entitled to perform

yo (jaws (sacrifices). The hereditary Void yon (physician) family is also styled Mussat, and this family's only disqualification for the rank of Nambutiri lies, it is said, in the fact that they were originally surgeons as well as physicians.

The conclusion seems to he that the original Brahman families divided among themselves the learned professions and the privilege of making sacrifices, and never lost an opportunity of protecting their monopolies by every art in their power, and in particular by forbidding the study of Sanskrit to other castes. There are hereditary magician or sorcerer families ; a few are well versed in astronomy ; some are preservers of the sacred fire (adittiri); others are doctors or surgeons ; others again actors. It is only the poorest of them who will consent to act as priests, and of these the highest functionary in a large temple is condemned to three years of celibacy while holding offioe ; some are celibates for one year of office, and allow their hair to grow.

It is traditionally alleged that some portion of the Brahmans did at one time arm themselves. The numbers who did so are said to have been thirty-six thousand, and they are known as Ayvdhapani or weapon-bearers. The heads of this class were styled Nambiyattiri, and the Idappalli Nambiyattiri is still pointed out as the chief of them. There was therefore probably some foundation in fact for the tradition, but arms to a Brahman, under the old regime, was not a congenial employment.

The Grama ms are presided over by six Smart /ids, who are presidents of the assemblies at which caste offences are tried. Such assemblies in former times required the sanction of the ruling chieftain, who, on representation made that a caste offence had been committed, issued orders to the local Smdrthd to hold an enquiry. There seems to have been in former days no appeal from the decision of the Gramam assembly to any other authority, but within the last few years the decision of such an assembly was called in question, and the attempt that was subsequently made to overrule its decision greatly exercised the minds of the “ twice born ” in all the Malayali countries.

The episodes in the trial of a caste offence among Nambutiris are so curious, and throw such light on their ways of thinking and acting, that it is worth while to go into the matter in some detail.

The local chieftain’s sanction for the trial of the offence was, as already said, first of all necessary. The Nambutiri family (Bhattattiri) which has the privilege of furnishing the president (Smdrthd), and the number of members (Mimdmsalcas) required to form a tribunal, are dilferent in different parts of the country.

When a woman is suspected by her own kinsmen or by neighbouring Brahmans of having been guilty of light conduct, she is, under pain of excommunication of all her kinsmen, placed under restraint. The maid-servant (Dasi or Vrshali), who is indispensable to every Nambutiri family, if not to every individual female thereof, is then

interrogated, and if she should criminate her mistress, the latter is forthwith segregated and a watch set upon her. When the family can find a suitable house 1 for the purpose, the mdhanam (the tiring or article or subject y as thej suspected person is called) is removed to it ; otherwise she is kept in the family house, the other members finding temporary accommodation elsewhere.

The examination of the servant maid is conducted by the Namhu-tiris of the Grdviam, who, in the event of the servant accusing her mistress, proceed without delay to the local chieftain who has the power to order a trial. And authority is granted in writing to the local Smdrthd, who in turn calls together the usual number of Mi mam takas (persons skilled in the law).

They assemble at some convenient spot, generally in a temple, not far from the place where the accused may be. All who are interested ill the proceedings are permitted to be present. Order is preserved by an officer deputed by the chief for the purpose, and he stands sword in hand near the Smdrthd and members of the tribunal. The only other member of the court is a Nambdtiri called the Agakkbyma, whose duties will be described presently.

When all is ready th.e chief's warrant is first read out and the accused's whereabouts ascertained.

The Smdrthd, accompanied b}' the officer on guard and the Agak-lidi/ma Nambutiri, next proceeds to the accused's house : the officer on guard remains outside while the others enter. At the entrance, however, they are met by the maid-servant, who up to this time has never lost sight of the accused and who prevents the men from entering. In feigned ignorance of the cause for thus being stopped, the Smdrthd demands an explanation, and is told that a certain person is in the room. The Smdrthd demands more information, and is told that the person is no other than such and such a lady, the daughter or sister or mother (as the case may be) of such and such a Nambdtiri of such and such an illam. The Smdrthd professes profound surprise at the idea of the lady being where sheds and again demands an explanation.

Here begins the trial proper. The accused, who is still strictly </osha, is questioned through the medium of the maid, and she is made to admit that there is a charge against her. This is the first point to be gained, for nothing further can be done in the matter until the accused herself has made this admission.

This point, however, is not very easily gained at times, and the Smdrthd has often to appeal to her own feelings and knowledge of the world and asks her to recollect how unlikely it would be that a Nambutiri female of her position should be turned out of her parents' house and placed where she then was uuless there was some cause for it.

i it i3 called the "fifth house," ».c., the building next to tho usual " four houses," or northern (Vadakkini), southern {Tctdini), eastern (KilaHlni), and western (Pa, liny, yultini) rooms or houses.

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

In the majority of cases this preliminary stage is got over with little trouble, and is considered a fair day's work for the first day.

The Smdrthd and his colleagues then return to the assembly and the former relates in minute detail all that has happened since he left the conclave. The Agakkoy ina's task is to see that the version is faithful. He is not at liberty to speak, but whenever he thinks the Smdrthd has made a mistake as to what happened, he removes from his shoulders and lays on the ground a piece of cloth as a sign for the Smartlia to brush up his memory. The latter takes the hint and tries to correct himself. If he succeeds, the AgahkdymcCs cloth is replaced on his shoulders, but if not the Smdrthd is obliged to go back to the accused and obtain what information is required.

When the day's proceedings are finished, the members of the tribunal are sumptuously entertained by the accused's kinsmen, and this continues to be done as long as the enquiry lasts. A trial sometimes lasts several years, the tribunal meeting occasionally and the accused's kinsmen being obliged to entertain the members and any other Nanibu-tiris present on each occasion, while the kinsmen themselves are temporarily cut off from intercourse with other Brahmans pending the result of the trial, and all srdddhas (sacrifices to benefit the souls of deceased ancestors) are stopped. The reason for this is that, until the woman is found guilty or not, and until it is ascertained when the sin was committed, they cannot, owing to the probability that they have unwittingly associated with her after her 'disgrace, be admitted into society until they have performed the expiatory ceremony {LJ rdymehitta m).

The tribunal continues its sittings as long as may bo necessary, that is, until either the accused confesses and is convicted, or her innocence is established. No verdict of guilty can be given against her except on her own confession. No amount of evidence is sufficient.

In. former days, when the servant accused her mistress and there was other evidence forthcoming, but the accused did not confess, various modes of

torture were had recourse to in order to extort a confession, such as rolling up the accused in a piece of matting and letting the bundle fall from the roof to the courtyard below. This was done by women, and the mat supplied the place of the purdah. At other times live rat-snakes and other vermin were turned into the room beside her, and even in certain cases cobras, and it is said that if after having been with the cobra a certain length of time and unhurt, the fact was accepted as conclusive evidence of her innocence.

In cases when the accused offers to confess, she is examined, cross-examined, and re-examined very minutely as to time, place, person, circumstances, &c., &c., but the name of the adulterer is withheld (though it may be known to all) to the very last. Sometimes a long list of persons is given and similarly treated.

Innocent persons are sometimes named and have to purchase impunity at great expense. In one case a woman who had indicated

several persons was so nettled by the continual " who else ?" " who else ?" of the zealous scribe who was taking down the details, that she at last, to his intense astonishment, pointed to himself as one of them, and backed it up by sundry alleged facts.

The persons accused by the woman are never permitted to disprove the charges against them, but the woman herself is closely cross-examined and the probabilities are carefully weighed. And every codefendant, except the one who, according to the woman's statement, was the first to lead her astray, has a right to be admitted to the boiling-oil ordeal as administered at the temple of Suchlndram in Travancore. If bis hand is burnt he is guilty ; if it comes out clean he is judged as innocent. The ordeal by weighment in scales is also at times resorted to. The order for submission to these ordeals is called a pampu and is granted by the president (Smartha) of the tribunal. Money goes a long way towards a favourable verdict or towards a favourable issue in the ordeals.

The tribunal meets at the accused's temporary house in the Pumu - kham (drawing-room) after the accused has admitted that she is where she is because there is a charge against her. She remains in a room, or behind a big umbrella, unseen by the members of the tribunal and other inhabitants of the desam who are present, and the examination is conducted by the Smartha. A profound silence is observed by all present except by the Smartha , and he alone puts such questions as have been arranged beforehand by the members of the tribunal. The solemnity of the proceedings is enhanced to the utmost degree by the demeanour of those present. If the accused is present in the room, she stands behind her maid-servant and w'hispers her replies into her

ear to be repeated to the assembly.

Sometimes the greatest difficulty is experienced in getting her to confess, but this is usually brought about by the novelty of the situation, the scanty food, the protracted and fatiguing examination, and the entreaties of her relatives, who are being ruined, and by the expostulations and promises of the Smartha , who tells her it is best to confess and repent, and promises to get the chief to take care of her and comfortably house her on the bank of some sacred stream where she may end her days in prayer and repentance. The solemnity of the proceedings too has its effect. And the family often come forward, offering her a large share of the family property if she will only confess and allow the trial to end.

When by these means the woman has once been induced to make a confession of her weakness everything becomes easy. Hitherto strictly gosha , she is now asked to come out of her room or lay aside her umbrella and to be seated before the Smartha and the tribunal. She sometimes even takes betel and nut in their presence.

When the trial is finished, a night (night-time seems to be essential for this part of the trial) is set apart for pronouncing sentence, or, as it

is called, for " declaring the true figure, frame, or aspect " of the matter. It takes place in the presence of the local chieftain who ordered the trial. A faithful and most minutely detailed account of all the circumstances and of the trial is given by the Smart ha , who winds up with the statement that his " child " or " boy " (a term 1 applied by Nambutiris to their east coast Pattar servants) will name the adulterer or adulterers. Thereupon the servant comes forward, steps on to a low stool, and proclaims the name or names.

This duty is invariably performed by a man of the Pattar caste. It is essential that the man who does it should himself be a Brahman, and as no Nambutiri or Embrdntiri (Canarese Brahman) would do it for love or money, a needy Pattar is found and paid handsomely for doing it. Directly he has performed the duty he proceeds to the nearest piece of water, there to immerse his whole body and so wash away the sin he has contracted.

The next proceeding* which formally deprives' the accused woman of all her caste privileges, is called the " Keikkottal ' or hand-clapping ceremony. The large palmyra leaf umbrella with which all Nambutiri females conceal themselves from prying eyes in their walks abroad is usually styled the " mask umbrella " and is with them the outward sign of chastity. The sentence of excommunication is passed by the Smarthd in the woman's presence, and

thereupon the accused's umbrella is formally taken from her hands by a Nayar of a certain caste, the pollution-remover of the desam. With much clapping of hands from the assembly the woman is then instantly driven forth from her temporary quarters and all her family ties are broken. Her kinsmen perform certain rites and formally cut her off from relationship. She becomes in future to them even less than if she had died. Indeed, if she happens to die in the course of the enquiry, the proceedings go on as if she were still alive, and they are formally brought to a conclusion in the usual manner by a verdict of guilty or of acquittal against the men implicated.

The woman thus driven out goes where she likes. Some are recognized by their seducers ; some become prostitutes ; not a few are taken as wives by the Chettis of Calicut. A few find homes in institutions specially endowed to receive them.

These last-named institutions are of a peculiar character. Perhaps the best known, because it has formed the subject of judicial proceedings, is that of the Muttedatta Aramanakal in the Chlrakkal Taluk with extensive jungly land endowments. The members of this institution arc respectively styled as Mavmandr or Machchiyar , according as they are men or women. They have baronial powers and keep up a sort of baronial state, for which purpose two hundred Nayars of the Edava-kutti Kulam (or clan) were in former days bound to follow the Man-

1 Kutti = child or boy. The phrase Ku{ti rattai is sometimes used.

nation when out on active service. The members of the institution are recognized as of the Try an (or toddy-drawer) caste, and the sons of Machcluyarx become in turn Manna nan (or barons). The women take husbands from the Th/an community. The women who are sent to this institution are those convicted of illicit intercourse with men of the Tlyan or of superior castes. If the connection has been with men of lower caste than the Tlyan (toddy-drawer), the women are sent on to another institution called Kutira Mala, still deeper in the jungles of the Western Ghats.

Following on the Kcikkottal (hand-clapping) ceremony comes the feast of purification (prayaschittam) given by the accused's people, at which for the first time since the trial commenced the relatives of the accused woman are permitted to eat in company with their caste fellows, and with this feast, which is partaken of by every Nambutiri who cares to attend, the troubles of the family come to an end.

Apart altogether from the scandals which are thus dragged into the light, it is

a very serious matter to a family to have to incur the expenses of such an enquiry, for the cost rarely comes to less than one thousand rupees and has, been known to amount to as much as twelve thousand rupees.

Nothing but the dread of being deprived of their caste privileges by the general body of their community would induce a family to incur the odium and expense of such a trial, and this feeling prompts them unhesitatingly to cast out their erring members.

The caste may be divided into two classes : Nninbtitirippads and Nambutiris. The former, as their name implies,1 are of superior rank.

1 key are expected to be more strict than the latter in their religious duties, and among them the eldest son alone may marry, his brothers being expected to refrain even from concubinage witli Ndyar females. This latter practice is, however, now often set aside. The common Nambutiris are not expected to be so strict, and they, as a rule, form fugitive connections with Nayar women. Those Nambutiris who have performed a public sacrifice (ydyam) are called Chomatirippads (/ >., persons who have sacrificed with Soma juice).

As a rule the people of this caste lead very simple lives ; and the simplicity of character of a Nambutiri is in some places proverbial. They rise very early in the morning, 3 a.m., and immediately bathe in the cold water of their tanks. They spread their cloths out to dry and proceed almost naked to their religious exercises in the temple. After this and till eleven o'clock the more religious of them read or recite their Vedas. At eleven o'clock they dine, and after that devote themselves to various employments including the keeping of a solemn silence. In the evening they bathe in oil, and again resort to the temple till about 9 p.m., when they sup and retire for the night.

Vnttthaiiri and pad = authority.

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

Their dress, too, is very simple, and consists of an under and of an upper cloth ; on extraordinary occasions the long upper cloth is twisted round the loins and each leg separately. They Wear no ornaments except finger rings and waist-strings. They are very particular about their caste marks made with sandalwood saw-dust and ashes.

The women are styled antarjjananam or agattammamdr (in-doors people), appropriate names, as, after attaining majority, they are rarely seen abroad. They must not look on the face of a human being of the male sex except their husbands, and, when compelled to travel, they are invariably preceded by a crier in the person of a Nayar woman called a Vnthafi, who warns off male

travellers by a long-drawn shout of Ahatji. Besides this they are protected by their large cad j an umbrellas as already alluded to above.

Like the men they are very simply dressed in an undercloth round the loins and passed between the legs and an upper cloth wrapped round the breasts under the armpits and reaching as far as the thighs. Both cloths have coloured gold-embroidered borders. They have metal — generally silver — earrings, and they wear brass bracelets in profusion on their arms from the wrist to the elbow. They are not allowed to wear gold ones. On their foreheads they wear sandal paste marks after bathing.

The men exact great reverence from the low-caste people whom they address, and are most punctilious in this respect. They in every thing endeavour to make it appear in their conduct and conversation that all the excellences are the birthright of the Nambutiri* , and that whatever is low and mean is the portion of the lower orders of society. A Nayar speaking to a Nambutiri must not call his own food " rice," but " stony or gritty rice ; " bis money he must call his " copper cash," and so on. In approaching a Nambutiri , lowˆcaste people, male and female, must uncover to the waist as a token of respect. But with all this self-assertion, a Nambutiri who is true to the best traditions of his race in respect to unworldliuess, gentleness, simplicity and benevolence, piesents himself to the Hindu mind as a model of Hindu piety coupled with a charming innocence and a noble simplicity. " His person is holy ; his directions are commands ; his movements are processions ; his meal is nectar ; he is the holiest of human beings ; he is the representative of God on earth." (Travancore Census Report, 1874-75, page 191.)

As the eldest son only of a family may marry into his own caste, the younger brothers cohabit with Nayar females, and many Nambutiri women necessarily never get a chance of marriage. It is on this account that the caste rules against adultery are so stringent. But to make tardy retribution — if it deserves such a name — to women who die unmarried, the (forpse, it is said, cannot be burnt till a tali string (the Hindu equivalent of the wedding ring of Europe) is tied round the neck of the corpse while lying on the funeral pijc by a competent

relative. Nambutiris are exceedingly reticent in regard to their funeral ceremonies and observances, and the Abb6 Dubois' account of what was related to him regarding other observances at this strange funeral-pile marriage requires confirmation.

In order to get his daughters married at all, a Nambutiri must be ijch, for with each of them he has to pay the bridegroom a heavy dowry, and many

an illam's resources have been drained in this way.

The details of the marriage ceremonies are too long for insertion here. The horoscopes of the pair must agree, then the dowry is settled, formal sanction to marry his daughter is asked by the bridegroom from the bride's father, the bridegroom proceeds in state to the bride's house, there is much feasting and ceremony, the bridegroom has a bamboo staff in his right hand and a string tied to his right arm the bride's emblems are an arrow and mirror and a sacred thread round her neck, the dowry and the daughter are handed over simultaneously to the bridegroom by the father, the pair then take seven steps forward and seat themselves, then follows a sacrifice, and the final act at the bride's house is the father's delivery of her to the groom with a solemn injunction to " treat her well." Then comes the procession back to the bridegroom's house, where again feasting and ceremonies occur, and finally the pair are escorted to the nuptial couch, a blanket spread on the floor with a white robe over it and hemmed in by ridges of rice and paddy. The priest leads in the pair and seats them on the couch, and then withdraws and locks the door and continues outside reciting appropriate passages, which are repeated and followed by the bridegroom from within. The wife then serves to the husband his first meal, and on the fifth day the ceremonies end by the husband laying aside his staff and untying the sacred thread on his right arm. One remarkable proceeding in the marriage ceremonies is, it is said, that bride and bridegroom stand beside a tub of water in which several small live fishes are placed and by means of a cloth capture these fishes. The significance of this custom is uncertain ; some allege that it is done in remembrance of the fisher origin of the caste, as sarcastically alleged by the Mahratta Brahmans ; another interpretation is that the fishes are captured as emblems of the fertility wished for by the parties to the union.

In the third month of the first pregnancy a solemn sacrifice is performed, emblematic of the offering of the firstfruits of wedlock to the Supreme Being. In the fifth and ninth months other ceremonies take place : in the one the husband draws with a porcupine quill a straight line from the tip of his wife's nose to the crown of her head, and in the other he pours into his wife's nostrils a few drops of the essence extracted from the barks of the five sacred trees — Ficus Indica, Ficus racemosa, Tamarind, Spondias mangifera (Hog-plum) and Coorg tamarind (?) Immediately after confinement both_mother and bube are bathed in cold water.

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On the eleventh (lay after birth the father names the child ; in the 6ixth month he is fed on sweet rice ; in the third year tonsure takes place; in the fifth year the boy is initiated by his father in the alphabet on the last day of

the Dasara feast; in the seventh year the boy is invested with the sacred thread (p-unnul) and his ears are bored. For three years he next leads a holy life and pays visits only to his teacher.

As already said, the Nambutiris are very reticent on the subject of their funeral ceremonies. The dead body having been laid on the pile, rice is scattered over the deceased's face and mouth by all blood relations, and pieces of gold are placed in the nine openings of the body, apparently to provide the deceased's soul with money for its journey by whatever exit it leaves the body, thus recalling the somewhat similar practice of the Roman world. After fire has been applied to the pile the company retires and bathes. They observe pollution for ten days, and during that time abstain from supper and the use of salt in curries. On the twelfth day a grand feast is given to all relatives, and on the recurrence of the fatal day two men are feasted in honour of the deceased.

Of the east coast or foreign Brahmans it is unnecessary to say much as they differ in no respect from ordinary east coast Brahmans. They are called Pat tars, a corruption of the Sanskrit Bhatta. They engage in trade and agriculture and in domestic and other service. In former times they were used as confidential messengers and spies. On$ class of them are styled Choliya or Aryya Pattars, and instead of wearing the top knot of hair (kudumi) on the back of the head, as other east coast Brahmans do, these wear it on the top of the head like the Nambutiris and Nayars.

The great Pattar settlements in Malabar lie in the Palghat Taluk, a taluk which, if it ever was occupied by the Nambutiris, has for a very long time past been deserted by them. The Pattars live in gra-tnams or villages, the houses being arranged in rows and streets like those of east coast villages.

A class of Brahmans peculiar to Malabar are the Ilayavar or Ilayathu, the progenitor of whom is traditionally said to have been a Nambutiri , and to have been turned out of caste for communicating to a Nayar the details of the funeral rites (sraddha) to be performed for the benefit of departed ancestors. These do not eat nor keep company with ordinary Brahmans, nor will they eat or associate with Nayars. They officiate as the family priests (purohit) of Nayar families. In customs they are still Brahmans and their women are strictly gosha.

Another very small class of Brahmans is to be found in North Malabar. They are called Pidaranmar . They dnnk lnjuor, sometimes exorcise devils, and are worshippers of Bhadrakdli or of Sakti. The name is also applied to snakecatchers, and it was probably conferred on the caste owing to the snake being an emblem of the human passion embodied in the deities they worship.

This caste wears the sacred thread, but their women are not gosha.

Another class of jornˆo-Brahmans derive their name from the ceremony of jumping through fire before temples. These are the Tiydttuhni or Tryddi (Ti = fire, atfam = play). They differ hut little from the caste last named, except that they follow the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance.

The Pishdrodi class do not wear the sacred thread. The legend of their extraction is that a Sanydsi had educated a Nambutiri pupil to fit him as a member of his holy order. But when the time came for him to receive the distinctive marks of asceticism, he fled from his preceptor and from the prospect of a life of penance and austerities. His descendants were called those " who ran away," and to commemorate the event their bodies are after death buried with salt, as in the case of Sanyasis. They are chiefly temple servants. Whether they and the Pidaran class above described were more closely connected originally it is not easy to say, but pisharan and pidaran appear to be identical, and pishdrodi may well be those who deserted (" ran away from ") the worship of the sexual passion and became ascetics.

Besides the three classes last named there are several others whose distinctive function is temple service. As a class they are known as Ambalavdsis (i.e dwellers in ambalams or temples), and they form a Bort of intermediate class between the Namhutms and the Nayars.

Of these temple sei'vants the following may be named : —

One class of the Nambidis wears the sacred thread, another subdivision does not, and the class in general is said to have been originally Nambutiri. Their progenitor, it is said, was degraded for having murdered with a knife one of the Perumah or Emperors of Keralam. They follow the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance.

The Gurnkkal class wears the sacred thread. The name seems to suggest that they were originally teachers, but their proper functions, as understood now-a-days, are to supply milk, ghee, and flowers to temples and to sweep and clean them. They are governed by the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance.

The Muttatu class ought perhaps to have been placed at the head of the Ambalavdsis or temple servants. Their functions are to sweep the steps of the temples, to carry the idols in procession' on their heads, and to do other temple services. They wear the sacred thread and do not follow the Marumakkatayam system of inheritanceTheir women, too, are free from concubinage with the superior castes. They adopt the customs and rites of Brahmans, and it is said that Brahmans may cook their food in Muttatu

houses, and in turn the food cooked by the Miittatus may, it is said, be eaten by other Ambalavasis. Some of them are styled P otuvals and do not wear the thread.

The Pushpakan class, as their name implies (pushpam = a flower), are employed in bringing flowers and garlands to the temples, and

follow the Marumakkatayam law of inheritance.

The Chdkkiydrs sing and play in the temples, and sometimes, on occasions of festivals, improvise verses of their own — ke the

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characteristics of the community " the butt of their sarcasm aud satire " (Travancore Census 1874-75 Report). ri'heir women are called Nanyii/dr. " Their wives are Illodammammar. The Nangiyar sounds the cymbal to the time of the Chdkkiyar s play, and is seated by his side while he is engaged in dramatic representations. Their law of succession is Maru ma kkatdt/am " (Ibid, pages 220, 221).

The Variyars perform the lower temple services and funeral ceremonies. In Malabar they follow the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance.

The Nambiydrs are in some parts of the country a very influential body, as in the ancient Iruvalindd , of which they were the chieftains. They follow Marumakkatayam , and their functions in a temple are said to be helping the Chdkkiyar in their play acting by beating the big drum (mildvu).

The Mdrans or Mara yd ns are the temple sweepers and musicians, and play on five different kinds of instruments, chiefly drums, viz., (1) Chcnda = kettle-drum, (2) Kurunkulal =. short flute or pipe, (3) Tim i la = another kind of drum, (4) Idakka = a double drum, and (5) Dhamdnam = another 'kind of kettle-drum. These do not eat with the other Amba lavasis. They follow Marumakkatayam. One section of the class perform purification for Brahmans.

Of Rajputs, or foreign Kshatriyas, there are in Malabar (census 1881) only three hundred and sixty-two all told. The families of the Kottayam and Parappanad chieftains belong to this class, and the former of these chieftains used sometimes to be called the Puranatt (i.e. foreign) Raja. The Parappanad family supplies consorts to the Ranis of Travancore, and also forms similar connections with the families of

other chieftains in Malabar. They follow the Marumakkatduam law of

inheritance.

Something has already been said under this section of tne next great division of the Hindu population — the Nayars — who are 321,674 strong. The Nayars were, until the British occupied the country,' the militia of the district. Their name itself implies, as already said, that they were the " leaders " of the people. Originally they seem to have been orgamzed into " Six hundreds," and each " Six hundred " seems to have had assigned to it the protection of all the people in a nod or county. The ndd was in turn split up into taras , a Dravidian word signifying originally a foundation, the foundation of a house hence applied collectively to a street, as in Tamil (i lent), in Telugu (teruvu) and in Canarese and Tulu (teravu). The tar a was the Nayar territorial unit of organization for civil purposes, and was governed by representatives of the caste, who were styled Karanavar or elders. The " Six hundred " was probably composed exclusively of these Karanavar or elders, who were in some parts called Mukhyastans (= = chief men) or Madhyastans (= mediators), or Pramdnis (= chief men), and there seem to have been four families of them to each tar a, so that the ndd must originally have consisted of one hundred and fifty taras.

This tara organization of the protector caste played a most important part in the political history of the country, for it was the great bulwark against the tyranny and oppression of the Rajas. Something has already been said about it in the section treating of towns, villages, &c. The evidence of the Honorable East India Company's linguist (interpreter, agent) at Calicut, which appears in the Diary of the Tellicherry Factory under date 28th May K4t>, and which has already been quoted {ante p. 89), deserves to be here reproduced. He wrote as follows : " These Nayars, being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament, and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts." The " parliament " referred to must have been the " kuttam " (assembly) of the nad. The kuttam answered many purposes when combined action on the part of the community was necessary. The Nayars assembled in their kiittams whenever hunting, or war, or arbitration, or what not was in hand. And this organization does not seem to have been confined to Malabar, for the koot organization of the people of South Canara gave the British officers much trouble in 1832-33. In*so far as Malabar itself was concerned the system seems to have remained in an efficient state down to the time of the British occupation, and the power of the Rajas was strictly limited. Mr. Murdoch Brown, of Anjarakandi, who knew the country well, thus wrote to Dr. Francis Buchanan in the earliest years of the present century regarding the despotic action of the Rajas when constituted, after the Mysorean conquest, the revenue agents of the Government of Haidar Ali " By this new order of things, these latter (the Rajas) were vested with despotic authority over the

other inhabitants, instead of the very limited prerogatives that they had enjoyed by the feudal system, under which they could neither exact revenue from the lands of their vassals nor exercise any direct authority in their districts." And again, " The Raja was no longer what he had been, the head of a feudal aristocracy with limited authority, but the all-powerful deputy of a despotic prince whose military force was always at his command to curb or chastise any of the chieftains who were inclined to dispute or disobey his mandates. (Buch. Mysore, Canara and Malabar, II, pages 189-90.) From the earliest times therefore down to the end of the eighteenth century the Nayar tara and nad organization kept the country from oppression and tyranny on the part of the rulers, and to this fact more than to any otlmr is due the comparative prosperity which the Malayali country so long enjoyed, and which made of Calicut at one time the great emporium

of trade between the East and the West.

But besides protection the Nayars had originally another most important function in the body politic. Besides being protectors they were also supervisors or overseers , a duty which, as the very ancient ee (No. IY in Appendix XII) testifies, was styled kdnam— a Dra vidian word derived from the verb kanuka {= to see, &c.). The original meaning of this word kdnam has been very greatly misunderstood by

the British courts ami British administrators, and this point will he dwelt on hereafter under land tenures. Para&u Raman (so the tradition preserved in the Keralolpatti runs) " separated the Ndyars into laras and ordered that to them belonged the duty of supervision (lit. kan = the eye), the executive power (lit. kei = the hand, as the emblem of power), and the givingof orders (lit. kalpana = order, command) so as to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." The Ndyars were originally the overseers or supervisors of the nad, and they seem to have been employed in this capacity as the collectors of the share of produce of the laud originally reserved for Government purposes. As remuneration for this service, and for their other function as protectors, another share of the produce of the soil seems to have been reserved specially for them. It would be well worth the study of persons acquainted with other districts of the Presidency to ascertain whether somewhat similar functions to these (protection and supervision) did not originally appertain to the Kdvalkars of Tamil districts and the Kapus in the Telugu country, for both of these words seem to have come from the same root as the Malayalam kanam. And it is significant that, the Tamil word now used for proprietorship in the soil is Kani-yatchi, to which word the late Mr. F. W. Ellis in his paper on " Mirasi Rights " assigned a similai lerivation.

There are, of course, numerous sub-divisions among the Ndyars. The distinctions between the customs of these sub-divisions is often whimsical, but the. more capricious they seem the more persistently are they observed. The chief distinction seems to be in the preparation and eating of food. Food cooked in one house will not be partaken of by the members of a different sub-division to that to which the house belongs, and different classes object to eating while seated in the same row with members of other sub-divisions. The following sub-divisions may be mentioned : —

1. Ndyar (Leader, soldier, lord).

2. Menon or Menavan (met = above, and avan = third personal pronoun ; superior N., generally writers, accountants).

1. Nenokki (me l = above, and nokki from nokkunnu = to look, look after; supervisor, superintendent N.).

1. Miippil Ndyar (Chief N.).

2. Pada Ndyar (Fighting N.).

3. Kuruppu (? Fort N.).

4. Keimal (kei — hand as emblem of power ; hence powerful or chief N.).

1. Panikkar (Fencing master N.)

2. Kiriyatta Ndyar (House N., stewards).

3. Muttar (Elder, chief N.).

4. Ore (for plural third personal pronoun avar , honorific title of N.).

1. Kiddvu (child, young person, N. ; considered honorifically as child of the king. Raja).

1. Kartdru (Lord).

2. Erddi (N. of Erddu or Erndd = taluk of that name, the

bullock country).

1. Nedungadi (N. of Nedungandd in taluk of VaUuvanad).

2. Vallodi (N. of VaUuvanad).

3. Mannadiyir (N. of Pilghat, originally from the Chola

country).

1. Manacalan (? Cultivating N.).

The Nayars follow the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance, with the sole exception of some of the Mannadiyars in Palghat Taluk These latter seem to have come into the country from the east coast at a later date than the great body of Nayars, and only some of them, having mixed with the Nayars, have adopted the distinctive Nayar system of inheritance.

rIhe national dress of the Nayars is extremely scanty. The women clothe themselves in a single white cloth of fine texture reaching from the waist to the knees, and occasionally, while abroad, they throw over the shoulders and bosom another similar cloth. But by custom the Nayar women go uncovered from the waist ; upper garments indicate lower caste, or sometimes, by a strange reversal of western notions, immodesty. The men wear a white cloth in like fashion, and another cloth is also occasionally thrown over the shoulders. TUe ornaments of the women consist chiefly of a huge cylinder, gold plated, finely worked, and inserted in the lobe of the ear, which is artificially enlarged for the purpose of receiving it. Several kinds of massive gold necklaces rest on the bosom, while bangles for the wrist, rings for the fingers and nose, and a waist string of elaborate construction, complete the list of ornaments. The men content themselves with ordinary ear-rings, finger rings, and a waist string. In childhood they also wear bangles and one or two neck ornaments.

Both men and women are extremely neat, and scrupulously particular as to their cleanliness and personal appearance. The women in particular enjoy a large measure of liberty, and mix freely in public assemblies. The men wear their kudumi or tuft of hair on the top of the head. The women have long black locks which they keep neat and clean and tidy by constant bathing and combing. When returning from the bath the hair is coquettishly allowed to hang loose down the back to dry. When dry it is oiled and gathered up neatly into a knot on the left side of the head in front.

The most characteristic custom of the Nayars is connected with their marriage s. Every Nayar girl is married in one sense at a very early age. The

tali is tied round her neck before she attains puberty, and it is considered to be disgraceful in her relations not to have this oeremony performed before that event takes place. The tying of the tali is a great event in each household, and frequently several girls go through this ceremony simultaneously. When this can be managed, it enables the family to make a greater display than they would probably

be able to afford if there was a separate ceremony for each girl. The marriage pavilion is in the case of influential families very often magnificent in its decorations — bright-coloured rows of columns supporting gothic arched or Saracenic roofs resplendent in tinsel and colours, with an extremely ingenious and pretty device of domes revolving slowly at intervals and showering down at appropriate moments sweet-smelling flowers on the guests and bridal party. The auspicious day and hour are carefully selected beforehand in consultation with the astrologers : friends, relations and neighbours all flock to the ceremony, and at the selected auspicious moment the tali is tied round the girl's neck amid much tora-tomming and shrill music accompanied by deafening shouts from the assembled people. Then follows the usual distribution of betel and areca nut, and the guests afterwards sit down to a banquet. The ceremony is prolonged over four days in the case of well-to-do families. The strange thing about it all is that the girl is not really married to the man who performs the ˆa/f-tying ceremony. In the case of good families the man selected for this duty is usually either an Ilayattu or an east coast Brahman, and in the case of others a man of their own kindred. Aftej; the ceremony he receives a suitable present and departs. When the girl comes of age he cannot claim her as his wife, nor solicit her favours in after life.

After attainment of the age of puberty the girl chooses her real husband of her own free will, though in this she is often gufded by the opinions of her elders. The man she selects is called the " Gunadoshak-karan ," gunam being good and dosham being bad and hamn being the doer. This designation may be exactly reproduced by the phrase from the English wedding service in which the mutual contract of the parties is " for better for worse, for richer for poorer." The ceremony of instalment of her husband is exceedingly simple. All that is necessary is that the husband should give, and that the girl should receive, a cloth in the presence of relations and friends. If the pair are dissatisfied with each other the woman in like simple fashion returns the cloth and their connection thereupon ends. Sometimes a woman accepts the favours of many lovers, but this is generally now-a-days scouted by all respectable people, and the fashion is daily becoming more and more prevalent for the woman to leave her ancestral home for that of the husband

of her choice, although, as matter of law, the husband occupies nO recognized 1 legal relation involving rights and responsibilities in regard either to his wife or his children.

The statement that the younger cadets of Nambutiri families live with Nayar women merely reproduces in English the Malayali mode of describing the married life of these people and of the Nayars. It is part of the theory that the women they live with are not wives, that

1 As this work is being passed through the Press (July 1884) a Committee (President Itaja Sir T. Madava Row. k.c.s.i., Members — Messrs. Logan. Wigram, P. Karun&kara Menon, and C. Rnnkaran Nayar) is busy drafting a Bill to legalise marriage among people governed by the Marumokkatayaw svstein of inherifanre

they may part at will, that they may form new connections. This part of the Malabar law has, in the hands of unenquiring commentators, brought much undeserved obloquy on the morality of the people. The fact, at any rate of recent years, is that, although the theory of the law sanctions freedom in these relations, conjugal fidelity is very general Nowhere is the marriage tie — albeit informal — more rigidly observed, or respected, nowhere is it more jealously guarded or its neglect more savagely avenged. The very looseness of the law makes the individual observance closer ; for people have more watchful care over the things they are most liable to lose. The absence of ceremonial has encouraged the popular impression ; bat ceremonial, like other conventionalities, is an aocident, and Nayar women are as chaste and faithful as their neighbours, just as they are as modest as their neighbours although their national costume does not include some of the details required by conventional notions of modesty.

In former times, however, there was perhaps a better foundation for the popular impression. One Sheikh Zin-ud-din, the author of a work 1 which in a more or less abridged shape has a large circulation, chiefly in manuscript, in Malabar, noticed the Nayar custom of marriage as one which they possessed distinguishing them from other races. He wrote about the middle and latter half of the sixteenth century. He seems to have had exceptionally good opportunities for observing facts. He said that eaoh woman had two or four men who cohabited with her, and the men, he said, “ seldom ” quarrelled, the woman distributing her time among her husbands just as a Muhammadan distributes his time among his* women. Hamilton, too, in his “ New account of the East Indies ” (Edinburgh, 1727) wrote : “ The husbands,” of whom, he said, there might be twelve, but no more at one time, “ agree very well, for they cohabit with her in their Turns, according to their Priority of Marriage, ten Days, more or less according as they can fix a Term among

themselves, and he that cohabits with her maintains her in all things necessary for his Time, so that she is plentifully provided for by a constant Circulation." " When the Man that cohabits with her goes into her House, he leaves his Arms at the Door, and none dare remove them or enter the House on Pain of Death." " When she proves with Child she nominates its Father, who takes care of his Education, after she has suckled it, and brought it to walk or speak, but the Children are never Heirs to their Father's Estate, but the Father's Sisters' Children are."

Many fanciful reasons are assigned for this peculiar custom, but there can be little doubt that the custom was adopted to prevent alienation of property, as Sheikh Zin-ud-din, the earliest observer, him elf specifically sets forth. The custom had also much to commend it in a society organized as it then was, when the Nayars were the "protectors

1 Tahafat-ul -Mu j ahidln or " Hints for persons seeking the way to God," as it is frequently translated, or more literally " An offering to warriors who shall fight in defeaoo of religion against infidels." Translated by Rowlandson : London, 1833.

of the State and could seldom, except in old age, settle down to manage their family affairs.

In Johnston's " Relations of the most famous Kingdom in the World" (1611 Edition) there occurs the following quaintly written account of this protector guild : " It is strange to see how ready the

Souldiour of this Country is at his Weapons : they are all gentile men, and tearmed Naires. -At seven Years of Age they are put to School to learn the Use of their Weapons, where, to make them nimble and active, their Sinnewes and Joints are stretched by skilful Fellows, and annointed with the Oyle Sesamus : By this annointing they become so light and nimble that they will wipde and turn their Bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the Astonishment of the Beholders. Their continual Delight is in their Weapon, perswading themselves that no Nation goeth beyond them in Skill and Dexterity." And Jonathan Duncan, who visited Malabar more than once as one of the Commissioners from Bengal in 1792-93, and afterwards as Governor of Bombay, after quoting the following lines from Mickle's Camoens, Book VII— ˆ

" Poliar the labouring lower clans are named :

" By the proud Nayrs the noble rank is claimed ;

“ The toils of culture and of art they scorn :

“ The shining faulchion brandish’d in the right —

“ Their left arm wields the target in the fight went on to observe :

“ These lines, and especially the two last, contain a good description of a Nayr, who walks along, holding up his naked sword with the same kind of unconcern as travellers in other countries carry in their hands a cane or walking staff. I have observed others of them have it fastened to their back, the hilt being stuck in their waist band, and the blade rising up and glittering between their shoulders.” (Asiatic Researches , V, pages 10, 18.) M. Mahe de la Bourdonnais, who had some experience of their fighting qualities in the field, thus described them : “ Les Nairs sont de grands hommes basanes, legers, et vigoureux : Us n’ont pas d’autre profession que celle des armes, et seraient de fort bons soldats, s’ils etaient disciplines : mais ils combattent sans ordre, ils prennent la fuite des qu’on les serre de pres avec quelque superiorite ; pourtant, s’ils se voient presses avec vigueur et qu’ils se croient en danger, ils reviennent a la charge, et ne se rendent jamais.” (M. Esquer, “ Essai sur les Castes dans V Inde ,” page 181, quotation.) Finally the only British General of any note— Sir Hector Munro — who had ever to face the Nayars in the field thus wrote of their modes of fighting : —

“ One may as well look for a needle in a Bottle of Hay as any of them in the daytime, they being lurking behind sand-banks and bushes, except when we are marching towards the Fort, and then they appear like bees out in the month of June.” “ Besides which,” he continued, “they point their guns well and fire them well also.” (Tellieherry Factory Diary , March, 1761.) They were, in short, brave light troops,

excelling in skirmishing, but their organization into small bodies with discordant interests unfitted them to repel any serious invasion by an enemy even moderately well organized. AmoDg other strange Mala-yali customs Sheikh Zin-ud-dln also noticed the fact that if a chieftain was slain, his followers attacked and obstinately persevered in ravaging the slayer’s country and killing his people till their vengeance was satisfied. This custom is doubtless that which was described so long ago as in the ninth century A D. by two Muhammadans whose work was translated by Renaudot (Lond., 1733): “There are kings who, upon their accession, observe the following ceremony.” A quantity of cooked rice was spread before the king, and some three or four hundred persons came of their own accord and received each a small quantity of rice from the king’s own hands after he himself had eaten some. “ By eating of this rice they all engage to burn themselves on the day the king dies, or is slain, and they punctually fulfil their promise.” Men who

devoted themselves to certain death on great occasions were termed “ Amoucos ” by the Portuguese ; and Barbosa, one of the Portuguese writers, alluded to the practice as a prevalent custom among the Nayars. Purchas (II, 1708) has also the following: “The King of Cochin hath a great number of Gentlemen, which he calleth Amocchi , and some are called Nairi : these two sorts of men esteem not their lives anything, so that it may be for the honor of the king.” The proper Malayalam term for such men was Chaver , literally, those who took up, or devoted themselves to death. It was a custom of the Nayars which was readily adopted by the Mappillas, who also at times — as at the great Maha-makham, twelfth-year feast, at Tirunavayi — devoted themselves to death in the company of Nayars for the honor of the Yalluvanad Raja. And probably the frantic fanatical rush of the Mappillas on British Dayonets, which is not even yet a thing of the past, is the latest development of this ancient custom o’f the Nayars.

The martial spirit of the Nayars in these piping times of peace has quite died out for want of exercise. The Nayar is more and more becoming a family man. Comparatively few of them now-a-days even engage in hunting. With a large increase in their numbers, and with comparative poverty for the large body of them, the race is fast degenerating.

A caste who are hardly to be distinguished from the Nayars, except by their inheritance customs, is that of the Kadupatiars or Eluttachchans , that is, professional village schoolmasters. They follow a modified Makkataijam system of inheritance in which the property descends from father to son but not from father to daughter. The girls are marnad before attaining puberty, and the bridegroom who is to be the girl s real husband in after life arranges the dowry and other matters by means of mediators (Enangan). The tali is tied round the girl s neck by the bridegroom’s sister or female relative. At the funeral ceiemonies < >f this class, the barber caste (Ambattan) perform priestly offices, giwng directions and preparing oblation rice. A widow without male issue is

removed on the twelfth day after her husband’s death from his house to that of her own parents. And this is done even if she have female issue. But on the contrary, if 6he has borne sons to the deceased, she is not only entitled to remain at her husband’s house, but she continues to have, in virtue of her sons, a joint right over his property.

When she goes to her parents’ house widowed, two other women bear her company as far as the gate of her destination and then retire. Loud lamentations are exchanged when the parents receive the poor widow. On

her way home she is clad in a new cloth and veiled. But she can remarry.

The Astrologers , who come next in turn to be noticed, deserve a somewhat detailed description. The caste is styled Kaniydn , Kanisan and Kaniyar Panikkar , the last designation being the title of their office. They are a polluting caste, and have to stand at the distance already described. And yet their caste functions (astrology, and astrology coupled with teaching children to read and write) can be classed only among the learned professions. Native tradition is never at a loss to account for such a fact as this, and there is a traditional myth regarding the origin of the caste which may have some historical foundation in fact. The tradition runs that astrology as a profession was once exclusively practised by the Nambutiri Brahmans, and this is most probably historically correct, for the Brahmans seem to have had or* gin ally a monopoly of all the learned professions. One Pdlur Bhdttiri , one of the greatest of the Brahman astrologers, is said to have foreseen an evil conjunction of the planets which would certainly bring him into disgrace and prove calamitous, and to avoid this adverse fate he forsook his home and friends and set out on a journey. In the course of this journey he had to cross the dry bed of a river, when sudden freshes came down and swept him off to an unknown region. He scrambled ashore in torrents of rain and in darkness, and, espying a light in a house near where he lauded, he made for it, and in an exhausted state lay down in the verandah of the hut musing on the untoward events of the day and on his affectionate family whom he had left. The hut was the dwelling of a man of the Tlyan caste, and as it happened this man had that day quarrelled with his wife and left the hut. The wife anxiously, it is said, expecting his return, opened the door about midnight, and seeing a man lying in the verandah, mistook him for her husband, and the Brahman was so wrapt up in his thoughts of his home that he in turn mistook the Tiyatti for his own wife. In the morning the truth was revealed, and the Brahman then accepted his degradation and lived with the woman, who bore him a son. This son the Brahman in due course educated in all the lore of his profession, and by his influence obtained for him an important place in the Hindu constitution as Ganakan, that is, astrologer. The name was subsequently corrupted into Kanikan or Kanisan. Stripped of its improbabilities the story just amounts to this, that a Brahman astrologer of good position and influence conceived an attachment for a woman of the Tlyan caste, and

educated the son bom of this mesalliance in all the secrets of his own profession and thus founded the caste of Kanisans. The probability of this story being in part at least true is that the most noteworthy family of Kanisans in the Malayali country is still known as the Pdlur Kanisan , who are still reputed to be the most skilful of the caste in foretelling future events.

However this may be, it is certain that the Kanisans as a caste have spread over the face of the land and have in large measure superseded the Brahmans in this profession. This is easily accounted for by the store which is set upon their services as diviners of future events. They occupied in the ancient Hindu constitution a place of importance in every village, and along with the Asari or carpenter, the Tat tan or goldsmith, the Malayan or musician, conjuror, the Vatina n or washerman, the Velan or midwife, accoucheur, and the Vilakkattaravan or barber, they were styled Gherujamnakkarar , that is, small birthright holders, and as such were entitled to hereditary rights and perquisites within certain well-defined local limits.

This organization is to a certain extent still preserved, and most probably the Kanisans profession will survive all other relics of the ancient Hindu constitution as his services are still considered of essential importance in all matters of everyday life.

Indeed it would be difficult to describe a single important occasion in everyday life when the Kanisan is not at hand as a guiding spirit, foretelling lucky days and lucky hours, casting horoscopes, explaining the causes of calamities, prescribing remedies for untoward events, and physicians (not physic) for sick persons. Seed cannot be sown nor trees planted unless the Kanisan has been consulted beforehand. He is even asked to consult his shastras to find lucky days and moments for setting out on a journey, commencing an enteiprise, giving a loan, executing a deed, or shaving the head. For such important occasions as births, marriages, tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread, and beginning the A, B, C, the Kanisan is of course indispensable. His work in short mixes him up with the gravest as with the most trivial of the domestic events of the people, and his influence and position are correspondingly great. The astrologer's finding, as one will solemnly assert with all due reverence, is the oracle of God himself, with the justice of which every one ought to be satisfied, and the poorer classes follow his dictates unhesitatingly.

There is no prescribed scale of fees for his services, and in this respect he is like the native physician and teacher. Those who consult him, however, rarely come empty-handed, and the gift is proportioned to the means of the party and the time spent in serving him. If no fee is given, the Kanisan does not exact it, as it is one of his professional characteristics and a matter of professional etiquette that the astrologer should be unselfish and not greedy of gain. On public occasions, however, and on important domestic events, a fixed scale of fees is usually adhered to.

The astrologer's busiest time is from January to July, the period of harvest and of marriages, but in the other six months of the year his is far from being an idle life. His most lucrative business lies in casting horoscopes, recording the Events of a man's life from birth to death, pointing out dangerous periods of life, and prescribing rules and ceremonies to be observed by individuals for the purpose of propitiating the gods and planets and so averting the calamities of dangerous times, lie also shows favourable junctures for commencement of undertakings, and the Grantham or book written on palmyra leaf sets forth in considerable detail the person's disposition and mental qualities as affected by the position of the planets in the Zodiac -at the moment of birth. All this is a work of labour, and of time ; there are few members of respectable families who are not thus provided, and nobody grudges the five to twenty-five rupees usually paid for a horoscope according to the position and reputation of the astrologer.

Two things are essential to the astrologer, namely, a bag of cowries and an almanac. When any one comes to consult him he quietly sits down, facing the sun, on a plank seat or mat, murmuring some mantra ms or sacred verses, opens his bag of cowries and pours them on the floor. With his right hand he moves them slowly round and round, solemnly reciting meanwhile a stanza or two in praise of his guru or teacher and of his deity, invoking their help. He then stops and explains what he has been doing, at the same time taking a handful of cowries from the heap and placing them on one side. In front is a diagram drawn with chalk on the floor and consisting of twelve compartments. Before commencing operations with the diagram he selects three or five of the cowries highest up in the heap and places them in a line on the right-hand side. These represent Ganapati (the Belly God, the remover of difficulties), the sun, the planet Jupiter, Sarasvati (the Goddess of speech), and his own guru or preceptor. To all of these the astrologer gives due obeisance, touching his ears and the ground three times with both hands. The cowries are next arranged in the compartments of the diagram and are moved about from compartment to compartment by the astrologer, who quotes meanwhile the authority on which he makes such moves. Finally he explains the result, and ends with again worshipping the deified cowries who were witnessing the operation as spectators.

Like the Pandava brothers, as they proudly point out, the Kanisans used formerly to have one wife in common among several brothers, and this custom is still observed by some of them. Their custom of inheritance is consequently from father to son, and the son performs the funeral ceremonies. But in all other respects their marriage and death ceremonies seem to have a Marumakkatdyarn origin.

The marriage and other important ceremonial expenses of the village (desani

) astrologer and schoolmaster are always provided by the people of his village, and the headman and others take a proper pride in celebrating the marriage and other ceremonies in good style. At his wedding he is decked out for the occasion in valuable ornaments,

conspicuous among which is the combined style (for writing on palmy i a leaves) and knife, which is thrust into the girdle, and which is highly embellished with inlaid silver and gold work. On setting out on his wedding journey he is accompanied by a party of Nayars as escort, who fire guns, blow horns and beat tom-toms as the procession sets forth from the bridegroom's house, and the same proceeding is followed on arrival at the bride's house. One of the bride's female relatives, who is styled Enangatti, has a conspicuous part to play in the ceremony. She seats the bride on seven and a half measures of white rice spread on the floor. The bride is either carried or led in by her with her eyes closed, two betel leaves being held firmly pressed by her against her eyelids. The tali is placed round her neck by the Enangatti while the bride is seated on the rice, with her back to the bridegroom, and the bridegroom knots the string at the back of the bride's neck at the precise moment when a neighbouring astrologer called in for the occasion declares that the moment is auspicious. The phrase he uses is as follows : " The auspicious time is come and it greets you with offers of beauty, long life, wealth, sweet wedlock, posterity, and happiness. Seize thou the occasion and marry the bride, and prosperity will attend you." The wedding guests here break in with a solemn twang of " Aha ! Aha ! !" The tali string is thereupon promptly tied by the bridegroom. After reading of a portion of the Rdmdyanmn the Enangatti seats the bride beside the groom and joins their hands. The rice on which the bride was seated becomes the astrologer's fee, with eight annas added in money. The Enangatti next feeds the youthful pair with sweets, and practices on the bridegroom various little jokes while so doing. Finally she comes behind the pair with rice in both hands and sprinkles it over their heads with prayers and good wishes, and this is done in turn by all the relations beginning with the parents. The wedding ceremony concludes with the pair making obeisance to their elders. The festivities, however, last for four days, and on the third day the party adjourns to the bridegroom's home, and on the fifth day it finally disperses.

Without the consent of the people of the village the parties are not permitted to divorce each other. With this consent the parties have simply to pronounce the divorce in a caste assembly. The children, if any, in that case belong to the father.

Their other ceremonies are not of sufficient interest to merit detailed

description.

The Tiyar or Ilavar caste is the numerically strongest section of the Hindu population, numbering in all 559,717.

They were, as already noticed in this section, the planters of the ancient Hindu constitution, and this character they still to a very large extent retain, as they hold to the present day a practical monopoly of tree climbing and toddy drawing from palm trees.

One of their caste names (Tvjan) denotes that they came originally from an island, while the other caste name (Ilacan) denotes that that

island was Ceylon. Tlyan is a corruption of the Sanskrit Dvipan passing through Than, a name which is even now sometimes applied to the caste. In the records of the Tellicherry Factory the caste is generally alluded to as " Tivee." Simhala was the ancient name for Ceylon, and the other caste name of the planters must have passed through Simhalan to Sihalan and Ihalan and finally to Ilavan.

In their migration into Malabar they are traditionally stated to have brought with them the Tenkay-maram , that is, the southern' fruit-tree, alias , the coconut 1 palm. The coconut palm was perhaps grown in India at a very early period for in Photios> abridgement of the Indika of Kiesias reference is made to " palm trees and their dates " which Were said to be " thrice the size of those in Babylon," and in another abridged passage of the same work by another writer the palm fruits are referred to as " the largest of nuts." Both passages however belong to times long subsequent to that of the original work. There is no doubt however that Kosrnas Indiko pleustes described most accurately the coconut palm under the appellation of Argellia, an erroneous transliteration probably of the word narikelam or nalikerarn usually applied to the fruit by the Malayali Brahmans. It is not at all improbable that Tiyans had arrived in Malabar before the time of Kosmas Indiko pleustes. (A.D . 522 — 547.)

The former caste name is used on the coast and in North Malabar generally, the latter is applied to them chiefly in the Palghat and Valluvanad Taluks.

In North Malabar the caste generally follows the Marumakkatayam system of inheritance, while in South Malabar the descent of property is generally from father to son. Not unfrequently, however, two brothers, or more even, marry one wife. If she have but one son the child is fathered on the elder brother.

Both men and women of the North Malabar caste are remarkably neat in appearance, although, like the Ndyars , their clothing, both of men and women, is extremely scanty, and they are besides extremely careful as to personal cleanliness. The head-quarters of the caste may be said to lie at and round the ancient European settlements of the French at Mahe and of the English at Teilicherry. The women are not as a rule excommunicated if they live with Europeans, and the consequence is that there has been among them a large admixture of European blood, and the caste itself has been materially raised in the social scale. In appearance some of the women are almost as fair as Europeans, and it may be said in a general way that to a European eye the best favoured men and women to be found in the district are the inhabitants of ancient Kadattunad, Iruvalinad, and Kottayam, of whom a large proportion belong to the Tiyan or planting community.

In the facility of their marriage relations they differ but little from the Ndyars , but with them the real marriage ceremony is much more

1 See ante, foot-note, p. 79.

formal. It is usual for the girl to have her tali tied, as in the Nayar caste, before attaining the age of puberty, but the system of having the tali tied by the man who is to be her future husband is always resorted to when a suitable husband can be found before the girl attains to that age. At the betrothal ceremony, which is managed by two relatives and by a Tanddn (headman or priest) on each side the bridegroom's party tender payment of four fanams, apparently for the food they have partaken, and then five and a quarter rupees in cash and two new pieces of cloth as an adayalam or mark or sign of the conclusion of the bargain. At the end of this part of the proceedings the groom's Tanddn gives to the bride's Tanddn two betel leaves with the remark, " We shall be coming for the marriage with a party of so many on such and such a date," to which the bride's Tanddn replies, " If you satisfy our claims with (say) ten and a half rupees in cash and six pieces of new cloth and two fanams for uncle's son, we shall hand over the girl to you." The allusion here to " uncle's son " will be explained presently.

Before the wedding day the bridegroom goes and visits all his relations accompanied by five women all well clad and bedecked. If he accepts food in any house it is a sign that the inmates are invited to the wedding.

The bridegroom 1 with his relations and friends sets out for the bride s house on the wedding day on observing a favourable omen. He goes accompanied by two other youths dressed exactly like himself, and with others of his male relations and friends armed with swords and targets playing in front of him. On arrival at the wedding pavilion 2 the bride's Tanddn wisely collects the

swords and keeps them in his own charge. The three youths dressed exactly alike sit together and have rice strewn over them in common. The bridegroom s sister brings in the bride and seats her behind the groom ; the other female relati es stand behind, and the bride's mother is conspicuous in a special red cloth thrown over her shoulders. If the bride has not already had her tali tied, the groom now puts it round her neck, and his sister ties it at the auspicious moment pronounced by the astrologer present for that purpose. After this the bride moves back to her seat behind the groom, and the groom's sister then asks permission of the assembly to pay the bride's price (Icdndm), and the bride's mother then, in similar fashion seeks permission to receive at her hands the cloths and ten and a ha f

rupees in cash.

The groom and his two groomsmen are then served with food, , which they in dumb show pretend to take, and at the conclusion of this

- In the llavan parts of the district the bridegroom does not go at all. His sister goes in M„Plthe ere'ta" trg. .tore of tender branches and twigs with green

r =l-ss ext*

pavilion to form if seat for himself.

CASTE AND OCCUPATIONS.

they rise up and march straight home with the bride, who must be held by the groom's sister all the way.

As they step out of the wedding pavilion they are met by Mach-chiin or "uncle's son," prepared to contest with them for the bride as prize, he having, according to Marumakkatdyam ideas, a better claim to her than anyone else. It is on this account that the two groomsmen are dressed up like the groom himself in order to puzzle the Machchun at this juncture as to who's who. The Machchun1 s claims are bought off with the two fanams brought for the purpose, and hie in turn presents betel leaf in token of conciliation. On reaching the bridegroom's house the bride and groom must enter the door placing their right feet simultaneously on the door step. The feasting is kept up for two days at the groom's home and for two more days at the bride's, the parties assisting each other and also making presents to the couple/

This caste is much given to devil-charming, or devil-driving as it is often called. The washermen (Vanndn) are the high-priests of this superstition, and with chants, ringing cymbals, magic figures and waving lights they drive

out evil spirits from their votaries of this caste at certain epochs in their married lives. One ceremony in particular called Teyydttam— a corrupt form of Leva and Attam, that is, playing at gods— takes place occasionally in the fifth month of pregnancy. A leafy arbour is constructed and in front of it is placed a terrible figure of Chamundi, the queen of the demons, made of rice-flour, turmeric powder and charcoal powder. A party of not less than eighteen washermen ii organized to represent the demons and furies-Kuttichdttan (a mischievous imp) and many others. On being invoked, these demons bound on to the stage in pairs, dance, caper, jump, roar, fight, and drench each other with saffron-water. Their capers and exertions gradually work up their excitement, until they are veritably possessed of the devil. At this jimeture fowls and animals are sometimes thrown to them to appease their fury These they attack with their teeth, and kill and tear as a tiger does his prey. After about twenty minutes the convulsions cease, the demon or sprite declares its pleasure, and much fatigued, retires to give place to others, and thus the whole night is spent with much toman/11ˆ and noise and shouting, making it impossible, for Europeans at least, to sleep within earshot of the din. F

Their funeral ceremonies are peculiar in certain respects. The deceased is furnished with money and food for his journey by ea-h blood relative holding m his right hand in turn a piece of gold and some

mouth TheaDld P0Utrl*?g °Ver thC8e 90,110 dr0ps of water int0 deceased's m nth as he lies at the grave -side or on the funeral pyre as the case

r'orˆ to !°Yn 'h,e T0™"ˆ th° third<laˆ aft6r death

p caste barber adopts measures to entice the spirit of the deceased out of the room in which he breathed his last. This is done <y the nearest relative bringing into the room a steaming pot of savoury funeral nee. It is immediately again removed and life spirit af"r

three days' fasting is understood greedily to follow the odour of the tempting food. The Kurup at once closes the door and shuts out the spirit. Boiled rice is thrown to the crows daily while the ceremony lasts. The barber or Kurup is fee'd most liberally for the duties which he has to perform, .and which are looked on as entailing great sin. And it is a common saying that the Kunips never increase in numbers owing to these sinful earnings.

The Kurup just referred to belongs to the Pdnan caste. He is the barber of the polluting castes above Ghent mars, and by profession he is also an umbrella-maker . But curiously enough, though an umbrella-maker, he cannot make the whole of an umbrella. He may make only the framework ; the covering of

it is the portion of the females of his caste. If'he has no female relatives of his own capable of finishing off his umbrellas, he must seek the services of the females of other families in

the neighbourhood to finish his for him.

In the ceremonies of this caste there is nothing particular worth

mentioning except that the village astrologer is not expected to be present at their weddings, and the usual part played by him in such ceremonies among other castes is taken by an elder of the caste itself.

The basket-makers of society are called Kavaras. Their origin is obscure, but it is clearly Dravidian as they speak a corrupt kind of Tulu. Nothing will induce them to take hold of an umbrella, as they have a rule or motto : " Do not take hold of a Pdnan' s (umbrella-maker's) leg." They have no fashion about wearing their hair : some shave in the Hindu fashion, leaving a top knot, others shave their heads clean, others again wear their hair long and matted and not o er clc an.

Though the village astrologer will not wrork for the. barbers (umbrella-makers) of polluting castes, yet he attends the wedding ceremonies of the basket-makers. The basket-makers in turn have barbers of their own. The polluting castes' barber— the Pdnan— docs not serve

them.

The most remarkable custom of the basket-makers is that as soon as the pains of delivery come upon a pregnant woman she is taken to an outlying shed and left alone to live or die as the event may turn out. No help is given to her for twenty-eight days ; even medicines are thrown to her from a distance; and the only assistance rendered is to place a jar of warm water close by her just before her child is born. Pollution from birth is held as worse than that from death. At the end of the twenty-eight days the hut in which she was confined is burnt down. The father, too, is polluted for fourteen days and at the end of that time he is purified, not like other castes by the barber mt by holy water obtained from Brahmans at temples or elsewhere, and on

this point the Kavara is most particular.

The next caste to be noticed is formed of the Cherumar or agresttc

dares These were in all probability the aborigines of the country when it passed under the rule of the Ndtjars. The name is now written as

above Chcrumar , and as such is supposed to be derived from cheru , small, an adjective which correctly describes the appearance of this caste now-a-days ; but size and stature depend more upon conditions of food than upon anything else, and a race which has for centuries on centuries continued to be fed by its masters on a minimum of what will keep body and soul together is pretty sure in the long run to degenerate in size. The Hindu mind, moreover, seems to be peculiarly liable to adopt superficial views on historical matters, and the fact that the race of Chcrumar is of small stature is just one of those superficial facts which would be accepted by a Hindu (with the clearest conscience) as proof positive that the name was given because the people were of small size and stature. On the other hand there is ample evidence that the Malabar coast constituted at one time the kingdom or empire of Chera , and the nad or county of Cheranad lying on the coast and inland south-east of Calicut remains to the present day to give a local habitation to the ancient name. Moreover the name of the great Emperor of Malabar who is known to every child on the coast as Chemmdn Pcrumal , although the first of these names is now written with the dental instead of with the cerebral r — was undoubtedly the title and not the name of the emperor, and meant the chief (literally, big man) of the Chera people.

Finally, from a census taken in 1857 of the slave population it appears that they were then distributed as follows : —

1. Cliirakkal

13,380

1. Kottayam

2,859

1. Kurumbranad

16,590

1. Wynad

.. 16,561

1. Calicut

.. 14,082

1. Ernad . .

35,419

1. Valluvanad

34,902

1. Palghat

25,280

1. Ponnani . .

28,668

1. Cochin

Total

187,812

That is to say, the bulk of them were located in the ancient Cheranad (part of the Ernad Taluk) and in the neighbourhood of it. Moreover Ernad and Yalluvanad and Ponnani are the three great Mappilla taluks of the district, and the converts to Islam have in Malabar been drawn chiefly from the slave population, so that originally the slave population in those three taluks, which seem to have been about the heart of ancient Chera , was denser still. There is therefore a good deal to be said in favour of the view that the Cherumars were the aborigines of Malabar.

The Chcrumar are of two sections, one of which, the Iraya Chcrumar are of slightly higher social standing than the Pu/at/ar. As the names

denote, the former are permitted to come as far as the eaves (ira) of their employers' houses, while the latter name denotes that they convey pollution l pula) to all whom they meet or approach. The former class belongs chiefly to Palghat Taluk, and it is said that the only houses which they may approach as far as the eaves are the houses of the Ilavan caste.

The caste is very scantily clad : in many places the men do not wear cloth at all round their waists, but substitute for it a fringe of green leaves. Their women used at one time to go similarly clad, but this practice has fallen into disuse in Malabar at least, although it is stilt maintained in the Native States. In the latter also, in outlying parts, both men and women are still afraid to avail themselves of the privilege of using the public roads. In passing from one part of the country to another they tramp along through the marshes in mud, and wet often up to their waists, rather than risk the displeasure of

their lords and masters by accidentally polluting them while using the public roads.

They work very hard for the pittance they receive ; in fact nearly all the rice-land cultivation used to be in former days carried on by them.* The influx of European planters, who offer good wages, has had a marked effect in releasing this class from some of their bonds, and the hold wdiich their masters had over them has been proportionately relaxed. It is said that the difficulty of providing for their women is the chief, obstacle to their complete release from their shackles. The women must have dwellings of some sort somewhere, and the masters provide the women with huts and allow the men to go to work on plantations on condition that they return in good time for the rice cultivation and hand over a considerable portion of their earnings.

Conversion to Muhammadanism has also had a most marked effect in freeing the slave caste from their former burthens. By conversion a Cheruman obtains a distinct rise in the social scale, and if ho is in consequence bullied or beaten the influence of the whole Muhammadan community comes to his aid. With fanaticism still rampant the most powerful of landlords dares not to disregard the possible consequences of making a martyr of his slave.

The questions of slavery and the shve trade, attracted the early attention of the Honorable Company's Government. So early as 1792, the year in which British rule commenced, a proclamation was issued by the Commissioners against dealing in slaves. A person offering a slave for sale was to be considered as a thief. The slave was to be forfeited and the person offering him for sale was to be fined five times his value. The purchaser was to be similarly treated. The houses of suspected slave traders were to be well watched and entered and searched on the smallest suspicion, and the traders caught in flagrante delicto were to be handed over to the Eajas to be dealt with. Fishermen and Mappillas conveying slaves were to be " severely flogged and fined at the rate of

ten rupees each slave." Vessels used in trade (except fisher-boats) were to he confiscated. But the proclamation was not to prevent the privileged superior castes from purchasing the children of famine-stricken parents, as had been customary, on condition that the parents might repurchase their children, as had also been customary, on the advent of better times.

This proclamation wqs, however, directed chiefly against the practice, then prevalent, of bands of robbers carrying off by force from their houses the children of " the most useful inhabitants, the Tlyars and other cultivators."

This practice was kept alive by the facility with which the slaves could be sold on the coast to the agents of vessels engaged in the trade sailing from the French settlement at Mahe and from the Dutch settlement at Cochin. These ships " in general carried them (the slaves) to the French Islands."

The subject of agrestic slavery did not come forward for some years, but on 20th July 1819 Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector, wrote an interesting report on the condition of the Chcrumar , and on the 23rd December of that year the Principal Collector received orders desiring that the practice of selling slaves for arrears of revenue may be immediately discontinued." The matter in this and other ways reached the ears of the Court of Directors, and in their despatch of 12th December 1821 they expressed considerable dissatisfaction at the lack of precise information which had been vouchsafed to them regarding the cultivators in general, and in particular said : "We are told, indeed, that part of them (an article of very unwelcome intelligence) are held as slaves ; that they are attached to the soil and marketable property." A report was called for, and Mr. Vaughan in his letter of 24th August 1822 merely said that the slaves were under the protection of the laws.

The general question of slavey was not, however, allowed to drop _

as, indeed, at that time it was not likely to be— for the British public mind was in great excitement on a question of the kind nearer home. It was, perhaps, fortunate for Malabar that West Indian slavery was receiving so much notice at home as it served to divert attention away from the Indian question, and at any rate the solution of the difficulty

was thus set about with greater regard for the individual interests both of the slave and of his master.

. 15th Noyember 1836 the Government ordered the remission m the Collector's accounts of Rs. 927-13-0, which was the " annual revenue " from slaves on the Government lands in Malabar, and the Government was at the same time " pleased to accede to the recommendation in favour of emancipating the slaves on the Government iands m Malabar." Their freedom was not, however, to be proclaimed and the measure was to be carried out in such manner " as not to create any unnecessary alarm or aversion to it on the part of other proprietors or premature hopes of emancipation on that of other slaves." This was a wise step on the part of Government, for it strengthened their hands

in future years in recommending others to do as they themselves had already done. But at the same time they need not have been under any apprehension

as to the effects of such an emancipation on the minds of other slaves. It is only people with initial ideas of liberty who fret under a system of compulsory customary employments.

The Directors on learning what had been done " entirely approved " of the measures adopted, and requested the Government to consider how to extend similar measures to the slaves of private owners, and urged the necessity of carrying out the measure with " extreme caution." This was contained in the Directors' despatch of 17th August 1838, and in penning it they evidently had before their eyes the fear of being heavily mulcted after the West Indian fashion in compensation to owners if any overt act was taken towards publicly recognizing a general emancipation of slaves.

The Collector on 7th January 1839 submitted his report, and noticed the fact that there were " few or no slaves" in North Malabar. He also stated that their condition was ameliorated since 1822. On this nothing more was done just then, except that the Government issued orders on 12th March 1839 " to watch the subject of the improvement of the condition of the Cherumar with that interest which it evidently merits, and leave no available means untried for effecting that object."

Nothing more would likely have been done h4d not Mr. E. B. Thomas, the Judge at Calicut, written in strong terms on 24th November 1841 a letter to the Sadr Adalat, in which he pointed out a number of facts which had come judicially under his notice. Women in some taluks fetched higher prices in order to breed slaves. The average cost of a young male under ten years was about Rs. 3-8-0, of a female somewhat less. An infant ten months old was sold in a court auction on 10th August 1841 for Rs. 1-10-6. independent of the price of its mother. And in a recent suit the right to twenty-seven slaves was the " sole matter of litigation, and it was disposed of on its merits.

In a second letter dated 24th August 1842 Mr. E. B. Thomas pointed out that the slaves had increased in numbers from 144,000 in census 1835 to 159,000 in census 1842, and he observed that "no gradual extinction of slavery is really going on in Malabar."

It was apparently these letters of Mr. E. B. Thomas which eventually decided the Board of Directors to send out orders to legislate in the matter, for in their despatch of 27th July 1842 they first sent orders " for the entire abolition of slavery," and in a second despatch of 15th March 1 843. they called the special attention of the Government of India to the question of slavery in Malabar, where the evils, as described by Mr. E. B. Thomas, were so aggravated " as compared with other

portions of India.” 0 n ,,

The Government of India thereupon passed Act V of 1843. Un the passing of the Act its provisions were widely published throughout Malabar by Mr. Conolly, the Collector, and he explained to the Cherumar

that it was their interest as well as their’ duty to remain with their masters if treated kindly. He proclaimed “ The Government will not order a slave who is in the employ of an individual to forsake him and go to the service of another claimant ; nor will the Government interfere with the slave’s inclination as to where he wishes to work.” And again, “ Any person claiming a slave as janmam, kanam or panayam, the right of such claim or claims will not be investigated into at any of the public offices or courts.” In the other portions of the proclamation he closely

adhered to the language of the Act.

These measures in due course received the cordial approval of the Court of Directors, who, in their despatch of 30th July 1845, wrote as follows : “ It would defeat the very object in view to create any estrangement between them and their masters, and moreover would be an act of injustice and bad faith of which the masters would be entitled to complain.”

The appointment of a Protector of the Cherumar was sanctioned but never carried out, and various industrial and educational schemes organized for their benefit failed because of their lack of industry in the one case, and their lack of application and adaptability in the other.

In 1852 and again in 1855 the fact that traffic in slaves still continued was brought incidentally on the first occasion, and specially on the second, to the notice of Government, but on full consideration no further measures for the emancipation of the Cherumar were deemed to be necessary. The Cherumar even yet have not realized what public opinion in England would probably have forced down their throats fifty years ago, and there is reason to think that they are still, even now, with their full consent, bought and sold and hired out, although, of course, the transaction must be kept secret for fear of the penalties of Sections 370, 371, &c., of the Indian Penal Code, which came into force on 1st January 1862 and which was the real final blow at slavery in India. The slaves, however, as a caste will never understand what real freedom means until measures are adopted to give them indefeasible rights in the small orchards occupied by them as house sites.

Like the Tlyar or Ilavar the Cherumar purchase their wives, and the

bridegropm's sister is the chief performer in the wedding ceremony. It is she who pays the girl's price and carries oil the bride.

The consent of the parents on both sides to a marriage is signified by an interchange of visits at which sips of rice-water are partaken, the visitors in each case signifying assent by dropping a fanam coin into the rice-water before partaking of it. When the wedding party sets out they form a large gang of people, and at intervals the men set to at stick play, the women singing in chorus to encourage them, " Let us see — let us see — the stick-play (Paditallu), oh ! Cherumar.'" At their weddings too, men and women mingle indiscriminately in dancing. On the return to the bridegroom's hut the bride is expected to weep loudly and deplore her fate. On entering the bridegroom's hut the bride must tread on a pestle placed across the threshold.

A divorce presents no difficulties beyond the necessity of returning half of the 'bride's purchase value.

Like the other castes, the Cherumar observe pollution for a number of days when a relative dies. The number of days in this case is fourteen, but as they cannot at certain seasons afford to be idle for fourteen days together— for fourteen days' idleness very often with them means fourteen days' starvation — they resort to an artifice to attain this end. They mix cowdung and paddy and make it into a ball and place this ball in an earthen pot, the mouth of which they carefully close with clay. The pot is laid in a corner of the cottage, and as long as the pot remains unopened they remain free from pollution and can mix among their fellows. On a convenient day they open the pot and are instantly seized with pollution, which continues for forty days. Otherwise fourteen days' consecutive pollution is all that is required. On the forty-first or fifteenth day, as the case may be, rice is thrown to the ancestors and a feast follows.

The village astrologer is above being consulted by the Cherumar who therefore resort to a Pariah. The process of divination is performed by turning some paddy in a basket, and in this way the good and the bad times of a Cheruman are reckoned.

Of the Nayadis or lowest caste among the Hindus — the dog eaters-—-nothing definite is known. They are most persistent in their clamour for charity, and will follow at a respectful distance for miles together any person walking, driving or boating. If anything is given to them it must be laid down, and after the person offering it has proceeded a sufficient distance the recipient comes timidly forward and removes it.

Section E. — Manners, Customs, &c.

The most important of the customs in which the people of Malabar differ from people elsewhere is that connected with the inheritance of property. It is a sufficiently perplexing thought to a person brought up in western modes of life and with western ideas that a father can stand in no recognized legal 1 relation to his own children, and that a father's property does not as a matter of course descend to his offspring. And yet that is how the law stands at present in regard to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the district.

This law of inheritance, usually styled Marumahkattayam (literally, sister's son's inheritance), may be shortly described thus. A Malayali taravad corresponds pretty closely to what the Romans called a gens , with this important distinction, however, that whereas in Rome all members of the gens traced their descent in the male line from a common ancestor, in Malabar the members of a taravad trace their descent, in the female line only, from a common ancestress. All tarn - vdds of influence set apart property for the common use, and indeed it

1 See foot-note to p. 135.

seems to have been for purposes of thrift that this system of inherit ance was at first devised. So long as that common property exists any number of families may hang together and form one taravad. To explain what is here meant by a " family " as distinguished form

taravad , take the following example : —

A (common ancestress).

B (female), X (mile). C (female), Y (male). D (female), Z (male),

(has issue). (no issue) . (has issue) .

X, Y and Z are A's sons, and, as such, are members of A's taravad, but however many children may be born to them, those children never come into A's taravad nor stand in any recognized legal relation either to their fathers, or to the property of their fathers' taravad. But the daughters B and D have each a family, and their daughters may in turn have further families, and so on. The word " family ' was used in the sense of the issue (both male and female) of any female descendant— in the female line only— of A. Every member, whether male or female, and whether of age or not, has an equal

interest in the common stock of the taravad; but no member can claim his share of it. The taravad, however, as a body, can of course make any division it pleases of the common stock, and among the more influential families it is customary to set aside certain portions of it, for the life enjoyment only, of members who attain to Sthanams or dignities hereditary in the family. The portions so set apart are intended to help them in maintaining the dignity of their positions, and in respect to them they are to a great extent in the position of trustees. When a partition of the whole stock takes place, the taravad becomes disintegrated, and dissolves into so many fresh taravads as the members may have settled to form among themselves. This process of disintegration goes on continually except among the highest classes, who pride themselves on maintaining a large common stock. But even among them the taravad gets split up into subordinate divisions, known as tavalis or branches. One way in which this occurs is, that a member with perhaps some assistance from the common stock, but more usually with the assistance obtained from his father (who, as already said, stands in no recognized legal relation to his son), sets out from his taravad house and lives apart, taking with him one or more female relatives (usually a sister or sisters) and thus founds a separate branch (tdvali) of the taravad. Or, more usually still nowa-days, a female of the taravad leaves the taravad house to live with tha husband of her choice in a separate house prepared on purpose for her by her husband. This house is usually conveyed to her in free gift by her husband, and there she settles down to rear her family, who constitute a tdvali of their taravad. The property acquired by such a tdvali has been usually regarded as the separate property of the members who compose the tdvali, and not as part of the common stock of

the taraixid, -even when there has been no formal deed declaring what is, and what is not, common property ; but the High Court has of recent 1 years held otherwise, and the tendency of the courts is now to regard all property as common property until a formal division thereof has taken place.

A man’s own acquisitions during his lifetime, therefore, descend at his death to his taravad and not to his own children. In the days when the Ndyar male population were all soldiers and the marital tie was not much regarded this did not matter much, but things are changed now that a Ndyar usually marries one wife, lives apart with her in their own home, and rears her children as his own also. His natural affeotions come into play, and there is a strong and most laudable desire for some legal mode, other than those at present recognized, for conveying to his children and to their mother all his self-acquired property. At present he can only convey to them this property by -stripping himself of it and making it over to them in free gift during his own lifetime. And this he is naturally reluctant to do for many nnd obvious reasons. He is in a thoroughly false position, for if he obeys his natural

instincts and gives away his property during his lifetime to his wife and children, he becomes a beggar and is taken to task by his legal heirs ; whereas, if he hesitates to do it, he incurs the displeasure of his own household. This faUe position is fatal to individual industry and thrift, and it is to be hoped that the law will soon 2 be changed by permitting of the testamentary disposal of self-acquisitions.

Dr. Gundert gives the following list of the castes who follow this -system of inheritance : (1) Seventeen Brahman illams in Payanur , Chlrakkal Taluk ; (2) Kshatriya ; (3) Tirumulpdd ; (4) Ndyar; (5) ttrali ; (6) Andor ; (7) Pallichan; (8) Kushavan ; (9) Vydbdri ; (10) Kolayan ; (11) Chembotti ; (12) Pisharodi ; (13) Variyan ; (14) Nambi ; <15) Teyambddi; (16) Mdrdn ; (17) Poduvdl ; (18) Kuttunambi ; (19) Attikurichi ; (20) Unnitiri ; (21) Erddi ; (22) Vallodi ; (23) Nedungddi ; {24) Veluttedan ; (25) Chdliyan ; (26) Tiyan in north, and in Travan-

eore.

Of the other system of inheritance, usually styled Makkattdyam (literally, sons' inheritance), very little needs to be said, but many castes have peculiar customs in regard to it of which a few have already been noticed in the caste section. As a rule it may be said that these special customs have for foundation a desire to keep the property of the family together. It is this desire which prompts the N ambufiris to allow only their eldest sons to many wives of their own caste, and which prompts the linear to have one wife in common among several brothers.

1 T.L.R., Madras TIT, p. 212, and IV, p. 150, and Madras H. C. Reports, II, p. 162,

and VI, rp401 to 415.

- Seo fool-nole, p135.

Dr. Gundert gives the following list of castes who follow this Makkattayam system of inheritance: (1) Nambutiri, (2) Pa f far, (3) Em-bran, (4) Mussad, (5) Ilayad , (6) Tangal , (7) Nambidi , (8) Komatti , (9) Veishyan , (10) Nambiachan, (11) Chakydr , (12) Adigal (13) Piddran , (14) Poduval, (15) Vilakkattaravan , (16) Irankolli , (17) Mutta Ghettiyan, (18) Kammalar , (19) Tandan, (20) I Invar , (21) Cherumar , — also some of the following castes : (22) Ghaliyar, (23) Jedar , (24) Kaikolar , (25) Kaniyan , and (26) Tiyar in Kadattunad and Travancore.

Of other customs peculiar to Malabar there is a list of sixty-four, of which, however, there is more than one version. One version of the list will be found in the " Indian Antiquary," Yol. IY, p. 255, based, it is said, on precepts given by the great Samkara Acharya in twentysix Sanskrit slogams. Another version, derived from personal communication with men learned in such matters, is subjoined. These sixty-four rules are called the Kerala Andchdram , that is, the irregular customs of Keralam : and one tradition alleges that Samkara Acharya promulgated them at Kollam on 25th August -825 A.D., the first day of the first year of the Kollam era followed on the coast. There is some colour for this tradition in the well known chronogram marking the commencement of the Kollam era, viz. : —

l

4 1 l

Ach

ar

ya

va

ka

bhed | ya

which means, Acharya's (i.e ., Samkaracharya's) word or law is unalterable, or must not be changed. The syllables represent figures as shown above, and these written backwards give the age in days of the Kali Yuga on the first day of the first Kollam year. It is perhaps unnecessary to observe that Samkaracharaya was, according to the most recent authorities, not alive on 25th August 825 A.D., so he could not have promulgated them as alleged. The sixty-four rules are evidently of Brahman origin, and are concerned chiefly with Brahman usages.

Customs for Malabar Brahmans , Sfc., not observed elsewhere .

1. You must not dean your teeth with sticks.
2. You must not bathe with clothes worn on your person.
3. You must not rub your body with the clothes worn on your

person.

1. You must not bathe before sun-rise.

2. You must not cook your food before you bathe.

3. Avoid the water kept aside during the night.

4. must not have one particular object in view while vou bathe.

1. The remainder of water taken for one purpose must not be made use of for another ceremony.

1. You must bathe if you touch another.

2. You must bathe if you happen to be near another.

3. You must bathe if you touch polluted wells or tanks.

4. You must not tread over a place that has been cleaned with a broom, unless it is washed.

1. A particular mode of marking the forehead with ashes.

2. You must repeat charms yourself.

3. You must avoid cold-rice, &c.

4. You must avoid leavings of meals by children.

5. You must not taste anything that has been offered to Siva.

6. You must not serve out food with hands.

7. You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for burnt offerings, &c.

1. You must not make use of the ghee of buffalo-cows for anni versary, &c.

1. A particular mode of taking meals.

2. You must not chew betel while you are polluted!

3. You must observe the conclusion of Bramhachan (an unmar-. ried man).

1. You must give presents to your guru (preceptor).

2. You must not repeat Vedas at the road.

3. You must not sell women.

4. You must avoid any vow which you observe in anticipation of getting your desires fulfilled.

1. Bathing is all that a woman should observe if she touches another in her monthly course.

1. Brahmans should not spin cotton.

2. Brahmans should not wash clothes for themselves.

3. Kshatriyas should avoid worshipping in Siva Lingam.

4. Brahmans should not accept the anniversary of Sudras.

5. Perform the anniversaries of your father, &c.

6. Anniversaries should be performed on the day of the new moon.

7. The funeral ceremony should be performed at the end of the year from the day of death.

1. The ceremony to be performed till the end of the year from the day of death.

1. Sraddha should be performed with regard to the stars.

2. The funeral ceremony should be performed after the pollution caused by a child-birth at that time has been removed.

1. A particular mode of performing Sraddha by an adopted son.

2. The corpse of a man should be burnt in his own compound.

3. Sanyasis (devotees) should not look at females.

4. You must always be seeking for the next world.

5. Sraddha should not be performed in honour of dead Sanyasis.

6. Brahman females must not look at any other persons besides their own husbands.

1. Brahman females must not go out unaccompanied by female servants.

1. Should wear only white clothes.

2. Noses should not be pierced.

3. Brahmans ought to be put out of their caste if they drink any liquor.

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1. They ought to be put out of their caste if they have intercourse with other Brahman women besides their wives.

1. The consecration of evil spirits in temples should be avoided.

2. Sudras, &c., are prevented from touching an image.

3. Anything olfered to one god should not be offered to another.

4. Marriages, &c., should not be done without a burnt-offering.

5. Brahmans should not pour blessings upon each other.

6. They should not bow down to another person.

7. Sacrifice with a cow should be avoided.

8. Do not cause distraction, some by observing the religious rites of Siva and others those of Vishnu.

1. Brahmans should wear only one sacred thread.

2. Eldest son only is entitled to legal marriage.

3. Ceremony in honour of the dead ancestors should be performed

with boiled rice.

1. Ceremony to be performed in honour of an uncle.

2. The right of inheritance among Kshatriyas, &c., goes towards

nephews.

1. Widows should lead the lives of Sanyasis.

2. Sati should be avoided.

The Malayalis compute 1 their time, as observed above, by the Kollam era , which commenced on 25th. August 825 2 A.D., but it is not generally-known that there are two Kollam years , just as it is not generally known that there are two well-known Kollams or Quilons, as already described in Chapter I, p. 72. The Northern Kollam year commences on the 1st of Kanni, the month (September) in which the sun enters the Zodiacal sign of Virgo. The Southern Kollam year, on the other hand, commences on the 1st of Chingam, the Zodiacal month of Leo (August — September) .

It is uncertain how this difference of a month was imported into the era. The most natural explanation seems to be that there are two eras, and not merely one, but here history is at fault, for it is certain that

1 Another Era which is in use, but only to a very limited extent, near Cochin is the Vypeen Era. In Malay&lam it is called Putuveppu (literally— new deposit) and it dates from A.D. 1341, the year in which a new island (Vypeen) was formed by deposit of sand and silt between the mouths of the Cranganore and Cochin rivers — or in which perhaps this island was first inhabited.

2 The data for fixing this day may be thus stated : —

1. Up to midnight of 14th September 1882 A.D. there had elapsed 687,280 days of the Christian era.

1. On 15th September 1882, the first day of the Northern Kollam year 1058, the age of the Kali Yugam in days was 1,820,238.

1. The age of the Kali Y ugam on the first day of the first year of the Kollam era was as fixed by the chronogram “ Acharya vakabhedya,” 1 ,434,100

days.

(rf) Therefore 301,202 days of the Christian era had elapsed when the Kollam era began.

1. And this corresponds with the 236th day of the 825th year.

(/) The 237th day of 825 A.D. was 25th August.

(?) The same date is assigned in the Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, 271, but the data in that case are not stated.

the dates could not have been fixed as those of the founding of the two Kollams, as very often supposed, one of the Kollams having already been in existence for two centuries at least at the date of the commencement of the era. (As. Res., X, 69; Caldwell's Drav. Gram., p. 27.) Another theory is that the two dates mark the acquisition of independence of the Perumal (emperor) by the two Kolattiri families. There is much to be urged in, favour of this view, only it is unlikely that the dates of acquiring independence should have fallen precisely on the first days of two successive months. 'The matter is explained more fully in the' historical Chapter, Section {a). A third theory is that the dates denote respectively the epochs when Samkaracharya's Yedantist doctrines were embraced respectively by the Brahmans of the south and the Brahmans of the north portions of Keralam. There is some colour for this in the chronogram already explained above (page 155) marking in the Kali Yugam era the commencement of the Kollam era. But there is no historical evidence so far as yet discovered in favour of this view.

The other two explanations proceed on the assumptions that originally there was but one era, that it marked an event in the history of the country, and that as this event fell in the middle of a month the initial day of the Kollam year was arbitrarily transferred by the respective suzerains of the north and south (in all probability the two Kolattiri dynasties) , the one to the beginning of the Zodiacal month next following (1st Kanni) , and the other to that of the Zodiacal month next preceding (1st Ghingam), the exact date of the 6vent, and this is probably the true explanation of the difference.

The two historical events from which is supposed to date the commencement of the Kollam era are respectively the institution of the Onam festival, the great annual festival of the Malayalis, and the departure of the last emperor (Perumal) of Keralam for Arabia, whence he never returned. The evidence in favour of this latter event having taken place at this time will come more appropriately hereafter. As regards the former, the facts on which the assumption, for it is nothing more, rests is that the Onam festival falls on varying days at or about this time of the year, and that in title-deeds,

horoscopes and other writings in North Keralam the year is still sometimes written as having ended on the day preceding the Tint Onam day. This fact is quite reconcilable with the other explanation which alleges that the commencement of the era coincides with the day of the Perumal's departure for Arabia if it is assumed that, as is not improbable, the day on which he sailed was the Tiru Onam day — the day on which acknowledgments of fealty should have been made.

As there are two initial days of the Kollam year, so there are two systems of astronomy and two calendars in use on the coast. The differences between the two systems are, however, of minor importance, and the chief difference will be presently set forth.

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The system in vogue both in the north and in the south is that founded on Arya Bhattdcharya* s dictum : — " All the heavenly bodies 1 enter the sign Aries and rise above the horizon at one and the same moment on a certain day,2 which moment is reckoned as the commencement of a Kalpam,3 of a Yugam,4 of a year, of a month, and of a day. Time is duration with no beginning nor end, but capable of being computed by means of the relative positions of the planets and stars."

It is accordingly by the sun's position in the heavens that the lengths of the Malayali months and years are determined. Hence the months correspond with the signs of the Zodiac

Months in Mai.

Signs of the

Corresponding

Zodiac.

English months.

Mf'dham

. . A ries . .

. . April — May.

Id da r am

. . Taurus . .

. . May — June.

Midhunam

. . Gemini

. . June — July.

Ji ari a dag am

. . Cancer . .

. . July — August.

Chin gam

. . Leo . .

. . August — September.

Kanni . . • •

. . Virgo . .

.. September — October.

Tuldm . .

. . Libra . .

. . October — November.

Vrikshikam

. . Scorp io

November — December.

Bhanu . .

. . Sagittarius

. . December — January.

Makaram

. . Capricornus

. . January — February.

Kumbham

. . Aquarius

. . February — March.

Minam . .

. . Pisces . .

. . March — April.

The Malayali names, chiefly of Sanskrit origin, correspond precisely to the names of the Zodiacal signs used in European countries.

The Malayalis again divide their day into 60 naligas (= 24 minutes), and each mliga into 60 vinaligas (=24 seconds), and each vinaliga into 60, what they call, " long letter utterance times " (the time taken to pronounce a consonant and a long vowel = £ of a second) .

There are two other fanciful measures of time shorter than this, one of which (matra) is £ of a " long letter utterance time," and another (noddi) which is § of a matra ; but for practical purposes the day is divided into naligasy vinaligas , and " long letter utterance times.'*

The chief difference between the northern and southern systems of astronomy is that if the sun enters a sign of the Zodiac (Sankramam) during the daytime, that day is reckoned in the northern calendars as the first day of the month corresponding to that sign ; whereas in the south, in order that a day may be reckoned as the first day of the month corresponding to any Zodiacal sign the sun must have entered that sign within the first three of the five parts into which they have divided the day. If the entry takes place in the latter two of the

1 Sun, qno'on and planets.

2 Here must bo understood : at Lanka (? Ceylon), supposed to be on the Equator.

3 The period commencing with this phenomenon and ending with its recurrence.

- One seventy-second part of a Kalpam according to one school, and one sevent yfirst part according to another.

five parts of the day, the day next following is accepted as the first day of the month.

According to both systems the months are of the following durations : —

Months.

Days.

Naligas.

Vinali.

gas.

Long

letter

utterance

times.

Medham

Iddavam

Midhunam . .

Karkadagam

Chingam

Kanni

Tul&m

Vrikahikam

Dhanu

Makaram . .

Kurabham . .

Minam

Total ..

These numbers are noted in the chronogram

1 5

i

5 | 1

1 “ Mu

khyah

Ka

Vo

ma 1 ya

ma

tu

lah ”

a phrase with a fanciful and apparently inappropriate meaning.

As the fractional parts of the day set forth above correspond to 6 hours 12 minutes and 30 seconds, it is clear that the Malayali year is too long by 23 minutes odd, and this is no doubt due to the omission in the above calculations, as in all other Hindu astronomical systems, of any compensation for the error caused by the precession of the equinoxes. The astronomers, it is understood, did recognize the fact of precession (ayanamgah), hut they failed to utilize it to obtain a correct computation of the solar year.

The calendars are prepared by taking every fourth year as of 366 days and every hundred and sixteenth year as of 367 days in order to make up the fractional part of a day over and above 365 days.

A great deal more might be said as to the infinity of uses to whioh those skilled in astronomical and astrological questions put the elaborate almanacs issued afresh every year, but enough has already been said about this matter in connection with the professional caste of astrologers.

Of the Malayali festivals only a very short account can be given.

It was usual in former days, and it is to some extent still prevalent, for superiors to he visited twice a year by their inferiors or dependents with gifts in hand — once at the time of the vernal equinox called Vishu , and once at the time of new moon in August — September, called Onam.

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Vishu is the astronomical new year day. In 1883 it occurred on the 13th of April. It is supposed to be the vernal equinox, but as its position in the calendar has shifted about twenty-one days from the exact date of that event, it marks the time when Hindu astronomy attained its present development, for the Malayali year is too long by twenty-three minutes forty seconds, and an easy sum in compound division shows that the Malayali vernal equinox began to be diverted from its true position some thousand three hundred years ago, or (say) about the middle or end of the sixth century A.D. This is of course due, as already said above, to the error imported by failure to observe the effects of precession.

But however this may be, the Malayali is very superstitious about his conduct on this day of Vishu , and the first thing that comes under his observation on the morning of that day is believed to be significant of the lusk that will attend him throughout the year then commencing. Hence the collection beforehand, sometimes in houses of temporary structure expressly built, of costly and auspicious objects, hence the annual presents to superiors, &c.

At Onam , which is perhaps the greatest national feast in Malabar, the houses are made gay with wild flowers, which are collected for the purpose by bands of children singing shrilly the appropriate Onam hymn. This is the day on which Parasu Raman or Vishnu is supposed to descend to earth to see his people happy.

To understand aright the significance of this feast to the people now-a-days it must be remembered that the good old days when perfect justice, perfect trust, and perfect truth prevailed upon the earth, are believed to have been during the reign of Mahabali. And the people attempt in a joyous way to reproduce, if only for one night, a vivid remembrance of the millennium, to which they look back with fond longings.

Next to these, perhaps the most popular feast in Malabar is that of the Bharani or cock feast in the month of Minatn (March — April). It takes the people in great crowds away from their homes. The whole country near the lines of march rings with the shouts “ Nada-a-Nada-a ” of the pilgrims to the favourite shrines, chief of which is that at Cranganore (Kodungallur) in the

Native State of Cochin. Of what takes place when the pilgrims reach this spot perhaps the less said the better. In their passage up to the shrine the cry of " Nada-a-Nada-a" (march, march away) is varied by terms of unmeasured abuse levelled at the goddess (a Bhagavati) of the shrine. This abusive language is supposed to be acceptable to her. On arrival at the shrine they desecrate it in every conceivable way, believing that this too is acceptable : they throw stones and filth, howling volleys of opprobrium at her house. The chief of the fishermen caste, styled Kuli Muttatta Aroyan, has the privilege of being the first to begin the work of polluting the Bhoot or shrine. Into other particulars it is unnecessary to enter. The cocks are

slaughtered and sacrificed. The worshipper gets flowers only and no holy water after paying his vows.* Instead of water he proceeds outside and drinks arrack or toddy, which an attendant Ndyar serves out. All castes are free to go, including Tiyars and low caste-people. The temple was originally only a Bhoot or holy tree with a platform. The image in the temple is said to have been introduced only of recent years. The object of the pilgrimage is to secure immunity from severe diseases during the succeeding year.

Of the Dasara it is unnecessary to say much. The feast is called in Malabar the Ayudhapuja (weapon or tool worship) or Sarasvatipuja, and sometimes Pujaveppu (the opening day) and Pdjayeduppu (the closing day). On the opening day, tools, weapons, implements, &c., are or ought to be laid aside (veppu), and on the closing day they are resumed; taken up (eduppu). It is a ten days' feast, and is called the feast of the autumnal equinox. The closing day ha3 shifted, as in the casepf Vishu, and for the same reason, about three weeks from the exact date of the equinox.

The other principal festivals are, Siva Ratri (Siva's night-watch), Port gal (the cooking of the new season's rice), Sri Rama Nava mi (Rama's birthday), Vinyagachaturti (birthday of Ganesa, the god of wisdom and wealth, worshipped in the image of a rat), and Dipd/i or jDipavali (the feast of lamps at the new moon in the month Tulam, October — N ovember) .

There are also numerous local festivals which sometimes attract large crowds from long distances ; of these the Tiruchamaram festival, held at Taliparamba in Chirakkal Taluk, in March ; the Kottiyur festival about May— June, held in the jungles of the Kottayam Taluk, at the foot of the mountains near the Periah Pass ; the Kilur Arat festival, held in December in the Kurumbranad Taluk ; the Car festival, held in November in Palghat Town ; the Konduvetti Takkujakal Nercha (a Mappilla feast), in Ernad Taluk in April ; the Guruvayyur Ekadesi feast, held in Pohnani Taluk in April ; and the

Kurumandham Kunnu festival, held in April in Valluvanad Taluk, are among the chief events.

Besides these, a festival which used formerly to be held every twelfth year at Tirunavayi temple in the Ponnani Taluk deserves more than a passing reference although it has been discontinued for the past one hundred and forty years. This festival was called the Mamakham or Maha Makham , which means literally big sacrifice. It seems to have been originally the occasion for a kuttam or assembly of all Keralam, at which public affairs were discussed and settled.

Hamilton thus alludes to the tradition current about it in his time (end of seventeenth and beginning of eighteenth centuries) : —

“ It was an ancient custom for the Samorin to reign but twelve Years and no longer. If he died before his Term was Expired it saved him a troublesome Ceremony of cutting his own Throat on a public Scaffold erected for that Purpose. He first made a Feast for all his

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Nobility and Gentry, who are very numerous. After the Feast he saluted his Guests and went on the Scaffold, and very decently cut his own Throat in the View of the Assembly, and his Body was a little While after burned with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Grandees elected a new Samorin. Whether that Custom was a religious or a civil Ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aside.

“ And a new Custom is followed by the modern Samorins, that a J ubilee is proclaimed throughout his Dominions at the End of twelve “iears, and a Tent is pitched for him in a spacious Plain, and a great Feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with Mirth and Jollity, Guns firing Night and Day, so at the End of the Feast any four of the Guests that have a Mind to gain a Crown by a desperate Action in fighting their Way through thirty or forty thousand of his Guards and kill the Samorin in his Tent, he that kills him, succeeds him in his Empire.

“ In Anno 1695 one of those Jubilees happened, and the Tent pitched near Pennany (Ponnani), a Sea Port of his, about fifteen Leagues to the Southward of Calicut. There were but three Men that would venture on that desperate Action, who fell in with Sword and Target among the Guards, and after they had killed and wounded many were themselves killed. One of the Desperadoes had a Nephew of fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, that kept close by his Uncle in the Attack on the Guards, and when he saw him fall the Youth got through the Guards into the Tent and made a stroke at his

Majesty's Head, and had certainly despatched him if a large Brass Lamp which was burning over his Head had not marred the Blow : but before he could make another he was killed by the Guards : and I believe the same Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that Time along the Coast, and heard the Guns for two or three Days and Nights successively." (New Account &c., Yol. I, pages 306-8.)

The Kerala Mdhatmya so far corroborates Hamilton's story that it declares the king used to be deposed at this festival, but there is no mention of self-immolation, although it is quite possible the deposed kings may have occasionally adopted this mode of escape from the cnagrin of not being re-elected by those who had hitherto been their adherents. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, wrote about this festival in the first volume of the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society to the following effect The installation of the first Perumal took place on " Pushya (8th LunarAsterism) in the month agha 1 . in Karkadaga Vijalam 2 (the period during which Jupiter remains in Cancer) and this day in every cycle of Jupiter thus became important in the history of Malabar" because the reign of each

' Th°r® ,1S no suoh month as that ifagha mentioned by Mr. Duncan, and the title of ii , "S'" r Pr°Perl>' that above given, namely, Mahd (= great) and Makham (= sacrifice), lie eMdently confounded makham with Makaram.

" the TamiI-AI*kvalam word for Jupiter, and a cycle of Jupiter is roughly speaking 12 years, more accurately 4,332 days odd. V* Y

Perumil terminated on that day, he being elected only for 12 years. " This great feast and the coronation occurring in the month Magha that month in every Karkadaga Vyalam was known as the great Magha or Mahamagha which was afterwards corrected into Mamangam" " At the end of this feast all prior leases of land were considered to be at an end and fresh grants were to be obtained at the beginning of the next reign." " In all the principal deeds the position of Jupiter is to be mentioned." " This practice is continued even up to the present day." Mr. Duncan seems to have obtained his information from the Keralol-patti. The fact seems to have been that at each recurring festival all feudal ties were broken, and the parties, assembled in public conclave at Tirunav&yi, readjusted at such times all existing relations among themselves.

The tradition is that this festival was instituted in the days of the emperors (Peruimdk), that is, prior to the Kollam era. and that when the last emperor set out for Mecca and left the country without a head, the duty of celebrating it devolved on the raja of the locality where the festival used to take place, that is, on the Valluvanad alias Vellatri alias Arangott 1 Raja. And this

arrangement seems to have continued up to the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D., when the power of the Zamorins (ohiefly through Muhammadan influence and arms and trade) became supreme in all Keralam. From that time down to the last celebration of the festival in 1743 the Zamorins were present at this festival as Suzerains of all Keralam, including Travancore, which as a Malayali State only attained to the first rank shortly after the date of the last Mahdmakham festival in 1743.

Those who acknowledged the Zamorin's suzerainty sent flags in token of fealty, and the places where these flags used to be hoisted at festival time are still pointed out. The Valluvanad Raja, who is still represented in the management of the Tirana vayi temple by one out of the four Brahman Karalars , instead of sending a flag used to send men called Chavers (men who have elected to die), whose office it was to endeavour to cut their way through the Zamorin's guards to his throne in a manner presently to be described. If they had succeeded in killing him — as on the occasion cited by Hamilton, whose statement, exoept as to the date, is moreover corroborated by tradition — it is uncertain what would have happened ; but probably if a capable raja had been ruling in Valluvanad at such a time, popular opinion would have endowed him with the suzerainty, for the Nayar militia were very fickle, and flocked to the standard of the man who was fittest to command and who treated them the most considerately.

With the kind assistance of the present Zamorin, Maharaja Bahadur, the records of his family have been examined and a complete account

» So called in the Jews' deed of the eighth century A.D., on account of his territory lying beyond (o ngUtta) the river {dr) from Cranganore, the emperor's head-quarters.

obtained of the events attending the festival held in 1683 A.D., the festival next preceding that alluded to by Hamilton.

The festival used to continue for twenty-eight days every twelfth year, when the planet Jupiter was in retrograde motion in the sign of Karkadayam or Cancer or the Crab, and at the time of the eighth lunar asterism in the month of Makaram the festival used to culminate.

On the occasion in question the Zamorin 'some months beforehand sent orders for the preparation of the necessary timber and bamboos for the temporary buildings required at Tirunavayi, and the materials were floated down stream from the Alrparamba Chirakkal lands.

Then exactly two months before the opening day he sent out a circular to his followers worded as follows : —

“ Royal writing to the Akampati Janam (body-guards).

“ On the 5th Makaram 858 is Mahdmakha Talpuyam (time of the eighth lunar asterism in the festival season), and the Lokars (chief people of each locality) are required to attend at Tirunavayi as in olden times.

“ Mangatt Ijtaman and Tinayancheri 1 are sent to collect and bring you in regular order for the Mahamakham.

“ You must come to Tirunavayi on the 3rd of Makaram to fight and foil as usual. But all of you should come for the Mahamakham. ”

The Zambrin timed himself to arrive at Tirunavayi on the day after that appointed for the arrival of his followers, and the lucky moment for setting out on this particular occasion on the last day’s stage of the journey was “ atihe rising of the constellation of Aquarius .”

The Tirunavayi temple stands on the north bank of the Ponnani river close to the present line of railway. Passengers by train can catch a glimpse of it by looking across the level expanse of paddy-fields which lie south of the sixth telegraph post on the three hundred and eighty-second mile of the railway. There is a modest clump of trees on the river bank hiding the temple, the western gateway of which faces a perfectly straight piece of road a little over half a mile in length stretching from the temple gateway westwards to the elevated ridge hemming in the paddy-fields on the west. This road is but little raised above the level of the paddy flat. Directly facing this straight piece of road as the elevated ridge is reached there are three or perhaps four terraces, the outlines of which may still be traced in the face of the precipitous bank.

A little to one side of the upper terrace are the ruins of a strongly-built powder magazine, and on the flat ground above and on both sides of the fine avenue shading the public road at this place is ample space for the erection of temporary houses.

In a neighbouring enclosure under cultivation is a disused well of fine proportions and of most solid construction.

’ T* o of the hereditary miniatirs, the first being a Kdyar, the second an Ifayatu.

Prom the upper terrace alluded to a commanding view is obtained facing

eastwards of the level rice-plain at foot, of the broad placid river on the right backed by low hills, of higher flat-topped laterite plateaus on the left, their lower slopes bosomed in trees, and, in the far distance, of the great chain of Western Ghats with the Nllgiris in the extreme left front hardly distinguishable in their proverbial colour from the sky above them. It was on fhis spot, on a smooth plateau of hard laterite rock, raised some 30 to 40 feet above the plain, that the Zamorin used several times in the course of the festival to take his stand with the sword of Cheraman Perumal, the last emperor, in his hand.

The sword is, and has been for centuries, slowly rusting away in its scabbard, but it is not alone on it that the Zamorin depends for his safety, for the plain below him is covered with the thirty thousand Nayars of Ernad, the ten thousand of Polanad, and numberless petty dependent chieftains, each counting his fighting men by the hundred or the thousand, or by thousands. Away on the right, across the river are the camps of the second prince of the Zamorfn's family and of the dependent Punattur Raja ; the third, fourth, fifth and sixth princes' camps too are close at hand in the left front behind the temple, and behind the terrace itself is the Zamorin's own camp.

The whole scene is being made gay with flags as an elephant is being formally caparisoned with a chain of solid gold with " one hundred and fourteen small links and one clasp, making in all one hundred and fifteen " — as the record specifically testifies — and with golden bosses and other ornaments too numerous to be detailed. But this part of the festivities is not to be permitted to pass unchallenged, for it signifies in a formal manner the Zamorin's intention to assume the role of Raksha-purashan, or protector of the festivities and of the people there assembled. On the instant, therefore, there is a stir among the orowd' assembled near the western gate of the temple directly facing at a half mile distance the Zamorin's standing-place on the upper terrace.

From this post, running due east in a perfectly straight line to the western gate of the temple, is the straight piece of road already described, but the road itself is clear and the armed crowd on the -plain, it is seen, are hemmed in by barred palisadings running the full length of the road on both sides. Two spears' length apart the palisades are placed, and the armed crowd on either hand, consisting on this occasion of the thirty-thousand Ernad Nayars, it is seen, are all carrying spears. The spearmen may not enter that narrow lane, and by the mere weight of their bodies present an impassable obstacle to the free passage 'of the foemen now bent on cutting down the Zamorin in his pride of place.

Amid much din and firing of guns the morituri, the Chaver Nayars, the elect

of four 1 Nayar houses in Valluvanad, step forth from the

1 (1) Chandrattil Panikkar, (2) Putumanna Panikkar, (3) Kolkit Panikkar, (4) A erkˆt Panikkar.

crowd and receive the last blessings and farewells of their friends and relatives. They have just partaken of the last meal they are to eat on earth at the house of the temple representative of their chieftain ; they are dscked with garlands and smeared with ashes. On this particular occasion it is one of the house of Putumanna Panikkar who heads the fray. He is joined by seventeen of his friends — Nayar or Mappilla or other arms-bearing caste men — for all who so wish may fall in with sword and target in support of the men who have elected to die.

Armed with swords and targets alone they rush at the spearmen thronging the, palisades ; they " winde and turn their Bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the Astonishment of the Beholders " as worthy Master Johnson describes them in a passage already quoted (p. 137). But notwithstanding the suppleness of their limbs, notwithstanding their delight and skill and dexterity in their weapons, the result is inevitable, and is prosaically recorded in the chronicle thus : " The number of Chdvers who came

and died early morning the next day after the elephant began to be adorned with gold trappings — being Putumanna Kantur Me non and followers — were 18."

At various times during the ten last days of the festival the same thing is repeated. Whenever the Zamorin takes his stand on the terrace, assumes the sword and shakes it, men rush forth from the crowd at the west temple gate only to be impaled on the spears of the guardsmen who relieve each other from day to day. The turns for this duty are specifically mentioned in the chronicle thus : " On the day the golden

ornaments are begun to be used the body-guard consists of the Thirty Thousand ; of Ellaya Vakkayil Vellodi (and his men) the second day, of Netiyiruppu1 Muttarati Tirumalpad (and his men) the third day, of Itatturnad 2 Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the fourth day, of Ernad Munamkur 3 Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the fifth day, of Ernad Elankur 4 Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (and his men) the sixth day, and of the Ten Thousand;5 the Calicut Talachanna Nayar and Ernad Menon the seventh day."

The chronicle is silent as to the turns for this duty on the eighth, ninth and tenth days. On the eleventh day, before the assembly broke up and after the final assault of the Chdvers had been delivered, the Ernad Elankur Nambiyattiri Tirumalpad (the Zamorin next in succession) and the Tirumanisseri Nambutiri were conveyed in palanquins to the eastern end of the narrow palisaded lane, and thence they advanced on foot,

1 The Fifth Prince of the Zamorin's family.

2 The Fourth Prince of the Zamorin's family.

3 The Third P/ince of the Zamorin's family.

4 The Second Prince and Heir apparent of the Zamorin's family.

8 The Ten Thousand of PolanSd, the district round about Calicut, formed the Zamorin's own immediate Body-guard — Conf. the account contained in the Keralolpatti of how these men were originally selected — Chap. Ill, Sect. (a).

prostrating themselves four times towards the Zamorin, once at the eastern end of the lane, twice in the middle, and once at the foot of the terraces. And after due permission was sought and obtained they took their places on the Zamorin's right hand.

After this, so the chronicle runs, it was the duty of the men who had formed the body-guard to march up with music and pomp to make obeisance. On this occasion, however, a large portion of the bodyguard seems to have been displeased, for they left without fulfilling this duty, aud this story corroborates in a marked way the facts already set forth (p. 132) regarding the independence and important political influence possessed by the N Avars as a body.

The Eruad Iff no* and the Calicut Talachmna Ndj/ar with their followers were the only chiefs who made obeisance in due form to the Zamorin on this occasion, and possibly by the time of the next festival (1695 A.D.), of which Hamiltou wrote, the dissatisfaction may have increased among his followers, and the Zamorin's life even may have been endangered, as Hamilton alleges, probably through lack of men to guard him. Tradition asserts that the Chdver who managed on oue occasion to get through the guards and up to the Zamorin's seat belonged to the family of the Chandrnttil Panikkar.

The chronicle winds up with a list of the Chatters slain on this occasion, via. : —

When the Zamorin was taking his stand on the terrace apparently at the commencement of the festivities . . 5

On the day the elephant was adorned, as already related . . 18

“ The next day of Chandrnttil Panikkar and followers, the number who came and died . . . , . . . , j j

“ Of Vfrkot Panikkar and followers, the number that came

and died the third day 12

41 The number who came up to Yakkayur and died in the

four days . 4

“ The number of Chdren who were arrested at the place where Kalattil Itti Karumlkara MSnon was. and brought tied to V akkayiir and put to death l

44 The number of Chdvers arrested on the day of the sacrifice, when all the persons together made the obeisance below akkayiir at the time when the Zamorin was taking his stand, and left tied to the bars, and who were afterwards brought to YakkayQr and after the ceremony was over and the Zamorin had returned to the palace were put to the sword . . . 4

Total . . 55

The chronicle does not mention the fact, but a current tradition says that the corpses of the slain were customarily kicked by elephants as far as the brink of the fine well, of which mention has been made, and

into which they were tumbled promiscuously. The well itself is nearly filled up with debris of sorts, and a search made at the spot would probably elicit conclusive evidence of the truth of this tradition.

The martial spirit of the Nayars was in former days kept alive by such desperate enterprises as the above, but in everyday life the Nayar used to be prepared and ready to take vengeance on any who affronted him, for he invariably carried his weapons, and when a man was slain it was incumbent on his family to compass the death of a member of the slayer’s family. This custom was called Kudippaka (literally, house feud), or in an abbreviated

form, Kuduppu. One curious fact connected with this custom was that the chieftain of the district intervened when a man was slain and the body of the deceased was by him taken to his enemy's house and the corpse and the house were burnt together. It is understood that an out-house was usually selected for the purpose, but it was a common phrase to say " the slain rests in the yard of the slayer."

Again, when mortal offence was given by one man to another, a solemn contract used to be entered into before the chieftain of the locality to fight a duel, the chief himself being umpire. Large sums (up to a thousand fanams or two hundred and fifty rupees) used to be deposited as the battle-wager, and these sums formed one source (ankam) of the chieftain's revenue, and the right to levy them was sometimes transferred along with other privileges appertaining to the tenure of the soil. A preparation and training (it is said) for twelve years preceded the battle in order to qualify the combatants in the use of their weapons. The men who fought were not necessarily the principals in the quarrel — they were generally their champions. It was essential that one should fall, and so both men settled all their worldly affairs before the day of combat.

Besides this custom, which brought revenue into the chieftain's coffers, a curious list of items also producing revenue has been preserved in Mr. Groeme, the Malabar Special Commissioner's Report (1818-1822), and it may be here given as it illustrates in many lights the customs of Malabar in ancient times. The chieftain levied customs duties on imports, exports, and transports. He had a recognized right to usurp the estates of his decaying neighbouring chiefs : in fact the doctrine of the " survival of the fittest " was carried into practical politics in Malabar to a great extent. And he had the right to force them , by violence if necessary, to contribute supplies on emergencies. Fines of sorts were of course levied from subjects, and when they died their successors, particularly those who held offices or rights over land, had to contribute something in order to ensure recognition of their right to succeed to the deceased's estate or office. Leud , adulterous women were made over to the chiefs with a premium by the other members of their families, in order that they might be taken care of, and the chiefs (at any rate the Zamorins) used in turn to sell the women to foreign merchants, thus making a double profit out of them.

'M A LA b All DlSTHlCT.

No one might quest for gold without payment of a royalty, and in Mr. Dillon's " East Indies " the way this was managed at Calicut is thus described : " Among the sands of tho shore, there is good store of gold dust, which is very fine ; and everybody has the freedom to gather it at pleasure :

the biggest piece that ere I saw was not worth above fifteen pence, and commonly they are not worth above four or five pence a-pieoe : abundance of people get a livelihood by it ; and with the consent of the Governor (which is to be purchased by a certain set price for the maintenance of a hundred poor people) you may have as much sand as you please carried to your dwelling-places in order to separate it with the more convenience.

Again, when a man died without heirs, the chieftain took his property ; nor could a man adopt an heir without the chief's consent. Under various designations fees for protection were levied from dependents and from strangers, and this latter was doubtless one of the obstacles which prevented the Chinese traveller Fah Hian from penetrating into South India for he wrote : " Those who desire to proceed thither should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who Vill then appoint people to accompany them and show them the way." Presents of congratulation or of condolence were always sent to the chieftains on the occasions of weddings, funerals, births, opening of new palaces, of ascension to the throne, and on the occurrence of numerous other domestic and public events.

Then, again, ships which came ashore were annexed by the chieftain of the locality. Moreover, a more piratical custom than this even was observed, in ancient times at least, for thus wrote Marco Polo respecting the kingdom of " Eli " (ante, p. 7) : " And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize her and plunder the cargo. For they say ' you were bound for somewhere else, and 'tis God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods.' And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over those provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which it was bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship come bound originally to the place they receive it with all honour and give it due protection. (Yule s Marco Polo II 374.) The custom of taking ships and cargoes wrecked on the coast continued down to recent times, for the English factors at Tellichcrry entered into engagements with three of the country powers, for exempting English vessels from such seizure. But it was a custom which the Malayan chieftains broke through with extreme reluctance The kings of Bednur were the first to grant immunity in 1736-37, and thrice afterwards ratified it ; then followed the Kohttm prince, on 8th May m». ratified in 1760 ; and finally the Kadattnnad Raja granted

similar immunity in 1761. No others followed their examples.

Finally the chieftains had a monopoly of ear mm animals produ • captured in their domains, cows having an abnormal number of

(lugs, cattle that had killed a human being or any animal (they were called “ red horns cattle born with a white speck near the corner

of the eye, buffaloes with white tips to their tails, wild elephants caught in pitfalls, the hind quarter of any wild hog or deer slain in hunting, the tails and skins of all tigers similarly slain, and wild hogs that had fallen into wells — an occurrence which must have been frequent to judge by the wide area in which this right of the chieftains was recognized : — all of these were their perquisites of office.

A few words may be added regarding the right to appropriate a portion of each wild game animal slain in hunting. This right was, and it still is, known as the Urpalli right, ur being a village, and palli a place of reverence or importance. The village hunts , like everything else in the daily life of a Hindu community, were conducted precisely according to ancient corporate customs. The Urpalli was the place where, according to custom, the game must be broken up. The man even who alone could perform this office had a hereditary right to officiate. He was called the Keikkdran or attendant (perhaps originally an elder of the village). As perquisite he had the other hind quarter of the animal. The hunter who killed the animal had as perquisites the head and one fore quarter. A share of the flesh was given to each of the hunters engaged in the hunt, and three pieces were distributed among those who came to the Urpalli to see it cut up. The animal was methodically cut up into eighteen customary pieces. The Urpalli was a place in the jungle duly consecrated to the hunting deity Ayyan or Ayyappan , and it was in front of his shrine that the formal ceremony took place. The hunting season opens on the 10th or 11th of Tula in — — (October — November) of each year, and these days are still considered of importance in places where game is still to be found. The permission of the chieftain to hunt on his territory was not required and was never sought, and the idea of an exclusive personal right to hunting privileges in certain limits is entirely foreign to the Malayali customary law. Such an idea was only imported into Malabar with English courts and English law and lawyers. There was a fundamental difference in the ideas from which originated the Malayali law of land tenure and the English law of land, and this will be considered in the chapter on the land tenures and land revenue. This difference has never been properly understood in the courts, and the confusion and consequent strife amtmg those interested has been very great and deplorable.

So strong indeed was the hold that old observances and customs had upon

the people, that " when summary payment was demanded of a debtor , the custom was to draw a circle round him with a green branch and imprecate on him the name of a particular divinity whose curse was to fall upon him if he left the circle before satisfying the claim of his creditor." (I. AVIII, 267.) Many writers have noticed the existence of this custom, and some have commented on and marvelled

at the strictness of the arrest. But it must be remembered that of individual freedom there was very little, as every person from his cradle to his grave was hemmed in by unyielding chains of customary observances.

In an interdict there were four kinds of twigs used for the four sides, viz., either the four tali plants — probably consisting of 1, Convolvulus maxirnus ; 2, another kind of convolvulus called Tinimudittali ; 3, a three-ribbed convolvulus (Tirupantittdli) ;.and 4, Ipomcea setosa ; — or 1, a thorn with an edible fruit called Rhamnus circumcisus ; 2, a medicinal tree called in Malayalam nyallu ; 3, Musscenda frondosa with white bracts called in Malayalam Vellila ; and 4, the Malayalam tumba.(Phlornis or Leucas Indica), a common weed. A tuft of three green twigs tied to a doorway precluded persons from crossing the threshold of a house, and a similar tuft tied to the end of a staff stuck in the ground was, and still is, in some parts a sign that there is an interdict on the crops there growing.

The people must have been a very law-abiding and docile race if such simple formalities sufficed to guvem them. But indeed custom, when once it has become law, arrays the whole community in arms against the law-breaker, and is perhaps the safest form of law for a semicivilized state.

Another curious custom has come down from ancient times and is still flourishing, though the mutual confidence on which it relies for its proper effects shows signs of breaking down and is cited as a degeneracy of Malayali manners. Any one desirous of raising a considerable sum of money for some temporary purpose invites his friends to join him in what is called a kuri or lottery : chance enters very little, however, into the arrangement, and it would be a better term to call the members a mutual loan society. The organizer of the kuri gets a certain number of his friends to subscribe a certain amount of money, or of rice husked or unhusked, as the case may be. The friends bring their contributions to his house, where they are hospitably entertained, and by lot the person is selected to whom similar contributions from all present, including the organizer of the kuri , are to be made at a certain date then and there fixed. This individual in turn hospitably entertains his friends when they come with their contributions. A third person is then selected, and the same thing comes off at his house. And so it goes on, until every one' of the original members or his heir has in turn

reaped the benefits of the contributions of his friends. The arrangement is of obvious benefit in several ways to those concerned.

Trials by ordeal were and still are very common, although some forms of them have necessarily disappeared. The Zamorin in 1710 entered into an engagement with the Honorable Company's Factors at Tellicherry to subject to the oil ordeal people who disputed with them as to the value of articles agreed to be supplied for money received. This engage-

ment is recorded in the Tellicherry Factory Diary of 6th May 1728 as : " A grant that any Mallaharr having accounts with us must put his 'hand in Oyle to prove the verity thereof, given Anno 1710." And in the engagement itself it was written : " If his hand comes out clean, he will be held innocent and you will have to pay him, as usual, the expe&ses he may incur (in taking the oath)." The form of taking the oath was to pick a coin out of a pot of boiling oil with the hand, which was immediately swathed in bandages and sealed up, and the state of the hand after a certain lapse of time (three days, it is understood) determined the matter. The crocodile ordeal, in which a man swam across a piece of water swarming with saunans was also in vogue at some places to determine the guilt or innocence of criminals. The ordeal by weighment was, and still is, sometimes resorted to. A man who wishes to establish his innocence is weighed : he proceeds to a neighbouring tank and bathes, and if on returning to the scales he is lighter than when he went into the water, his innocence is established. This is used now-a-days in deciding caste offences.

But criminals did not in former days always escape, and were not always given the option of submitting the test of their innocence to an ordeal. The five great crimes were — (1) murder of a Brahman ; (2) drinking spirits (probably a crime only among Brahmans, for the Nayars are not now, and never were an abstemious caste, nor were the other lower castes) ; (3) theft : " They put a thief .to death " wrote Sheikh Ibn Batuta regarding the Malayalis in the fourteenth century A.D., " for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit : hence thieves are unknown among them, and should anything fall from a tree none except its proper owner would attempt to touch it." (Ibn Batuta' Travels, Or. Transl. Committee, London, 1829, p. 167) ; (4) disobeying a teacher's rules ; (5) cow-killing, which is still a penal offence in the Cochin State. The manner of carrying out capital punishments wras sometimes barbarous in the extreme. Criminals were cut in half and exposed on a cross-bar, in the manner still adopted with tigers and panthers slain in hunting expeditions and offered as a sacrifice to local deities. Thieves were similarly cut in two and impaled on a stake, which

probably had a cross-bar, as the word for it and that for an eagle or vulture are identical. But empaling alive was also known, and in June 1795, by the orders of the Palassi (Pychy) rebel chief two Mappillas were thus treated after a pretended trial for alleged robbery in a Nayar's house at Venkad in Kottayam Taluk. Finally, great criminals were at times wrapped up in green palm leaves and torn asunder probably by elephants.

Whether cannibalism ever extensively prevailed is uncertain, but it is not improbable that it at times was perpetrated among the lower orders of the population, who even now take vengeance on the higher castes by stoning their houses at night and by various devices superstitiously set down to the action of evil spirits. In modern times only one

wtnˆ » o£ Tnlbo sm 18 on recordand :t was niched for by the late Dr. Burnell Some of the agrestic slave caste had mur-

ered a Nayar and mutilated the body, and on being asked why they had committed the murder, the details of which they freely confessed,

they replied that if they ate of his flesh their sin would be removed (Indian Antiquary, VIII, 88.)

Down to the present day the power of enchantments and spells is believed in implicitly by the lower and by the semi-educated anion, the upper classes ; and some individuals of the lower classes have a powerful superstitious influence over the higher castes owing to their supposed efficiency in creating enchantments and spells and in bringing misfortunes. The family of famous trackers, whose services in the jungles were retained for IT.R.H. the Prince of Wales' projected sporting tour m the Anamallai Mountains in 1875, dropped off most mysteriously one by one shortly afterwards, stricken down by an unseen hand, and all of them expressing beforehand their conviction that they were under a certain individual's spell and were doomed to certain death at an early date. They were probably poisoned, but how it was managed remains to the present day a mystery, although the family was under the protection of a European gentleman who would have at once brought to light any ostensible foul play.

Be it noted, wrote Mr. Whlhouse, late M.C.S., in the Indian Antiquary for J anuary 18 1 b that Malabar is the land par excellence of sorcery and magic ; the most powerful bhootas and demons reside there." lie further gives details of three of the forms used in compassing the discomfiture of enemies. " Make an image with wax in the form of your enemy, take it in your right hand at night and hold vour chain of beads in your left hand ; then burn the image with due rites, and it shall slay your enemy in a fortnight. Another strong

spell for evil is to take a human bone from a burial-ground and recite over it a thousand times the powerful Malayali mantra , namely, ‘ Om ! Hram ! Hram! Swine-faced goddess ! seize him ! seize him as a victim ! drink, drink his blood ! eat ! eat his flesh ! 0 image of imminent death ! Shag avail of Malayala ! Glaum ! Glaum ! Om !’ The bone thrown into

an enemy’s house will cause his ruin . Let a sorcerer obtain the

corpse of a maiden, and on a Sunday night place it at the foot of a hhuta haunted tree on an altar, and repeat a hundred times (Om ! Hrim ! Hrom ! 0 goddess of Malay ala, who possessest us in a moment ! come ! come! !’ The corpse will then be inspired by a demon and rise up, and if the demon be appeased with flesh and arrack, will answer all questions put.” The demons “ can be bought, carried about, and transfened from one sorcerer to another.” It may be added that the best educated native gentlemen have even yet hardly got over their objections to photography on the ground that their enemies may obtain possession of their photographs, and may by piercing with needles the eyes and other organs, and by powerful incantations, work them serious mischief.

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, &C.

Ker slant has twelve professional magicians, six of whom work to win the good gods, and six to coerce the evil ones.

Of belief in the potency of the “ evil eye ” evidence meets one at nearly every step throughout the land. A house or a shop is being built ; there surely is to be found exposed in some conspicuous position an image, sometimes of extreme indecency, a pot covered with cabalistio signs, a prickly branch of cactus or what not to catch the “ evil eye ” of passers-by and to divert their attention from the important work in hand A crop is being, raised in a garden visible from the road : the vegetables will never reach maturity unless a bogey of some sort is set up in their midst. A cow will stop giving milk unless a shell is tied conspicuously about her horns. The same idea enters into all domestic events and arrangements, and that not merely among Hindus, but among Muhammadans as well, to an extent that is with difficulty realized by Europeans.

When affliction comes the animal affected is served with grass, fruits, &c., on which charms have been whispered, or is bathed in charmed water, or has a talisman in the shape of a palm-leaf inscribed with charms rolled up and tied round its neck. So too with human beings. In 1877 a poor Mappilla woman residing in one of the Laccadive Islands was put upon her trial for witchcraft for importing into the island a betel leaf with a certain cabalistic and magical

inscription on it, but it fortunately turned out for her that she had merely pounded it up and rubbed it over her daughter's body to cure her of fits. Ibn Batuta wrote of a Malayali king who was converted to Islam by the leaf of " the tree of testimony," a tree of which it wras related to him that it does not generally drop its leaves, " but, at the season of autumn in every year, one of them changes its colour, first to yellow, then to red ; and that upon this is written, with the pen of power, ' There is no god but Hod : Muhammad is the Prophet of Hod,' and that this leaf alone falls." The falling of the leaf was an annual event anxiously looked for, and the leaf itself was efficacious in curing diseases. Now-adays the belief among Muhammadans still subsists that the leaves of a certain tree growing on Mount Deli possess similar virtues.

The incantation for the removal of spells and for avoiding future mischiefs is a long and somewhat complicated affair at times. The following account has been furnished from a trustworthy source : —

" Besides this, two other methods called Tolulika (a ceremony for removing different sins and punishments by throwing them with leaves into the fire), and Beliyulika (a ceremony performed by waving a basket of flowers round a possessed person), are also adopted in the case of human beings, and the mode of performing it is as follows : First, a lighted lamp and a nazhi (a wooden vessel containing half a seer) filled with rice are kept in the verandah or in the yard of a house. On the north-east corner of it a representation of Kala Bhyravan (a demon) with its head towards the south and feet towards the north, is mado

in five colours viz., white, yellow, green, red and black. Rice cleaned-and uncleaned, tender cocoanut, plantains, pounded rice, fried grain betel leaf, areca nut, &c., are placed on all the four sides of it A Kypdndi (a triangle made with plantain rind and young cocoanut leaves cut and stuck upon it in rows) having Kanikkdli (saffron and chunam mixecj With water and made after the fashion of a gruel) sprinkled over it, is placed on the east, red gurusi (water made red by mixing a little saffron and chunam with it) and a reddened cocoanut on the noˆh, and black gurusi (water mixed with charcoal) and a blackened cocoanut on the south, of the said representation. After modes of adoration have been done to these, Pinigdl (the person on whom exorcism is being practised) proceeds with three betel leaves and three pieces of areca nut, rice and wick in the right hand and with a knife in the other, and goes three times round the said representation, and then standing on the west of it facing towards the east, holds out the knife three times against the representation and cuts three times across it, and at last sticks the knife in its right eye, and then sits down. After this a wick is placed in the Kypdndi , one in the red gurusi , and a third on the reddened cocoanut after

singing hymns in praise of Kali, and wicks are similarly placed in black gurusi and on the blackened cocoanut after singing hymns in praise of Gulikan (son of Saturn, the ruler of the fatal hours). Then either the person who performs the ceremony or anybody else takes one handful of the leaves of Iranynyi (a tree) and one handful of those of nochchi (a shrub), and having caused Pinigdl to keep a wick upon them for avoiding the evil eye, keeps them aside. Again one man takes one handful and a second another handful of the said leaves and stand on each side of the Pinigdl and rub with them from the head to the feet of the Pinigdl , when Bharatam ought to be sung. This ought to be that portion of the Bharatam called Nilalhittu which relates the story of the Pandus who were troubled by Gurus by means of sorcery. At the end of each verse, the said leaves ought to be mixed with salt, chillies, mustard seed, gingelly seed, &c., and burnt in fire prepared with jack wood; a piece of iron is also placed in the fire. At the end of the four verses in this manner Pandi and gurusi are thrown aside, having due hymns sung by the person who performs the ceremony. After this, the body of the Piniyal is anointed with the ground root of a medicinal plant called Banal mixed with gingelly oil. The said piece of iron is then taken out of the fire and placed in front of the Piniyal, and the performer takes in his hands the smoke that bursts out by pouring upon it water mixed with gingelly and lamp oil, and rubs the body of the Pinigdl with it. A coooanut is then placed in the front of the Piniyal , having two wicks one across the other upon it. The Piniyal then crosses the oocoanut three times forward and backward, with a knife in the right hand and witn a lighted wick in the other, and then sets fire to the wicks already placed on the cocoanut. The Pinigdl then attempts three

times to cut the coconut with the knife, and at the fourth time cuts it into two pieces, and then destroys the said representation with the hands and puts a mark on the forehead. Thus it ends.

“ This is generally performed for males just before their first marriage, and also when they appear to be subject to such injuries as those already mentioned. This is done for females also on the day previous to the Pumsavana (a ceremony generally observed by them in the fifth, seventh, or ninth month of their first pregnancy). It is also performed for females who are afflicted with barrenness.”

There are no professional augurs among the population, but the events of their daily lives are supposed to be largely influenced by the signs presented to them by various birds and beasts and human beings and substances of sorts. The following list of good and bad omens has been prepared by a native gentleman.

Good omens. — The sight of such birds as crows and pigeons, &o., and beasts as deer, <£c., moving from left to right, and dogs and jackals moving inversely, and other beasts found similarly and singly, wild crow, cock, ruddy goose, mongoose, goat and peacock seen singly or in couples either at right or left ; the rainbow seen on right or left side or behind, prognosticates good, but the reverse if seen in front.

Butter-milk, raw rice Pnttalpira , (Trichosanthes anguina), Priyangu flower, honey, ghee, red cotton juice, antimony, sulphurate, metallic mug, bell ringing, lamp, lotus, Karitka grass (Agrostis linearis), raw fish, flesh, flour, ripe fruits, sweetmeats', gems, sandalwood, elephant, pots filled with water, a virgin, a woman, a couple of Brahmans, Rajas, respectable men, white flower, white yak tail, white cloth and white horse.

Chank-shell, flagstaff, turband, triumphal arch, fruitful soil, burning-fire, elegant eatables or drinkables, carts with men in, cows with their young, mares, bulls or cows with ropes tied to their necks, palanquin, swans, peacock and Indian crane warbling sweetly ! !

Bracelets, looking-glass, mustard, Bezoor , any substance of white colour, the bellowing of oxen, auspicious words, harmonious human voice, such sounds made by birds or beasts, the uplifting of umbrellas, flagstaff s and flags, hailing acclamations, sounds of harp, flute, timbrel,' tabor, and other instruments of music, sounds of hymns of consecration and of Vedic recitations, gentle breeze all around happening at the time of journey.

Bad omens. — The sight of men deprived of any of their limbs, such as the lame or blind, &c., of corpse, or wearer of cloth put on a corpse, coir pieces, broken vessels, hearing of words expressive of breaking, burning and destroying, &c., the alarming cry of "alas ! alas !" loud screams, cursing, tumbling, sneezing, the sight of a man in sorrow, or

one with a stick, a barber, or widow, pepper and other pungent substances.

I he sight of a serpent, cat, iguana , bloodsucker, or monkey passing across tlie road, or vociferous beasts or birds, such as jackals, dog« and

utes, crying loud from the eastern side, and of a buffalo, donkey, or temple bull, black grains, salt, liquor, hide, grass, dirt, faggots, iron, and flower used for funeral ceremonies, a eunuch, a ruffian, an outcaste, vomit, excrement, stench, any horrible figure, bamboo, cotton, lead, cots, stools or vehicles being carried with legs upwards, and dishes, cups, &e., with mouth downwards, vessels filled with live coals, and which aie broken and not burning, broomstick, ashes, oil, winnow and a hatchet, &c.

Section F. — Religion.

The annexed table shows the respective numbers of the followers of the different religions in Malabar, and the ratio of each to every 100,000 of the population in 1871 and again in 1881.

Religion.

1.
2.

Population.

Ratio per 100,000.

Population.

Ratio per 100,000.

Hindus .’ .

Muhammadans

Christians

Others . .

t

Totals . .

1,637,914

681,609

40,268

1,459

72,434

25,721

1,781

1,669,271

652,198

43,196

70,581

27,577

1,826

2,261,250

100,000

2,365,035

100,000

Excluding the Laccadive Islands, which are wholly Muhammadan, the Hindus are most numerous in Palghat Taluk, where, of every 100,000 of the population, 89,548 are Hindus, and fewest in numbers in Cochin Taluk, where the proportion is only 25,969. The Muhammadans similarly are most numerous in Ernad Taluk, proportion 50,646, and least numerous in Palghat, proportion 9,441.

The Christians again are most numerous in Cochin Taluk, proportion 59,354, and least numerous in Yalluvanad Taluk, proportion only 46. Of people of other religions, the largest number are in Wynad Taluk, proportion 174, and the fewest in Palghat Taluk, proportion nil.

Hindu. 8.

Of the strange medley of cults and religions which goes by the name of Hinduism, it is very difficult to give any adequate idea in a few pages.

- The earliest aboriginal cult was probably that which is sometimes called animism — the propitiation of evil spirits, male and female — for in the earliest relics of religion still extant there seems to be embodied a belief in an existence after death. Persons who caused sorrow and trouble in life were after death supposed to be the cause of furthei

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N* VIII. ROCK CELL POTTERY and IRON WEAPONS
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SECTION OF A KUTA KALLU (UMBRELLA STONE)
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Cap stoneAuctu kcdluJ E’Cta.vtrted, cTicorriler or Celt/
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ARTICLES FOUND IN KUTA KALLU (UMBRELLA STONE) CELLS AND URNS.

1.

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Ji. Trxpod/.

1. Zocj’np .

2. Varvctcs JluJiIu glazed 7i vtsz*ls

WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS FOUND IN THE KU TA KALLU (UMBRELLA STOHt)

CELLS VURNS.

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K xii.

VARIOUS Bt ADS FOUND IN KUTA KALLU CELLS ANO URNS.

■A Thesel etuis ere tsanspintact

RELIGION.

unhappiness, and as such they had to be propitiated with gifts which they would have appreciated when alive. They had to be supplied with the weapons, the cooking pots, the oil receptacles, the lamps, the ornaments, the water jars, and the implements which they used during life. Periodically solemn festivals were held, and a portion of the viands was solemnly set apart for the departed.

In every garden on the southern side, even in the present day, a portion is set apart where the bones of those who are burned aie buried in pots, and nightly lights are periodically kept blazing in memory of the day on which the deceased departed this life.

This custom prevails among Nat/ars, Tiyars , and the artisan castes, and it is no doubt the latest development of the cult, which dictated the making of the massive sepulchral urns and the erection of the jnassive cromlechs, and

kistvaens with which the district abounds, but of which tradition, in any reliable form, is wholly wanting.

A distinct advance in religious ideas may perhaps be gathered from these sepulchral relics, which in Malabar are more varied in their forms, and in their associations perhaps more interesting than any similar relics in any land yet explored. And although the subject is archaeologically of historical interest, its chief importance seems to lie in its religious aspect, and as such it may be fitly introduced here.

In so far as explorations have yet been conducted the sepulchral remains referred to may be separated into four classes, which, from internal evidence, may probably be correctly classified chronologically thus : —

1. Megalithic remains j .y hr0D0us.
2. Excavated caves ;
3. Caves with massive urns (kuta-kallu) and massive sepulchral urns without caves.

IY. Modern sepulchral urns of a small size.

There is a fifth class which has not yet been authoritatively connected with sepulchral uses. This class is known as the topikallu (hat stone), and evidently belongs to the megalithic period of Class I.

Illustrations Nos. I and II are of this uncertain class ; the hat stone represented in No. I was explored by Mr. Babington in November 1819, who thus summed up the result : — " Though from its situation, size, and appearance I was led to expect my labour would not have been in vain, nothing was found in the hollow space between the stones which supported the topikallu and which were themselves placed on the solid rock." Similar researches made since have so far as known proved equally unsuccessful, and Mr. Babington's conclusion either that these monuments are not sepulchral, or, if sepulchral, that their contents have crumbled into indistinguishable dust is fully justified.

Specimens of the first of the four undoubtedly sepulchral classes may be found scattered -widely over the hilly country in the south of Malabar, and one characteristic group of them is to be found in a

Va ey Jo* of the Kalladikod mountain peak in the Kdvalpdi amsam of Palghat

Taluk. They invariably contain the remains of iron implements and weapons and earthen pots. All covered up most carefully with fine earth which has in general been carefully sifted, these remains correspond so closely with ordinary cromlechs elsewhere that it is unnecessary to illustrate them. The stones composing the sides and ends of the place of sepulture are sometimes fully exposed sometimes half-buned, and sometimes only just showing above the surface. Occasionally the cromlech has a circle of stones placed round it at the distance of a yard or two.

Of Class II, specimens (Illustrations Nos. Ill to VII) occasionally come to light, by accident, in quarrying blocks of stone, or in digging the foundations of buildings. Such specimens are known to exist in the following places (1) in the Tallavil desam of Kuttiyeri amsam in Chirakkal Taluk ; (2) in the Taliparamba and Trichumaram desams of Taliparamba amsam in the same taluk ; (3) in the Padinyattumuri amsam and desam of Calicut Taluk. Their existence has been reported from many other places (Sewell's " Lists of Antiquities, Madras," p. 240, seq.). The contents are, in all respects, similar to those from the megalithic class. These caves are therefore probably of the same age as the megalithic class, although in form they differ widely from the square megalithic cromlech, as will be seen from the following plans and sections. The caves are invariably cut out of soft laterite rock, and as gneiss is both more difficult to work and scarcer than laterite in the parts where these caves are to be found, it'is probable that the architects adapted themselves to circumstances, and, instead of building their sepulchres or death-houses, set to work to excavate them.

The next illustration, No. VIII, conveys an accurate idea of the style of the earthenware vessels and iron weapons and implements found in these excavated " death-houses."

It was probably a distinct advance in civilisation and in religious ideas (as will be presently explained) which led to the adoption of the next class (No. Ill) of sepulchral relics, for the kuta-kallu remains invariably contain a large sepulchral urn placed inside an excavated

chamber, in addition to the usual earthenware pots and iron implements characteristic of the supposed earlier sepulchral relics. Moreover, in these kuta-kallu chambers are to be found earthenware pots of a more advanced type, evincing that meanwhile society had begun to pay attention to ornamenting the vessels in domestic use. Beads, too, are found in them, and the iron implements weapons are more varied in form as if designed for more extended wants.

Illustrations (Nos. IX to XII) copied from a very interesting paper

communicated by Mr. J. Babington to the Literary Society of Bombay in December 1820 (Reprint, Bombay Literary Society's Transactions, 1877, p. 342), are representative of these kuta-kallu remains and of their contents.

RELIGION.

The occurrence of these massive half-baked earthenware urns in the excavated chambers of the Jcuta-kallu seems to supply the necessary connecting link between society, ancient and modern ; for Malayalis, as already said, still adhere to the practice of using small sepulchral urns of the IV class. But now-a-days the charred bones of the deoeased are placed in the urns as a temporary resting-place only, and are, as soon as convenient, removed and cast into the fresh water of the holy rivers. Formerly there was evidently no intention of ever disturbing the relics after they were put in their final resting-place.

The shape of some of the ancient urns perhaps affords a clue to the idea which originally suggested this mode of sepulture ; for in Malabar, as in the districts east of the ghats, their shape is at times peculiar. The urn shown in Mr. Babington's illustration (No. IX) was evidently the final resting-place of a person of wealth and consideration — the extent of the excavation, the massive character of the capstone, and the articles found, all attest this. Meaner individuals had to be content with less pretentious tombs, and, accordingly, it is found that in many localities in the district massive half-baked sepulchral urns, simply buried in the ground, are grouped together, generally on hill sides, in large numbers ; occasionally, where the laterite rock occurs near the surface, the rock is hollowed out a little to admit of receiving the urn, but no attempt is made at constructing a chamber round each urn. What is further peculiar about them is that, while some are plainly made like that shown in Mr. Babington's illustration (No. IX), in others of them, as in some of the specimens to be found at Vaniamkulam in the Valluvanad Taluk, the bottom of the urn thickens out in a circular shape and through this protuberance a small hole is drilled.

It has been suggested that this peculiarity in construction is emblematic of the religious ideas connected with the Bhu-deri or earth goddess (Tellus), and that burial in this fashion was emblematic of the return of the individual to the womb of Mother Earth. The protuberance on the bottom of the urn under this supposition would signify that it was representative of the os uteri.

The worship of the earth goddess is a subject full of difficulty ; it probably came in with the advance in civilisation, which taught men that the earth was fruitful if tilled, and possibly the transition from the megalithic and excavated tomb period to the period in which earthen sepulchral urns began

to be used marks a change in Malayali civilisation from a pastoral life to one of agriculture, and from a belief in the powers for good and evil of departed human spirits to one in which the former belief began to be modified by the idea of an earth goddess, who became the refuge of the dead.

To the present day there is a native tradition, which of course is not in harmony with orthodox Sanskrit texts, and which runs as follows : — " As l ˚ng as the bones remain undestroyed and undefiled,

" So long does the soul enjoy heaven."

And this tradition has still such a powerful hold on the people, that their superstitious fears are at once aroused if such places of sepulture are opened up. To this feeling chiefly is to be attributed the fact that so little is still known about these death relics. When a tomb is by accident discovered, it is generally for superstitious reasons closed up again at once and the fact of its existence is kept secret.

But even, according to orthodox Brahmamcal ideas, the corpse of a human being is, if the proper mantrams are used, delivered at the burning-ground to the care of Rddran (one form of Siva), whose charge ceases when the burning is complete. The un burnt bones become pure and ought to be delivered in a pure form to Paramesvaran (another form of Siva), whose property they become. This iseffected by casting them into the fresh water of holy streams, such as the Ganges, and into branches of the Kaveri as at Tirunelli in Wynad, and Perur in Qoimba-tore, and the like. But it is not always convenient to carry away the bones at once for this purpose, and frequently it is not done for years. Meanwhile, therefore, the bones are placed in a holy urn 1 (Class IV) and preserved till a fitting opportunity occurs for their removal. The spirit of the deceased is meanwhile supposed to inhabit the western room — the honored guest-chamber of the house — into which it is conveyed on the fortieth day after death in the holy urn before the latter is finally consigned to its temporary resting-place in the southern portion of the garden. The urn used must be of unburnt fresh earth, a fact which goes a long way to connect the ancient and modern practices on this point, for the massive urns of Class III above described are likewise constructed of only partially baked earth.

The native tradition still extant, that so long as the bones remained " undestroyed and undefiled " the deceased enjoyed heaven, is no doubt the original ancient idea, and the carrying out of the idea gave rise to the first three classes of these forms of sepulture. Modern ideas have changed simply by making priestly intercessions necessary for the welfare of the deceased.

This is most conspicuous in the ideas now in vogue regarding the Sraddha

ceremonies, for priestly ingenuity has had a wide scope in following the course of a departed spirit and in inventing obstacles to its final attainment of bliss. At every step of the preta , or departed spirit, obstacles are thrown in its way, and heavy toll is levied from the pockets of the deceased's descendants to purchase gati, or progress onward through purgatory — the "fourth mansion " as it is sometimes called by Malayalis— to other births and ultimate emancipation. Neglect to perform the necessary ceremonies leaves the departed spirit in the condition of a pisacha, or foul wandering ghost, disposed to take revenge for its misery by a variety of malignant acts on living creatures. While, on the other hand, the due performance of the ceremonies

1 The urns are not peculiar in shape, so it is unnecessary to give an illustration of Class IV.

oon verts the prSta into a pitri with divine honors whioh are paid to it in the Sraddha ceremony. At this stage even priestly interference does not leave the departed soul, for the pitri has to progress through various other stages of bliss till admitted finally into heaven. Malay alia, like other Hindus, flock to GHiya for the performance of Sraddha ceremonies, because of the efficacy of the servioe conducted there in procuring direct admission into heaven of th« pitri* at whatever stage of gati, or progress, they had previously arrived.

The primary or foundational religious idea of the Malayali Hindu, then, consisted probably of a belief in the evil propensities of deceased persons (animism.) When calamity attacked him he sought refuge in sacrifices to propitiate the evil wandering spirits of his ancestors, or of other men or women. When disease attacked a community an evil spirit, generally feminine, was supposed to be the author. And so it remains to the present day : astrologers are consulted when the calamity is a personal one : when the trouble is common to society it is the velichchappadu (the enlightener or oracle) of the local deity, who falls into a trance, becomes inspired, and points out the remedy to the assembled multitude

The snakes, too, are supposed to exercise an evil influence on human beings if their shrines are not respected. A clump of wild jungle trees luxuriantly festooned with graceful creepers is usually to be found in the south-west corner of the gardens of all respectable Malay&U Hindus. The spot is left free to nature to deal with as she likes. Every tree and bush, every branch and twig is sacred. This is the vishdttum karu (poison shrine) or ndga kotta (snake shrine). Usually there is a granite stone (chittra kuta-kallu) carved after the fashion of a cobra's hood set up and consecrated in this waste spot.

Leprosy, itch, barrenness in women, deaths of children, the frequent appearance of snakes in the garden, and other diseases and calamities supposed to be brought about by poison, are all set down to the anger of the serpents. If there is a snake shrine in the garden, sacrifices and ceremonies are resorted to. If there is none, then the place is diligently dug up, and Rearch made for a snake stone, and if one is found it is concluded that the calamities have occurred because of there having previously been a snake shrine at the spot, and because the shrine had been neglected. A shrine is then at once formed, and costly sacrifices and ceremonies serve to allay the serpents' anger.

Allied with this worship of the serpent, there occur two other religious ideas about wliich it is difficult to come to correct or to satisfactory conclusions ; for phallic and sakti worship and tree worship are somehow inextricably mixed up with serpent 1 worship in Malayali Hinduism. It is possible that the tree 1 was at first simply an emblem

1 These objects of adoration, borrowed apparently from the mosaic of Hindu cults, were

imported through ifanichaan influence into Christianity in one of its earlier and grosser forms. ˚

˚f v!10 phf[us> and the 8erPent was, and still continues to be an emblem of the sexual passion.

Then again these are probably a development of the sun and earth-goddess worship, for, contemporaneously with the change from a pastoral to an agricultural life, fertility of the soil seems to have been recog-msed and embodied in divine male and female forms.

. IlWOuld be out Place here to consider these points in detail It is sufficient to remark that the Malayali Hindus are still to a very great extent demon and ancestor worshippers ; that this was probably their original religious idea, and that, probably with the introduction of agriculture, their religious ideas, in which images 1 of the divinities played no part, received fresh impressions tending towards the phallic cult which still holds them enchained.

It remains to consider how their religion has been affected by the introduction of foreign ideas.

It is certain that Iain missionaries penetrated as far as Malabar in Asoka's time, for Asoka, in one of his Girnar edicts, says 2 expressly : " In the whole dominion of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Pandya, Satyaputra, Keralaputra, as far as Tamraparni,

the kingdom of Antiochus, the Grecian king, and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick, both of' men and of cattle, followed by king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, has been everywhere brought into practice ; and at all places where useful healing herbs for men and cattle were wanting, he has caused them to be brought and planted ; and at all places where roots and fruits were wanting, he has caused them to be brought and planted ; also he has caused wells to be dug and trees to be planted on the roads for the benefit of cattle." Here Keralaputra, or as sometimes transliterated Keta/ aputra , refers undoubtedly to the king of ancient Ghera , and the fact that Chera embraced the Malabar District and a good deal more is generally accepted as historically correct.

The J ain8 seem to have made very little impression on the religious beliefs of the people, for even a regard for animal life, the great characteristic of the Jains, had, until recent years, very little hold on the people ; and even now the great bulk of the Hindu population feed on fish and flesh when they can get it, and it is only the unenlightened upper classes, who are under Brahmanical influence, who observe the practice of abstaining from flesh. Under such circumstances, it may be regarded as having been introduced to this limited extent by the Brahmans rather than by the Jains.

The Jains do, however, seem to have left behind them one of their peculiar styles of temple architecture ; for the Hindoo temples and

- All the Malayali words for idols are of Sanskrit origin.

2 Indian Antiquary, Vol. V, p. 272, and Thomas' " Jainism, or the Early Faith of Asoka, &c." London, 1S77, p. 42.

even the Muhammadan mosques of Malabar are all built in the style peculiar to the J ains, as it is still to be seen in the Jain bastis at Mudbiddri and other places in the South Canara District. Regarding this style, Mr. Fergusson has the following suggestive remarks in his work on the " History of Indian and Eastern Architecture

" When 1 we descend the ghats into Canara, or the Tulava country, we come on a totally different state of matters. Jainism is the religion of the country, and all, or nearly all, the temples belong to this sect, but their, architecture is neither the Dravidian style of the South, nor 'that of Northern India, and indeed is not known to exist anywhere else in India proper, but recurs with all its peculiarities in Nepal." " They 2 are much plainer than Hindu temples usually are. The pillars look like logs of wood with the angles partially chamfered off, so as to make them octagons, and the sloping roofs of the

verandahs are so evidently wooden that the style itself cannot be far removed 2 3 from a wooden original. In many places, indeed, below the ghats the temples are still wholly constructed in wood without any admixture of stone, and almost all the features of the Moodbidri temples may be found in wood at the present day. The blinds between the pillars, which are there executed in stone, are found in wood in every city in India, and, with very little variation' are used by Europeans in Calcutta to a greater extent, perhaps, than they were ever used by the natives.

" The feature, however, which presents the greatest resemblance to the northern styles is the reverse slope of the eaves above the verandah. I am not aware of its existence anywhere else south of Nepal, and it is

so peculiar that it is much more likely to have been copied than reinvented."

" 1 4 cannot offer even a plausible conjecture how, or at what time a connection existed between Nepal and Thibet and Canara, but I cannot doubt that such was the case." Further on, after describing the architecture of Nepal, Mr. Fergusson continues : 5

" It may be remembered that, in speaking of the architecture of Canara, I remarked on the similarity that existed between that of that remote province and the style that is found in this Himalayan valley • and I do not think that any one can look at the illustrations quoted above and not perceive the similarity between them and the Nepalese examples though it might require a familiarity with all the photographs to make it evident, without its being pointed out. This being the case it is cunous to find Colonel Kirkpatrick stating, more than seventy yearn ago, that it is remarkable enough that the Newer women, like those among the Nayars, may, in fact, have as many husbands as they please

1 Edition 1876, p. 270.

3 Note. — The buildings in this characteristic portions.

4 Ibid., p. 278.

2 Ibid., p. 271.

btyle in Malabar are invariably built of wood in all their

s Ibid., p. 303.

being at liberty to divorce them continually on the slightest pretence.' (Nepal, p. 187.) Dr. Buchanan Hamilton also remarks that 'though a small

portion of the Newars have forsaken the doctrine of Buddha and adopted the worship of Siva, it is without changing their manners, which are chiefly remarkable for their extraordinary carelessness about the conduct of their women and he elsewhere remarks on their promiscuousness and licentiousness— (Account of Kingdom of Nepal, pp. 29, 42, 51, &c.). In fact, there are no two tribes in India, except the Nayars and Newars, who are known to have the same strange notions as to female chastity, and that coupled with the architecture and other peculiarities, seems to point to a similarity of race which is both curious and interesting ; but how and when the connection took place I must leave it to others to determine. I do not think there is anything in the likeness of the names, but I do place faith in the similarity of their architecture combined with that of their manners and customs."

Regarding these extracts it may be remarked that this style of architecture marks out better than anything else the limits of the ancient kingdom of Chera, for the style prevails all through the West Coast country from the limits of Canara to Cape Comorin. In Malabar proper the style is reserved almost, if not altogether, exclusively for religious edifices. In Travancore it is often to be seen in lay buildings.

How the Muhammadans came to adopt this same style for their mosques is perhaps to be accounted for by the tradition, which asserts that some at least of the nine original mosques were built on the sites of temples, and that the temple endowments in land were made over with the temples for the maintenance of the mosques. Before Muhammadanism became a power in the land it is not difficult to suppose that the temples 1 themselves thus transferred were at first used for the new worship, and this may have set the fashion which has come down to the present day. So faithfully is the Hindu temple oopied, that the Hindu truul (or trident) is not unfrequently still placed over the open gable front of the mosque.

The final Brahman irruption from the north into Malabar, which for reasons set out at some length in Chapter III, may be placed about A.D. 700, was destined to work a greater change in the religion of the land, for it was part of the policy of the new-comers to " enlarge their

1 In this connection it may be mentioned that on the margin of the bathing place in one of the original mosques, at Pantaldyini-kollam, there still exists a fragment of granite stone inscription in ancient Vatteluttu characters, said to have, at one time, formed part of the temple which the mosque superseded ; another fragment is also to be seen there. And on a rock on the sea-shore, close to the site of this same mosque at Pantaldyini-Pifltam, there is a foot-print deeply cut. A natural hollow in the rock has been chiselled into the

shape of a foot, and this mark, which is 3’ 3” long by 10” to 12” broad, is said by the local Mappillas to be the print of Adam’s foot, as he landed from across the ocean ; his next step took him to Adam’s Peak in Ceylon. Both temple and foot print were doubtless originally Jain.

borders ”, and to embrace in their all-enveloping Hinduism all minor creeds with which they came into contact.

Malayali Hinduism, therefore, in the present day is a strange mixture of all kinds of religious ideas. It embraces, chiefly as divers manifestations of Siva and his consort Kali , all the demoniac gods originally worshipped by the Malayans. Brahma and Vishnu, too, are worshipped with Siva, the other member of the Hindu Trimurti or triad. It has borrowed from Christianity—with which, probably for the first time, Hinduism came into contact in Malabar — some of the loftiest ideas of pure theism. And Buddhism and Jainism have each left their mark on the system as eventually elaborated.

It was at the hands of Samkardchari/at who is generally acknowledged to have been a Malayali Brahman living1 in the last quarter of the eighth and in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D., that Hinduism attained its widest bounds under the form of Vedantum. The Malayali tradition regarding him, as embodied in the Keralolpatli and other works, is that he was the son of a Brahman widow, and as “ the son of the widow ” he is sometimes referred to in Malayalam. This slur upon the legitimacy of the “gracious teacher,” who summed up his philosophy and his religion in the Atma Bodha Prakdsika, is not borne out by other stories of his life, one of which, however, (and that an Eastern Coast one) makes him the miraculous son of a virgin, like the founder of Christianity. Whether there was any truth in the story is likely ever to remain a matter of doubt, but the necessity of explaining how at a very early period of his life, he was rejected by his own people and adopted the habits of a saniyasi , or religious recluse, has led to the currency of another story regarding him, namely, that at eight years of age he was seized by a crocodile while bathing in the Aluvayi river, and that, after obtaining the consent of his mother, who witnessed the affair from the river bank, he adopted the life of a saniyasi , and at that very early age began his religious career.

The Malayali traditions place his birth-place at Kaladi to the south2 of the Aluvayi river in the Nambutiri Mam of the Keippalli taravdd. At an early age, it is said, he began to criticise the Vedic knowledge and studies generally of the Nambutiris , who resented his conduct, and, it is said, excommunicated the family. At sixteen years of age, it is said, he became omniscient, and set

out on his travels as a saniyasi. He composed largely, and one account says he met Vyasa , the great Rishi who approved of his works, and resided with him for some years! According to another account his treatment of the sage was very far from being polite at their first meeting, for, after having vanquished him in argument, he ordered his disciples to throw down the defeated and

’ B0rn f ’P: 788 * * ˆ A.P. 820*21,.. Indian Antiquary Yol. XI, pp. 175 263. accuracy of this date has since been questioned, and the matter is still tub judice

- One account says north, instead of south.

The

unmannerly old Brahman, and drag him away by his legs. This account goes on to say they eventually became reconciled and Vyasa approved of Samkardchdrya> s works.

The most interesting and most important part of the acoount of the life of the “ gracious teacher,” as related by Anandagiri , in his Samkara-vijaija (victories of Samkara), is that the great Vedaniist had at last to respect the popular superstitions of the day, and to give his sanction even to those forms of idolatrous worship, which his philosophy repudiated.

All Malayali accounts agree that he returned to Kerala, and performed the religious obsequies of his mother, at which ceremony as those of his own caste held back, a Sudrst had to perform the part usually undertaken by a junior member of the family, and it is said that from the time of this event began the custom in Kerala of “ no ceremony for Brahmans without the assistance of a Sudra,” and vice versa.

All Malayali accounts, too, agree in stating that he eventually died at Badarikasramam1 in Northern India, and at a very early age, thirty-two years, according to most accounts.

Of his philosophical system of religion, which has in times past produced, and which still exercises, so wide and so beneficent an influence on native society, it may be said to be summed up in the “ great saying” as Samkarachdrya himself called it, “ Tat tvam asti”= Hoc (that i.e., Brahma,2 “ the supreme deity, the causa materialis and causa efficiem of the illusive world ”)—tu (thou, the individual living spirit) — es (art) =“ Thou art that.” “ Having by the aid of the words ‘ it is not so, it is not so ’ removed all the upadhis (‘ the illusive forms of Brahma within the world ’) ‘ one will easily recognise, by the aid of the great saying, the oneness of the (individual)

living spirit with the (Universal) Supreme Spirit/ " (Atma Bodha Prakasika , translated by the Rev. J, F. Kearns, Strophe 29.) "Having crossed the sea of fascination, and having slain the giants, ' inclination', ' aversion,' &c., the wise shall go forth married to tranquillity, delighting in the spirit, ' (Ibid., Strophe 49) ; " Extinguishing his inclination for external changeable pleasure, and securely reposing in spirit — pleasure, (such an one) shall always shine forth clearly therein, like the light which stands in a vessel secure," (Ibid ., Strophe 50). To the question — " In what condi-

1 He is said to have died, not at Badarittrasmam, the place named in the Malayiji stories of his life, bul Mi ICadAmath in the Himalaya, to which place he proceeded from the former place-(Wilton, Asiatic Researches , XVII, 178-79; Moor's Hindu Pantheon, edition

1864, pp. 81, 363.) . , m …

2 To be distinguished from Brahma, the chief god of the Hindu Tnmurtt or tna Brahma, $iva and Vishnu. Samkarachdrya' s views regarding Brahma £stated in Strophe 67 of the Atma Btdha Prakasika

" Having access to a portion of the bliss of the being of all perfect bliss, Brahma and the other (popular deities) beoome, by degrees, partially happy beings." (Kcarn's " Translation:')

tion, then, is the freed-life-soul, until the guilt (accumulated during a prior existence) is completely expiated and incorporeal bliss succeeds the extinction of the threefold* 1 corporeal ness ? " The "gracious teacher" replied, in Strophe 51 : " Although still involved in the upadhi (i.e., corporeity) the muni (i.e., wisdom-perfected sage) may remain uncontaminated by its natural qualities (just like the aether, which, although it pervades the most unclean things, is nevertheless uncontaminated). And although he knows all, yet like a (disinterested) imbecile will he stand aside, and clinging (to no sensual thing) (he) passes through (them) like the wind." In Strophe 52, he continued : " By the dissolution of the upadhi , the muni (wisdom-perfected sage) unites inseparably with the (All) Pervading One, just as water mixes inseparably with water, air with air and fire with fire." In his description of what Brahma is, he said :

" That, which one having perceived, there is nothing else to perceive,

" That, which one having attained, there is nothing else to attain,

" That, which One knowing, there exists nothing else to be known,

“ That is, Brahma — let this be believed.” {Ibid., Strophe 54.)

And in the concluding Strophe (67), he observed : “ Whoever undertakes the pilgrimage of himself * * * * obtains eternal happiness, and is free from all toil * * * * * and becomes omniscient, all-pervading immortal.”

The Vedantists say, in short, that nothing exists but Brahma , that the “ pilgrim of himself,” if he frees himself from the illusions of the flesh and the mind, will become a muni (a wisdom-perfected sage), and will in the final stage of existence at last perceive that he himself is Brahma.

The religious ideal thus presented is in strange contrast to that which preaches : — “ Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God,” and it is ill-adapted for a work-a-day world, where fields have to be ploughed to gain bread, where children have to be bom to continue the human race, and where the good and the evil things in this world meet the passer-by at every corner of his life journey. But it is an ideal always present to the mind of the devout Hindu, and its deep refining influence on the people cannot be exaggerated— an influence, which, in their inner life, is productive of many most admirable qualities.

1 “ According to the Vedanta Philosophy, there are three sarira s or corporeal forms : —

1. the kdrana sarira (corpses causans), (ii) the sukshma sarira, the fine material form, and (iii) the sthula sarira, the gross body, made up of the limbs which we perceive! The latter two are the corpora causata. The sthula sarira perishes at death, but the sukshma sarira, the immediate organ of the soul, is said to accompany it through all its transmigrations, and is capable of sensations of enjoyment and suffering. The corpus eavsans is the original type or embryo of the body as existing with the soul in its original state.” (Rev. J. F. Kearn’s Note to Strophe 13,)-

There is a constant pining after a transcendental ideal, attainable perhaps, but only after much suffering, and after much, almost impossible, self-denial : — r

“ 0 for those days when I shall dwell alone,

Among the snowy hills by Ganga’s stream,

“ In stony torpor stiffened on a stone,

“ Inly conversing with the One Supreme,

.Rapt in devotion, dead to all beside,

“ And deer sliaU fray their horns against my senseless hide.”

(Tawney’s Metrical Version of the Vairagya Satakam.)

Of places of resort for Hindu devotees there are in, Malabar, owing perhaps to the jealous exclusiveness of the Nambutiri Brahmans, singularly few, and such as do occur are resorted to almost exclusively by people of the coast. The most famous temple in the district is Timnavayi in the Ponnani Taluk, where the Maha Makham festival, already fully described at page 162 of this Chapter, used to take place every twelve years.

Next to it, perhaps, comes Ouruvayur also in the Ponnani Taluk, a shnne supposed to be effectual in the cure of rheumatism. Besides these the following may be named: The Taliparamba temple in Chlrakkal Taluk ; the Kottiyur shrine in the jungles of the Manattana amsam of Kottayam Taluk resorted to by great multitudes about the beginning of the south-west monsoon season ; the Kllur temple on the south bank of the Kotta river, where is held annually the largest cattle-market in the district j the Tivunelli temple placed on a branch of the Kaven river at the foot of the Bramagiri plateau in Wynad, to which the people of North Malabar used to resort for the performance of Sraddha oeremonies, until by the opening of the railway it became easier for them to visit Perur on the Noyel river in Coimbatore for this purpose ; the Bhagavati shrine near Angadipuram in Valluvanad Taluk, whence, after desecrating the shrine, the largest band of Mappilla fanatics ever collected (66 in number) issued forth to be shot down or impaled on the bayonets of the Grenadier Company of Her Majesty’s 94th Regiment, (August — September 1849) ; the Kalpati temple in Palghat town, where is held annually a car festival,’ the only ceremony of the kind that takes place in the district although very common in eastern districts, and in which the idol is carried in procession through the streets on a monster car.

Muhammadans.

There are many accounts extant in Malabar concerning the introduction of the religion of the prophet into the distriot.- The indigenous manuscripts, however, differ from those belonging to Arab families settled in the district on one or two points, while in regard to all others the accounts are identical.

The points of difference relate to the time when the first convert was made, and as to some of the things that happened to him. The indige-

nous Muhammadans (Mdppillas) 1 are anxious, very naturally, to claim for their first convert the honor of having had an interview with the Prophet himself, and of having been instructed by the Prophet himself in the principles of the " Fourth Vedam 2, " as the religion of Islam is commonly called in Malabar. The Mappilla accounts likewise give the text of a speech said to have been delivered by the Prophet to his followers on the occasion, and further assert that the Prophet changed the name of the convert to Thiaj-ud-din (Crown of the Faith).

The Malayali Arabs do not credit these facts, because, in the first place, the convert's name (he being so influential a pers on as king or emperor of Malabar) would certainly have come down to posterity m the works of the old commentators, or have appeared in the list of Assahdbi , or persons who saw the Prophet. Moreover, it is also a fact that no such names as that taken by the convert denoting attachment to Islam were given m the Prophet s lifetime. In their rejection of these facts they follow the example set by Sheikh Zln-ud-dm, a writer, who in the sixteenth century noticed the story as then current, but rejected it on the ground, among others, that the convert was said, in his time, to have died on the coast of the Red Sea, whereas it was well known that his tomb was at Zaphar (on the Arabian Coast north-east of Aden). The Mappillas now assert that he died at Shahr-Mokulla, not on the Red Sea Coast. This, too, is contrary to fact, as the evidence of the tomb stone itself, still existing at Zaphar, is understood to testify.

The Malayali Arabs assert, chiefly on Sheikh Zin-ud-dln's authority, that Islam was not introduced into Malabar until 200 years after the Hejira — And this, or a later date, seems to be correct, for the Arab merchant, Sulaiman, who wrote in A.H. 237 3 (A.D. 851-52), and who wrote with knowledge as he had evidently visited the countries he wrote about, said expressly 4 : " I know not that there is any one of either nation (Chinese or Indian) that has embraced Muhammadanism or speaks Arabic."

There is no reason to suppose 5 with Rowlandson that Arab emigrants

1 N.B. — The word Mappilla is a contraction of Mahd (great) and pilla (child, honorary title, as among Nayars in Travancore), and it was probably a title of honor conferred on the early Muhammadan immigrants, or possibly on the still earlier Christian immigrants, who are also , down to the present day , called Mdppillas. The Muhammadans are usually called Jdnaka or Chdnaka Mdppillas to distinguish them from the Christian Mdppillas, who are called Nasrdni Mdppillas. Jdnaka or Chdnaka is believed to stand for Yavanaka = Ionian = Greek. In the Payyanur pat , or earliest Malayali poem, some of the sailors are called chdnavar. Nasrdni is of course Nazar one ; the term is applied to Syrian or Syrio-Roman Christians.

- The three other Vedams (knowledge, revelation, religion) are according to Muhammadans, (1) Heathen or Hindu, (2) Jewish, and (3) Christian.

3 Mali k-ibnDinar's expedition described further down is said to have reached Malabar about A.H. 224, by which time Sulaim&n had probably returned from his wanderings.

4 Renandot's translation of " Ancient Accounts of India, &c." London, 1733, p. 37 (a).

s Rowlandson's foot-note to Tahafat-ulMujahidin, p. h.

established themselves in Malabar (presumably as a cenquering race) in the time of the Ummayide Caliph Walid 1 (A.D. 705—15), for it is by no means oertam that the pirate Afeds, alias Taukdriiaraˆ alias Naukdnuiray alias Nagamara , alias Kurks, were in any way related to the Coorgs — an inland people — or to the Malayans. The expeditions directed by the Muhammadan Governor of Persia against Sind, in revenge for the plundering by the pirates of Debal of the king of Ceylon's ships conveying, tribute, were directed, as was natural, against Debal itself, whioh appears to have been some place in Sind.

All Malay&li accounts, however, are substantially in accord as to the following facts : — The last king or emperor of Malabar was one Ch6ramS.n Perumal, who reigned at Kodungallur (Cranganore, the Mouziris of the Greeks, the Muyirizkodu of the Cochin Jews' deed). Cheram&n Perumal dreamed that the full moon appeared on the night of new moon at Mecca in Arabia, and that, when at the meridian, she split into two, one half remaining and the other half descending to the foot of a hill called Abikubais , when the two halves joined together and then set. Sometime afterwards a party of Muhammadan pilgrims on their way to the foot-print shrine at Adam's Peak in Ceylon chanced to visit the Perumal's capital, and were admitted to an audience and treated most hospitably. On being asked if there was any news in their country, one, by name Sheikh Sekke-ud-din,1 it is said, related to the Perumal the apocryphal story of Muhammad having, by the miracle about which the Perumal had dreamt, converted a number of unbelievers. The Perumal, it is said, was much interested and secretly made known to the 8heikh his intention " to unite,2 himself to them." When the Sheikh returned from Ceylon the Perumal secretly directed him " to make ready a vessel and provide it with everything necessary for proceeding on a voyage." For the next eight days the Perumal busied himself privately in arranging affairs of state, and, in particular, in assigning to the different chieftains under him their respective portions of territory. This was all embodied in a written deed which he left behind him. At the end of the eight days he embarked secretly

in the vessel prepared for him along with the Sheikh and his companions, and they proceeded to PantalayiniKollam (Northern Kollam near Quilandy), to the place, where some six-and-a-half centuries later the first Europeans, who successfully navigated their way to Indian soil, first landed. At PantatayiniKollam they spent one day, or a day and a night, and thence proceeded to the island of Darmatam , or Damiapattanam , near Tellicherry. This island adjoins the Randattara Achanmars territory and to this day Randattara is commonly called the Poyanad (i.e., the country whence the Perumal " went " or " set out " on his journey to Arabia). At Darmapattanam the party remained three days, and then embarking set for, and landed at, Shahr on the Arabian Coast. At this

1 Or Seuj-ud-din.

- Rowlandson's Tahqfat-ul-Mtyahidin, p. 60.

place the Perumal remained, according to the Arab accounts, for a considerable time.

It is uncertain whether it was here (Shahr) that the Perumal came for the first time into contact with the persons, who were to be the pioneers of Islam in Malabar, or whether they, or some of them, had been of the party of pilgrims with whom he originally set out from Kodangalldr. But, however this may be, the names of the persons have been handed down by tradition as (1) Malik-ibn-Dinar, (2) Habib-ibn-Malik, (3) Sherf-ibnMalik,1 (4) Malik-ibn-Hablb and his wife, Kumarieth, with their ten sons 2 and five daughters.3 From the names it may perhaps be gathered that the party consisted of Malik-ibn-Dinar, his two sons, one grandson, and his grandson's wife, and their family of fifteen children.

The Perumal apparently changed his name to that which is still said to appear on hig tomb, namely Abdul Rahman Samiri, and married a wife, whose name has been variously handed down as Rahabicth or Gomaria.

The Perumal, it is said, after remaining a considerable time at Shahr, formed a resolution to return to Malabar for the purpose of establishing his new religion with suitable places of worship, and he set about for this purpose the building of a ship. Before, however, the ship was built the Perumal fell dangerously ill, and, being convinced there was no hope of his recovery, implored his companions not*to desist from their design of proceeding to Malabar to propagate there the Fourth Vedam. To this they rejoined that they, foreigners, could not know his country and its extent and would have no influence therein ; whereupon, it is said, he prepared and gave them

writings in the Malaya] am language to all the chieftains whom he had appointed in his stead, requiring them to give land for mosques and to endow them. He further instructed them not to tell of his sufferings and death4 — " but tell ye not to any of my people of Malabar of the violence of my sufferings, or that I am no more." And he finally enjoined on them not to land anywhere, save at Kodiingallur (Cranganore), Darmapattanam Pantaldyini-Kollam , or Southern Kol/arn (Quilon). "And4 after this he surrendered his soul to the unbounded mercy of God."

Some years 5 after his death Malik-ibn-Dinar and his family set out for Malabar, bearing with them the PerumaPs letters, and, concealing his death, delivered them to those to whom they were addressed, beginning with the prince6 ruling at Kodungallur (Cranganore). They

1 Or Shiaff-ibn -Malik.

2 (1) Habib, (2) Muhammad, (3) Ali, (4) Hussain, (5) Thaki-ud-dln ?, (6) Abdar Rah-mAn, (7) Ibrahim, (8) Mussa, (9) Ummar, (lO)Hassan.

- 1. Fatima, (2) Ayissa, (3) Zainab, (4) Thanirath, (6) Halima.

4 Rowlandson's Tahafat-iil-Mujahidin, p. 53.

5 F.ight years according to the MdppiUa manuscripts.

4 I? robably of the Cochin Raja's family.

were received hospitably, and, in accordance with the PerumaPs instructions, land to build a mosque and a suitable endowment were given. Malik-ibn-Dinar himself became the first Kazi of this place.

After some time Malik-ibn-Dinar sent out to Southern Kollam 1 * 3 (Quilon) Malik-ibn-Habib with bis wife and some of their sons. There also they were received hospitably, apparently by the Southern Kdlattiri (Travancore Raja), and a second mosque was founded, of which Hassan, one of the sons, became Kazi. Some of the remaining sons, accompanied by their father most probably, next set out for the dominions of the Northern Kolattiri (Chirakkal Raja s family), and at Ilubaoe Murawce (Madayi) or Palayangadi in Chirakkal Taluk, close to one of the palaces of the Kolattiris, a third mosque was founded and endowed. At this mosque a tradition exists that the party brought over with them from Arabia three blocks of white marble, one of which was placed in this mosque, where it is still to be seen. The other two, the tradition says, were similarly placed in the mosques at Quilon and Cranganore. Abdar-Rahman remained thefre as Kazi. Thence the party proceeded to Bakkanur (Barkur) and to Manjaldr (Mangalore) and to

Northern Kanyarode (Ca. nargode), three places in Canara, founding mosques at 'each place and leaving as Kazis at them respectively Ibrahim, Mussa, and Muhammad, sons of Malik-ibn-Habib. The remainder of the party next returned to Madayi Palayangadi and remained there three months.

The locality of the next mosque founded has been the subject of some - debate, but there seems no reason to doubt the correctness of the current Malayali accounts, which agree in placing it at Chirikandatam 2 or Cherupattanam 3 (literally small town). " Zaraftan " is the name which occurs in Rowlandson's version of the Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin and Jar f attain , in two other versions of the same work in the hands of families at Ponnani arid Calicut. The village now called Srikavda-puram or Chirikandatam (the " Surrukundapuram " of the Indian Atlas) lies at the head of the navigable waters of one branch of the Valar-pattanam river in the Chirakkal Taluk,, and its former importance as a entrepot of trade with Coorg and Mysore has already been alluded to. (Chapter I, Section C, p. 10).

To this mosque, at Srikandapuram, the first Kazi appointed was Ummar, another of the ten sons.

After this the party visited, in succession, Darmapattanam in the Kottayam Taluk, and Pantaldy iniKollam in the Kuruinbranad Taluk, (both already alluded to above), and lastly Chaliyam in the Ern&d Taluk, the present terminus of the Madras South-West line of Railway.

1 According to one manuscript the second mosque was erected at Northern Kollam (Pantaldy ini -Kollam) not at Southern Kollam (Quilon), and according to it the but mosque erected was at the latter place.

5 Palayangadi mosque manuscripts.

3 Another manuscript in the hands of an Arab family in Calicut.

At these three places respectively Hussain, Muhammad,1 and Thaki-ud-din, three more of the ten sons, were appointed as Kazis.

Of the persons who were thus instrumental in introducing Muhammadanism into Malabar, it is related that Malik-ibn-Dinar subsequently visited each of the mosques in turn, and, after returning to Kodunyallur , set out for Southern Quilon 2 with Malik-ibn-Hablb. Thence he went to Arabia and " travelling3 on to Khorasmn there resigned his breath." Malik-ibn-Habib and his wife came after Malik-ibn-Dinar's departure from Quilon to Kodunyallur and there both of them died. An4 of the Kazis of the other mosques,

Muhammad alone died elsewhere than at his post of duty ; he, it seems, died at Aden.

There is good reason for thinking that this account of the introduction of Muhammadanism into Malabar is reliable.

For first of all it is beyond doubt that Arabs had by the ninth century A.D., about which time these events are said to have happened, penetrated beyond India and as far as China for purposes of trade, and it is notable that all the nine places where mosques were erected were either the headquarters of the petty potentates of the country, or places affording facilities for trade, and in some cases (as at Kodunyallur, KoUam , Palayanyddi, and perhaps Pantaldyini-Kollam) the places had the double advantage of being both well situated for trade and in close proximity to the chieftains' strongholds. Arabs engaged in trade had no doubt settled in these places long previously, and indeed an inscription on a Muhammadan granite tombstone still standing at Pantaldi/ini-Kollam recites, after the usual prayer, that " Ali-ibn-Udthorman was obliged to leave this world for ever to the one which is everlasting, and which receives the spirits of all, in the year 166 4 of Hejira, so called after Muhammad the Prophet left Mecca for Medina."

Malik-ibn-Dinar and his party, even with the exceptional advantages they possessed, would hardly have been able in so short a time to found and establish mosques at these places, unless the ground had been prepared beforehand for them to some extent at least. And the fact that Arabs had settled for trading purposes carries with it the further probable assumption that some of them at least had contracted alliances with women of the country, and the beginnings of a mixed race, the Mdppillas , had been laid.

Finally, it has recently come to notice, from the information of an Arab resident near the spot, that the tomb of the Perumal referred to still exists at Zaphar on the Arabian Coast, at some distance from the place (Shahr), where he is reported to have landed. The iacta have still to be authoritatively verified, but it is stated that on this tomb the

' There;8 a di8Crepan˚y here> for Muhammad was already Kizi of Cassargode mosque.

According to one manuscript the last of the nine mosques was erected here- See note above regarding Southern Kollam (Quilon).

3 Rowlandson's Tahafat-ulMujahidin, p. 55.

4 The date is a good deal weather-worn, hut these figures are still fairly distinct.

inscription runs : " Arrived at Zaphar, A H. m. Died there A.H. 216/' These dates correspond with the years 827—832 A.D., and as the Kollam era of the coast commenced in 825 A.H., and in the month of the year (2oth August) just before the north-east monsoon sets in, when ships frequently sail for Arabia and the Persian Gulf, it is not at all improbable that the beginning of the Kollam era of the coast dates from the day on whioh Cheraman Perumal, the last of the kings of Malabar, set sail for Arabia in the manner described. It is said that he stayed a " considerable time " at Shahr, which perhaps accounts satisfactorily for the time elapsing between August — September 825 AD. and AD. 827 the year in which he went to Zaphar.

Moreover Sheikh Zin-ud-dln 1 stated in reference to this affair : " Touching the exact time when this event oocurred there is no certain information ; but there appears good ground for the supposition that it happened about two hundred years after the flight of the Prophet." And he continued : " It is a fact, moreover, now well known to all, that the king was buned at Zofar, instead of on the Arabian Coast of the Red Sea, at which place his tomb can be seen by every one, and is indeed now flocked to on account of its virtues. And the king, of whom this tale is told, is styled by the people of that part of the world As-Samiri,' whilst the tradition of his disappearance is very common throughout .the population generally of Malabar, whether Moslems or Pagans ; although the latter would believe that he has been taken up into heaven, and still continue to expect his descent, on which account they assemble at Cranganore and keep ready there wooden shoes and water, and on a certain night of the year burn lamps as a kind of festival in honor of his memory."

The Mappillas , the mixed race, the beginnings of which have just been sketched, have played an important part in the political history of the District, which will be alluded to in its proper plaoe in the historical chapter. And it is unnecessary to say more about that subject here than that the Arab element in the parentage of the vast majority of them is now very small indeed. The race is rapidly progressing in numbers, to some extent from natural causes, though they are apparently not so proliflo as Hindus, and to a large extent from conversions from the lower (the servile) classes of Hindus — a practice which was not only permitted but in some instances enjoined under the Zamorin Rajas of Calicut, who, in order to man their navies, directed that one or moremale members of

1 Rowlandson's Tahafat-ulMujahidin," p. 65.

- The name of the king is said to have been changed to Abdul Rahman Samiri, and the tomb, it is said, is . still regarded with much veneration as that of a Hindu (Samiri - 8amari tanworshipper of the calf — Koran ,

S. 20) king of Malabar, who became a convert to Islam. From the fact that the king is called Samiri, some Mappillas assert that the king buried at Zaphar was really a Zamorin. The mukri of the mosqne adjacent to the tomb came to Malabar some sixteen years ago, soliciting subscriptions for repairing the tomb and mosqne.

the families of Hindu fishermen should be brought up as Muhammadans, and this practice has continued down to modern times.

Regarding the increase in the Muhammadan population between 1871 and 1881, the following remarks occur in the Presidency Census (1881) Report, paragraph 151 : — " Conspicuous for their degraded position and humiliating disabilities are the Cherumars. This caste numbered 99,009 in Malabar at the census of 1871, and in 1881, is returned at only 64, 725. 1 This is a loss of 34 -63 per oent., instead of the gain 5*71 per cent., observed generally in the district. There are, therefore, 40,000 fewer Cherumars than there would have been but for some disturbing cause, and the disturbing cause is very well known to the District Offioer to be conversion to Muhammadanism. " The honor of Islam " once conferred on a Cheruman, or on one of the other low castes, he moves, at one spring, several places higher socially than that which he originally occupied, and the figures, corroborating what has been actually observed in the district show that nearly 59,000 Cherumars and other Hindus have availed themselves of the opening."

The conversion of a Pariah, or low caste Hindu, to Muhammadanism raises him distinctly in the social scale, and he is treated with more respect by Hindus. " He is no longer a link in a chain which requires to he kept in its particular place. His new faith neutralises all his former bad qualities. He is no longer the degraded Pariah whose approach disgusted, and whose touch polluted the Hindu of caste, but belonging now to a different scale of being, contact with him does not require the same ablutions to purify it." (Special Commissioner Graeme's Report, paragraph 21). This was written before the Mappilla outrages exalted this community so greatly iu the district. It may be doubted whether contact writh a Hindu, even in Mr. Graeme's time, did not carry with it the necessity of Hindu ablutions afterwards, but however this may be, the Hindu is very strict about such matters now. At the same time the main fact remains that a lowr caste Hindu, obtains by conversion many substantial benefits, for Mappillas , as a class pull well together ; and he is a daring Hindu indeed who dares now-adays to trample on their class prejudices or feelings.

Of the Mappillas , as a class, Mr. Graeme expressed himself as follows : — "

On the ooast, they are industrious, skilful in trade, crafty, avaricious, rigid observers of the injunction of the Prophet in abstaining from the use of spirituous liquors, particular in attending to the forms rather than the spirit of their religion, being regular in worship, but at the same time hypocritical rogues, and zealous in their attempts to gain proselytes." (Report , paragraph, 20). Of their fanaticism and courage in meeting death enough will be said further on. They are frugal and

In the year 1 856, the Government called for information as to the traffic in slaves, and fiom a careful enumeration then made, it seems that the caste numbered at that tinw 187,758 ; so that the decrease in 25 years has been over 66 per cent.

thrifty as well as industrious. They marry, as a rule, hut one wife, and live with her and their children on affectionate terms.

The women appear in public without veils, but among the better class it is usual to envelop the head and person but not the face in a long robe. They are very scrupulous about the chastity of their women, who, however, enjoy much freedom.

To those who treat the men with kindness and consideration they beoome much attached, and they are of all classes in the district by far the most serviceable on ordinary occasions, and the most reliable in emergencies. But the hand that controls them as a class must be firm, and punishment when justly merited must be inflicted with severity ; for leniency is an unknown word, and is interpreted as weakness, and not merely that, but as weakness, of which advantage is to be takerf at the earliest possible moment.

They are moreover, as a class, nearly almost, if not altogether, illiterate. The only education received is a parrot-like recitation of portions of the Koran , which, being in Arabic, none of them understand. The scruples of the parents prevent them from permitting their children to attend the vernacular schools of the Hindus. A fairly successful attempt fias however been made to reach them by giving grants to their own teachers on condition that they must show results. The teachers, being as illiterate as their pupils, except in knowledge of Koran recitations, usually employ Hindu youths to teach the pupils and so earn the results grants. And some of the pupils are now being taught teaching as a profession in special normal schools. The number of Mdppillas , who have advanced so far as to learn to read and write English in the schools, could very probably be counted on the finders of two hands. The people, as a class, being thus ignorant, are very easily misled by designing persons, and they are of course as bigotted as they are ignorant.

Of their religion itself they obtain such knowledge as they possess of it from Malay&lam tracts, for which, especially for those detailing the essential things to be attended to in pilgrimages to Mecca, there is a considerable demand. The ceremonial observances connected with bathing, the washing of the face and hands, worship by prostration, the appropriate prayers, the hours of worship, the Prophet's commandments, acts vitiating the efficacy of worship, the giving of alms, the observances of Ramzan (the fasting-month), and many other similar subjects are treated of in these tracts. And the people obtain from them accurate ideas of the outward forms of their religion, in the observance of which they are very strict.

They are chiefly Sunnis , or followers of the Ponnani Tangal, the chief priest of the orthodox party, but some time in the eighteenth century a sohism was created by the introduction of new forms of worship by a foreign (Persian) Muhammadan, who settled at xXandotti(Aow(/?<- cetti) in the Em&d Taluk. His followers are called Shi'ahs by the orthodox party, but they themselves, when questioned, object to the

use of the name and assert that they are as much Sunnis as the other party. This sect, though still numerous, does not seem to be increasing in numbers.

Christians.

There are four chief sects of Christians in Malabar, namely —

1. Syrians,
2. Romo-Syrians,
3. Roman Catholics, following the ordinary Latin rite, and
4. Protestants of all denominations.

The Syrians and RomoSyrians. — Malabar Christians of the first two of these classes are often called "the Christians of St. Thomas," from the prevalence of a tradition that Christianity was introduced into Malabar by the Apostle himself, and the tradition is implicitly believed by the generality of the adherents of the first three classes.

But the evidence as yet available in support of the truth of the tradition is by no means perfect.

It is certain that, in the first century A.D., a very extensive trade and

connection existed directly between India and the Western world, and a precise and expanding knowledge of the geography of the Indian coasts and markets, is manifest in the writings of the author of the " Peri phis Maris Erythrcei " and several others. Mouziris , in particular, which has already been alluded to, was one of the places best known to travellers and merchants from the West, and it was there and thereabouts that the original settlements of Christians were formed. The names of the traditionary places where the first seven. churches were built sufficiently attest this, viz., (1) Niranam, (2) Chayal, (3) Kollam , (4) Pdldr , (5) Kodungalldr (Mouziris itself), (6) Gokkamangalam , (7) Kottakayal, localities which are all well known, and in all of which except Ch&yal and Kodungallur , churches still exist. Of these places only one, Pdldr 1 lies in British Malabar.

This direct trade connection seems to have been maintained, though probably in a diminishing scale, for some centuries after the birth of Christ, and if the evidence of the Peutingerian Tables (which are believed to have been constructed about 226 A.D.) is accepted, the Romans even at that date are said to have had a force of two cohorts (840 to 1,200 men) at Mouziris to protect their trade, and they had also erected a temple to Augustus at the same place. That Christians, among others, found their way to Malabar in the very early centuries after Christ is therefore highly probable.

There is consequently no inherent improbability in the tradition that the Apostle Thomas was one of the earliest immigrants from the-West; but of direct contemporary proof that he did come to Mouziris and found the Christian churches in that neighbourhood there is absolutely none so far as researches have yet gone.

1 In Palayur amsam of the Ponn&ni Taluk

The probability of the tradition consequently depends on later evidence.

The first mention of St. Thomas' mission. to Malabar is probably to be found in the Acta Thomce , or Acts of Judas Thomas, an apocryphal gospel, the date of which was probably not earlier than 200 A.D. and was certainly not later than the fourth century. A king, who has been satisfactorily identified with king Gandophares mentioned in Indo-Skythian coins, and of whose reign a stone inscription, dated 46 A.D., has recently been deciphered, is said to have sent to Christ for an architect, and St. Thomas was sent in consequence. .But this king reigned in North-western India, whereas St. Thomas is understood to have preached his mission in Malabar and to have been killed at St. Thomas' Mount near Madras.

The object of the author of this apocryphal gospel seems to have been to

promote the doctrine of celibacy, and he possibly took, as his ground-work, the current traditionary story about St. Thomas, and possibly in entire ignorance of what he was writing about hauled in the nameˆ)f a king, who could not possibly have had anything to do with the part of India, where St. Thomas was said to have preached and died.

However this may be, the next authentic notice of the story seems to be contained in the fragments of the writings of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, latter half of third and beginning of fourth centuries A.D. He wrote that St. Thomas, after preaching to the Parthians, Medes and Persians, died at " Ca lamina,1 a town in India." And this name is considered by -some to be the Syriac translation of " Maliapore, " since Mala (Tam.) and Golomath 2 (Syriac) both mean " hill," and both names signify " City of the Mount."

It was about the same time (A.D. 261) that Manes, the disciple of Terebinthus founded, the sect of Manichseans in Persia. It seems that sometime in the second century A.D. one Scythianus, who had studied at Alexandria and had visited the anchorets of Thebais went, by sea to India and brought thence four books containing the most extravagant doctrines, but he died about the end of the second century before he could preach his new tenets. On Terebinthus, his disciple, devolved the' duty of spreading these new views, and he accordingly preached his doctrines in Palestine and Persia, declaring that he himself was another Buddha, and that he was born of a virgin. Meeting with strong opposition from the priesthood he had to conceal himself in the house of a rich widow, and there he met with his death by acoident. The widow's adopted son or servant was Manes, and he it was who is said to have " called on" Hind and Sin and the people of Khorasan, and " made a deputy of one of his companions in eaoh province." It seems doubtful

1 This is the name which also occurs in the Roman Martyrology.

- It may be noted however in passing that it is very doubtful if the Syrian connection with the " Thomas Christians " was established for several centuries after this time.

whether he himself ever visited " Hind, " which, among Arabs, was the name applied to Southern India exclusively. He was put to death by the king of Persia in 277 A.D.

" The Manichaeans 1 said that Christ was the primaeval serpent, who enlightened the minds of Adam and Eve, the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer, the original soul, the preserver of the soul, and the fabricator of the instrument with which the salvation of the soul is effected. He was born

of the earth, and for the redemption of mankind suspended on every tree, for they saw him crucified on every tree among its branches." " The doctrine 2 of Manes could not fail of meeting with many admirers in India when he appeared in the character of Buddha, and of Christ, or Salivahana. Transmigration was one of his tenets, and the rule of the life and manners of his disciples was very severe and rigorous. Thpy abstained from flesh, fish, eggs, wine, &c., and the ruler of every district and president of their assemblies was considered as Christ."

But whether it was Christianity in this shape, or Christianity in a more orthodox form that was at first imported into Malabar, it is difficult to say. The late Doctor Burnell's 3 views were that " the earliest Christian settlements in India were Persian, and probably therefore Manichaean or Gnostic , " and that these were not supplanted by the more orthodox Nestorians " earlier than the eleventh or twelfth century A.D."

On the other hand it has been pointed out that Eusebius , Bishop of Caesarea, about 264 — 340 A.D., mentions that Pantaenus of the Catechetical School at Alexandria visited India and brought home with him a Hebrew copy of the Gosp,el by St. Matthew about the end of the second century A.D., and that one of the apostles (Bartholomew) did visitlndia.

India, however, in those days and long afterwards meant a very large portion of the globe, and which of the Indies it was that Pantaenus visited it is impossible to say with certainty ; for, about the fourth century, there were two Indias, Major and Minor. India Minor adjoined Persia. Some time later there were three Indies — Major , Minor , and Tertia. The first, India Major, extended from Malabar indefinitely eastward. The second, India Minor , embraced the Western Coast of India as far as, but not including, Malabar, and probably Sind, and possibly the Mekraa Coast. India Tertia was Zanzibar in Africa.

It would seem that the Malabar Coast lay in India Major, but whether it was this India and this part of India Major that Pantaenus visited

1 Asiatic Researches IX, 216-18. It is noteworthy that in the Keralolpattti or origin of Keralam, the pseudo-history of Malabar current among natives, the Brahmans are said to have displaced the Nagas or snakes. The final Brahman immigration seems to have occurred in or about the eighth century A.D. and Christian (P Manie.hasan) colonies had arrived in the country long before that time. It is possible that the allusion in the Kira-lolpatti refers to the Manichaeans.

- Asiatic Researches IX, 221. * * Indian Antiquary III, 3J1.

cannot be decided. If be did come to India Major, it is extremely likely that it was on the Malabar Coast that he found the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, for the Jews have according to tradition been settled in the country now comprising the Native State of Cochin since the beginning of the Christian era and perhaps before it. Moreover, if according to the Peutingerian Tables, the Romans had a force of two cohorts at Mouziris to protect their trade there in A.D. 216, it is certain that intercourse between Alexandria and the Malabar Coast must have been both direct and frequent, and the fact that Pantsenus went to India Major and to Mouziris becomes highly probable.

The fact, however, that he found a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew s Gospel points to the probability of the first colony of Christians having been Israelites, and not either Syrians or Persians. Eusebius likewise mentioned that St. Thomas was the Apostleˆ of Edessa in Syria, and as the Apostle of the Syrians he has all along been accepted.

The facts to be presently set forth go to show that in the Christian colonies Persian and not Syrian influences were prevalent from a comparatively early date.

The next item of history available is the presence of Johannes, Metropolitan of " Persia and the Great India," at the Council of Nice in 325 A.D. There can be little doubt that " India Major" as above explained, was here meant, and India Major included the Malabar Coast. If Johannes belonged to the Manichsean sect would he have been present at this Council ?

Rufinus, who went to Syria in 371 A.Dand lived at Edessa for 25 years, attested that St. Thomas' body was brought from India to Edessa and there interred ; but from which of the " Indies " was the body brought, presuming that the relics were still in existence ?

It was about this same time that the first authentic mention of the " Acts of Judas Thomas" was made by Epiphanius Bishop of Salamis, and Jerome, who died in 420 A.D., also alluded to St. Thomas' mission to India.

The next important faot seems to be that.Nestorius was consecrated Bishop of Constantinople in 428 or 429 A.D. His heretical doctrines were condemned by the first Council of Ephesus a year ortwo later, and in 435 he was banished by the Emperor and in 439 his followers were proscribed.

A year or two later the Manichseans were persecuted, their bqpks burned at Rome, and their doctrines condemned by the Council of Rome in 444 A.D.

There must have been considerable intercourse between Persia and India, for in the middle of the sixth century a learned Persian — perhaps a Christian —

came to India to get a copy of the Panchatantram.

And about 522 A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes, a Byzantine monk, visited Ceylon and the West Coast of India and wrote as follows : — ’ “ In the Island of Taprobane (Ceylon) there * * * is a church of

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Christians, and olerks, and faithful. * * * Likewise at Male where the pepper grows ; and in the town Kalliena there is also a bishop consecrated in Persia .” “Male” is clearly Malabar, and “Kalliena” is most probably a place near Udipi in South Canara.

“A letter1 in Assemani’s Bibliotheca from the Patriarch Jesajabus (died A.D. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Persia , blames his neglect of duty saying that, in consequence, not only is India ‘ which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to Colon, a distance of 1,200 parasangs deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is left in darkness.’ ” “ Colon ” can be none other than Quilon or Kollam, and

it was the Metropolitan of Persia who was blamed, probably on insufficient grounds, owing to the rapid rise and spread of Islam, for having shut the doors of episcopal imposition of hands, and for interrupting the sacerdotal succession.

It was in this century also (the seventh century A.D.) that the direct Red Sea trade between Egypt and India was finally stopped from the same cause — the rise of the Muhammadan religion and the spread of Arabian political power.

The Persian metropolitan in the next hundred years seems to have cast off, and again to have reverted to, the control of the Seleucian Patriarch. This was probably the beginning of Syrian influence in the church of Malabar. And indeed the tradition of the existing church is that a company of Christians from Baghdad, Nineveh, and Jerusalem, under orders from the Catholic Archpriest at Urahai (Edessa), arrived in company with the merchant Thomas in 745 A.D.

But whether this date is correct or not it is certain that in A.D. 774 there is no trace of Syrian influence in the pseudoSyrian copper-plate deed still 2 extant, and the later pseudo-Syrian copper-plate deed (also extant) 3 contains (as the late Dr. Burnell 4 has shown) no trace of Syriac either ; but, on the contrary, several Sassanian-Pahlavl, and Hebrew or Chaldaeo-Pahlavl

attestations — that is, attestations of Persian immigrants are. appended to it. Moreover the " Maruvan Sapir Iso " the grantee of this latter deed can be no other than the " Mar Sapor " who with " Mar Parges " or " Peroz " proceeded from Babylon to " Coulan " (Quilon) about A.D. 822, and they seem to have been Nestorian Persians. In both deeds the pseudo-Syrian chief settlement is called Mani-gramam , which, the late Dr. Burnell took to mean the village of Manes or Manichaeans, a suggestion first volunteered by Dr. Gundert, the translator of both deeds (M. J. L. S., Vol. XIII , Part I).

In the ninth century the Muhammadan traveller, Sulaiman, mentioned, " Betuma " as being ten days' sad from " Calabar," which latter he describes as " the name of a place, and a kingdom on the coast to the

1 Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar— Foot-note by Colonel Yule, p. 27.

2 No. 2 in Appendix XII. s 3 jn Appendix XII.

• Probably fifty years later than the former— " ninth century " (Gang). Indian Anti-

right hand beyond India." " Betuma " has been taken by the Editor M. Renaudot to mean the " House of Thomas," that is St. Thome, and the same authority has— " There is a numerous colony of Jews in Sarandib (Ceylon) and people of other religions, especially 1 Manichaeans. The king allows each sect to follow its own religion."

It would appear probable from the above facts that the Malahar church, whatever it may have been originally, was not latterly Manichaean a§ the late Dr. Burnell suggested 2 on what seems to be barely sufficient evidence, but more orthodox Persian (Nestorian).3

After this time it is generally acknowledged that the Syrian church possessed the ascendancy. A tablet at Kottayam in the Travan-core State has an inscription in Syriac as well as one in Pahlavi, and the latest inscriptions in Pahlavi to be found in India belong to the eleventh or twelfth centuries A.D., by which time Persian influence in the church had probably been completely superseded*

But there is also a church tradition that the preaching of Manes did have some effect on the community. This and the subsequent history and the present position of the Syrian and Romo-Syrian churches will be best told in the language of the Syrians themselves, who in a large bod} headed by their venerable Bishop Mar Coorilos waited, by special request, on the Right

Honourable Mr. Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, at Calicut, in January 1882, and presented to him a short account of themselves, from which the following extracts are taken : —

“ Passing over this period we come to the third century remarkable for the arrival of a Persian heretic of the School of Manes, or, as is supposed 4 by some, a heathen wizard. Through his teaching many went over to him and are even to this day known as “ Mani-gramakkar.” They cannot be distinguished from the Nayars, and are to be found at Quilon, Kayencolam and other places. South Travan-oore is the seat of the descendants of those who stood steadfast in their faith during this apostacy and are known as “ Dhariyayikal 5 ” meaning “ non wearers ” (of heathen symbols).

“ Some years after this first split had taken place or in (350 A.D 6). was the arrival of Thomas of Cana, a Syrian merchant, whose largeheartedness and sympathy for the neglected community was such that

1 Sir H. Elliot’ 8 History of India, L, 10. M. Renaudot translated the passage somewhat differently : “ In this same island (Sarandib, Ceylon) there is a very great multitude of Jews, as well as of many other sects, even Tanwis or Manic heat, the king permitting the free exercise of every religion.” (Ancient Accounts of India, &c. translated by Renaudot, London, 1733, page 84 (a)). •

2 Indian Antiquary, III, 311.

3 The Syrians themselves say (v. infra) that the Jacobite doctrines did not prevail till so late as 1663, and it was then for the first time that the Patriarch of Antioch obtained control over the church.

4 There is probably some confusion here between the founder of the Manich®ans and Mdnikavdchaka, a Tamil reformer of a much later date.

s Sometimes explained as the firm, courageous men, from *A*nryaf» = (bravery).

• Too early. A much later date (745 A.D.) is assigned by another tradition, r. tupra.

on his return to his native land, his story induced many to come out with him in his second visit, among whom was a bishop by the name of Mar Joseph. It was the first time a colony of Christians came to India. They were about four hundred in number. They landed at Cranganore then known as Mahadevarpattanam. They settled in the country with the permission of “

Cheraman Perumal ” * 1 the ruler of Malabar, who, as a mark of distinction and favour, granted to the Christian community certain privileges (72 in number), which at once raised them to a position of equality 2 with the Brahmans. One of the privileges was the supremacy over seventeen of the lower classes ; a relic of which still exists in the adjudication by Syrian Christians of certain social questions belonging to them. The grant was made on copper-plates, which, with some others, are in the custody of the Syrian Metran and are preserved in the Kottayam Seminary.

“ Matters continued thus until the arrival of the second colony of Christians, (who were Nestorians) from Persia, at Quilon between the ninth and the tenth century. They were also received well and permitted to settle in the country. The first colony, incorporated with the northern portion of the community, had their head-quarters at Cranganore and the southern 3 portion “ Kurak-keni-kollam or Quilon. And in title-deeds this distinction had been preserved for centuries up to the time of the recent organisation of the Registration Department. The zenith of the prosperity of the community seems to have been between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, as then they were permitted to have a king 4 of their own, the extent of whose authority cannot be stated with any historical precision. Their house of princes was known as the “ Y aliyarvattam ” or ” Undiyampemr ” dynasty. It however afterwards became extinct and the community came under the subjection of Perumpatappu or Native Cochin. This part of the history of the Syrians leads us to the advent of the Portuguese.

“ Immediately after the appearance of the Portuguese the Christians of Malabar went to them, making advances for support and protection, which were introduced by the presentation of the soeptre of their extinct royal 4 house to Da Gama, whose efforts, as well as those of his successors, were directed to bring the native ohurch under the authority of the See of Rome. Hence the details in the history of the connection with the Portuguese will be found to be a string of artful measures and

1 For reasons already given (p. 196-96) and understanding (as is usual in Malabar) that Cheraman Perumdl was the last king of Kerala, the date is obviously wrong.

1 Tho effect of this grant will be fully considered in the historical chapter. The assertion here made is not quite correct — See No. 2 in Appendix XII.

- There is little doubt that deed No. 3 in Appendix XII, to which reference been made above, was the original charter of this Southern Christian colony, just as deed No. 2, Appendix XII, was the charter of the Northern one.

1 The peculiar organisation of the country at this time will be set forth in the

historical chapter. In the exact words of the grant the Christian headman Was created

“ grand merchant of the Cheraman world ” (Kflraja) “ and lord of Manifrimam.”

violence which ended in the mission of Alexis Menezes, Archbishop of Goa. He was deputed by the Pope in 1598 A.D. to complete the subjugation 1 of the Syrian Church, and his arrival was remarkable as having been the ocoasion od which the third and most grievous split arose in the churoh into Romo-Syrians or “ Old Party,”2 and Syxians or “ New Party.”2 It was not however very long before the church had a cessation of its troubles. The presence of the Dutch staid the hand of persecution and reduced the pressure op the community. The capture of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663 was followed by an order requiring the Romish bishops, priests, and monks to quit the place which was not a little favourable to the Syrians.

“ The thread of history cannot be oomplete without the mention cf the J acobite bishops, who began to make their appearance before the time of the Dutch. It was necessitated by the anarchy that reigned in the ohurch at the close of the Portuguese connection. Things had been deliberately brought to such a crisis by them that the assimilation of the Syrian to the Roman Church was thought practicable only by the extermination of the bishops and clergy. Bold and stout hearts were however not Wanting to declare their independence and a large number, at a public assemblyˆ resolved upon applying to Babylon, Antiooh, Alexandria, and Egypt for a bishop.

“ This was done, and in 1653 Antiooh promptly complied with the request by sending out Mar Ignatius, a Jacobite bishop. It was from this date that the Jacobite element began to leaven the Malabar church. Mar Ignatius was mercilessly seized and thrown into the sea, as is believed by the Syrians, or sent to be tried before the Inquisition as is supposed by others. The fury of the community was roused and a numerous body went to Cochin to take revenge. But nothing more serious was done than swearing with one voice never more to have anything to do with the Portuguese, which wag done by holding a thick rope to show that every one who held it joined in the oath.

“ From 1665 to 1751, five Metrans, in succession, all bearing the name Mar Thoma, and belonging to the Pakalomattam 3 family, sat at the head of the church. The remaining period to the beginning of the present century may be passed over with the remark that it was also one of unrest, as the presence of foreign prelates was superfluous side by side with that of native metrans, and

party spirit was fostered by the former to the distraction of the church.

1 In 1599 he held the memorable Synod of Diamper (Utayamper) in which the

heresies of Nestorius were condemned. There were at this time only 75 churches.

3 It would have been rather an inversion of the facts to have called the " Syrians" the « New Party." It is more probable that they were so called, because of thoir acceptance of the Jacobite doctrines and the Jacobite Bishops alluded to further on, they having up to this time been Nestorians.

- One of the two families, from which it was customary to ordain the ministers of the church. The other was the Sankarapuri family.

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*« The year 1806 opens a fresh and glorious chapter in the history of this community, tormented, victimised, and disorganised by so many ceaseless troubles from friend and foe alike. We are here introduced to the figure of Rev. Claudius Buchanan, going from church to church, conversing freely with all and diligently seeking for information about them, aq for two hundred years after the Portuguese nothing had been heard of them. On inquiring of a priest at Chengamir how the community had sunk so low, the pregnant answer was — " Three hundred years ago an enemy bearing the name of Christ came from the West and led us to seek shelter under the native prinpes, under whom, though we have not been stripped of our appendages of dignity, we have been reduced to slavery." Coming to Kandanad he had an interview with the Metran, to whom he set forth the advisability of maintaining a friendly relation with the Anglican church, translating the Bible into Malayalam and establishing parochial schools. This being acquiesced in, Dr. Buchanan saw Colonel Macaulay, the British Resident, in company with whom he visited the northern parts of Travancore and Cochin. At Ankamali he was presented with an old oopy of the Syriac Bible written on parchment, which had been in the possession of the Syrians for a thousand years. This book was taken by him to England, where it was printed, after his death, by the Bible Society and copies were distributed among the churches in Malabar. The Metran, after this time, was Mar Thoma, the seventh and last of the Pakalomattam family, whose consecration having been irregular the people became discontented and a division was the consequence. The fact attracted the attention of Colonel Munro, who, after making himself acquainted with the real position, set about getting a seminary built for them at Cottayam, of which the foundation stone was laid

in 1813. Mar Thoma having died in 1816, was succeeded by the liberal-minded Mar Dionysius. At the commencement of his government, Colonel Munro undertook to get out missionaries to train Syrian deacons and lads to carry on parochial schools. Accordingly through the influence of this worthy Resident, the C. M. Society sent out the Rev. Thomas Norton, 'frho arrived in May 1816 and to whom the services of the Rev. B. Baily were added in November of the same year. He was followed by the Rev. Messrs. Baker and Fen and the latter was placed in charge of the seminary. Travancore, the Dewan and Resident of which was Colonel Munro, endowed the institution with Rs. 20,000 and a large estate at Kallada, called Munro Islabd. More than this the native government helped the translation and distribution of the Bible with another gift of Rs. 8,000. And the Resident got the Honorable East India Company to invest 3,000 star pagodas in the name of the community for educational purposes. -A new career had no sooner been opened than the liberal-minded Mar Dionysius died, and was succeeded by another Mar Dionysius belonging to a family at Cottayam. Colonel Munro, whose tenure of office extended from 1810 to 1819, must be regarded as having been the most earnest promoter of Syrian Christian interests.

" The next and last part of the history may be dismissed with a word or two. ' It discloses how the Syrian church was led to break its friendly connection with the missionaries through the machinations of evil-mindod persons j how a special committee settled their respective claims on the endowments of the sejninary ; how the late Mar Athanasius, who had received his consecration for the first time in the annals of the country and community at Antioch, attempted a reformation in consonance with the teachings of the Bible ; how through the good offices of Mr. Ballard, the British Resident, the Travancore Sircar restored to them their portion of the endowments which was in their custody after the adjudication by the committee, how the church is disturbed by various internal feuds ; and how the community is once more going through another cycle of trials and neglect.

Church Government, fFor ms of Worship , fyc.

" It will have been observed that there was a ministry ordained by the Apostle 1 himself. Then came the government, now and then, by foreign prelates, who laid claim to nothing more than ministering to their spiritual wants. And with the second colony was introduced the Nestorian element from Babylon. But their influence seems to have left no permanent trace of their heretical views. No one appears to have cared for theological subtleties or deep inquiries into the basis of their faith. A simple belief in the Lord's work of redemption all they had. From the earliest times and during all the time of foreign prelacy there was an archdeacon, always a native, looking after the temporal affairs of the church. This line of archdeacons continued

up to the seventeenth century, and at the close of the Portuguese period began, as has already been observed, the connection with the Jacobite bishops.

“ Turning to the forms of worship, &c., it must be premised that there is a reforming party and a non-reforming one at the present day. The work of the reformation has been progressing for the last thirty years, widening the gulf between the two parties. The principle of the reformers is to bring the church to its primitive purity, while the others adhere to most of the practices which found their way during the unhappy connection with the Romish church. The reformers try to reject whatever is unscriptural, such as Mariolatry, invocation of the saints, and prayers for the dead, and the others look upon them as heterodox on this account. The reforming party administers the Lord’s Supper in both kinds, in contradistinction to the administration in one kind by the others. The former have all their service in Malayalam, as opposed to the Syriac service of the latter. Both alike pray standing in churohes and facing to the east. In the midst of the

1 From what ha* been set forth above it will be seen that this fact is, to say the least, doubtful.

service, before reading the Gospel, the hands of fellowship (Kayyassuri) are offered to all. Festivals are numerous and love feasts (Agapse), such as were observed by the primitive church, are extant. In the baptism of infants tepid water is poured on the head followed by anointing with the holy oil (Sythe and Muron in Syriac). Bishops observe celibacy, while the priests are allowed to marry, though remarriage is not permitted by the non-reformers. The clergy too were celibates until very recently. Marriages are celebrated by the non-reforming party on Sundays, while one of the week days is chosen by the others. Cousins can marry only after the seventh generation. The customs and manners of this people are too numerous to mention, and are therefore omitted ; but it must be observed that many of them are due to the influence of the classes around.

Present Status.

“ The community numbering now about $00,000 has nearly 200 churches with nine Metrans, six of whom were consecrated by the Patriarch of Antioch when he visited Malabar in 1875. These newly consecrated bishops, though they had their dioceses assigned to them by the Patriarch, have not been accepted by the people in all cases. One of the remaining three in the person of Mar Coorilos enjoys undisputed authority in British Malabar. Mar

Dionysius, the head of the non-reforming party, and Mar Athanasius that of the reforming party, have between them the whole of the Travancore and Cochin churches ; and now the contention for supremacy is at its climax though it does not seem likely that the adherents will change sides even after the battle is won by either, as both parties have been trained to think differently. The number of priests in the churches varies with the size of the parish — larger ones having 10 or 12, and smaller ones 2 or 3. Almost all churches have endowed property mostly mismanaged and in the hands of persons, who scarcely think of paying up the dues. The endowments and their possession have cihsed much litigation, and the large resources of rich churches have been drained to meet the costs of suits and counter-suits, terminating in heavy losses to the community in every way. They are mostly an agricultural people. Elementary education has never been neglected and every effort is made to secure the benefits of higher education. The number of graduates and under-graduates is annually increasing, and if judged by the success at examinations, the community must be said to be keeping pace with the times, and bids fair to take a good place in the rank of nations and classes making rapid progress in the cultivation of knowledge and intelligence. The learned professions have their proportion of “votaries, and it is not too much to say that their loyalty coupled with their light and intelligence will do honor to the land of their birth. The clergy, too, are far in advance of those of the denomination in former days. Notwithstanding the utilization of the

educational advantages, there is a discouraging want of State patronage, which is so liberally dispensed to other classes. An analysis of the list of public servants of the Travancore Government1 will bear out this statement. Thus, internal peacelessness, incessant litigation impoverishing the richest churches and individuals, the agitating influence of the recent heresy of the “ Six Years ” sect, and the want of encouragement, are the forces which are acting upon this community, the extent of whose consequences cannot be prejudged/’

The RomoSyrians and Roman Catholics.

As regards the Roman Catholics and their connection with the Romo-Syrians, the following extracts are taken from a short history of the Yerapoly Catholic mission kindly furnished in manuscript by the Rev. Father Camillus D.C., Missionary Apostolic of Cochin. The southernmost portion of Malabar is, it will be seen, under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Carmelite VicarApostolic at Yerapoly. The rest of Malabar is spiritually under the Jesuit Yicar Apostolic of Mangalore.

“ After the conversion of the Syrian to Catholicism, the Supreme Pontiff Clement VIII, (in 1605), appointed as their first Archbishop, Mgr. Francisco

Roz, a Jesuit, who was afterwards transferred by Paul Y to the See of Cranganore (1605), (the title of Angamale being suppressed), and the said prelate governed the Syrian congregation all his lifetime, till the 18th February 1624, in which he breathed his last at Pattona Paroor.

“ Thus, the Syrians remained under the administration of Jesuit bishops till the year 1653, when they became disgusted with them and rejected the allegiance of Mgr. Francisco Garcia, who was then their legitimate bishop.

“ And now we can understand the motive for which Pope Alexander VII, who was governing the church at that time, sent over the Carmelite missionaries to take charge of the Christians of Malabar and established a YicarApostolic at Yerapoly. The first superior of the Carmelite mission, Mgr. Joseph of St. Mary, a descendant of the noble Sebastiano family, was appointed by the aforesaid Pontiff in the year 1656. This prelate, with the help of his fellow missionaries, worked with energy and perseverance to uproot the schism and recal the Syrians to their duty, their efforts being rewarded by the conversion of many parishes that came back to the catholic unity. In the meantime, Mgr. Joseph of St. Mary having returned to Rome was there raised to the episcopal dignity, and sent again by the Pope to the Malabar mission, with a new batch of Carmelite missionaries; after their arrival (1661) they had the consolation to reconcile a large number of the schismatic Syrians to the catholic unity.

1 “ The list for 1879-80 shows that out of 1,424 servants holding appointments worth Ra. 10 or above, there are only 25 Syrian Christians.”

RELIGION,

” But, on the 6th January 1663, the Dutch having defeated the Portuguese, took possession of Cochin, and refused to the Carmelite missionaries the permission of exercising their ministry in Malabar. In such a circumstance, Mgr. Joseph, seeing the necessity of providing the Syrian congregation with a lawful pastor, and using the extraordinary powers he had received ad hoc from the Pope, consecrated, as a bishop, Parambil Alexander, a catenar of Corrovalanghatt, on the 31st January of the same year, in the church of Cadatturutti.

“ However, after a short lapse of time, the Dutch Government being aware that the presence of the Carmelites in Malabar could produce no harm, cancelled the abovesaid prohibition and allowed them to dwell in this country as before ; from that time to the present day they have continued their apostolical work for the civilization and religious instruction not only of the Syrians but also of the Latin Christians, whose care was intrusted to them by the Holy See.

“ But a portion of the schismatics would not abandon their rebellious opposition, and remained without a spiritual leader till the end of the year 1665. Then appeared in Malabar a certain bishop named Mar Gregory, who pretended to have been sent by the Patriarch of Jacobites at Antioch. To this, the aforesaid schismatics gave obedience, and till now are called Syrian J acobites ; they readily acknowledge that they are indebted to him for their new creed, call him their patriarch, and venerate him as a saint/’

“To enable the reader to understand how, in this country, we have also a Catholic Goanese jurisdiction, some previous remarks are necessary. It must be remembered that, in former times, the Popes desirous to promote the propagation of the catholic faith had granted to the Kings of Portugal a kind of religious patronage, called Jus Pntronalis . This is a privilege, which the catholic church sometimes grants to sovereigns or influential personages, and is connected with certain obligations and duties to be fulfilled by such patrons. Speaking of the Malabar country in particular, we may say that Pope Clement VIII granted the above-said privilege to King Philip, with a charge of providing with donations and supporting the catholic churches, the bishop and the canons of his cathedral, seminaries, &c., declaring at the same time that, in the case of a non-execution of the said clause by the king, the privilege and concession should of itself (ipso facto) become null and void (See the Pontifical Bull “ in supremo mititatis ecclesia solio, 4th August 1600). After a certain lapse of time, Portugal ceased to provide for the support of the churches and government of the Christians, according to compact; and in fact, having lost the supremacy in most parts of India, it became impossible for that nation to fulfil the above-said obligations. Besides after the Dutch took possession of Cochin, they would not allow any Portuguese bishop or missionary to remain in the country. The Goanese themselves, on their part, far from assisting, or supporting the clergy, were incessantly

exciting troubles and vexations against the missionaries sent by the Holy See. Such being the case, the Supreme Pontiffs, to whom it chiefly belongs to promote the spiritual interests of the Christians, were obliged to appoint VicarsApostolic, whom they exempted from the Goanese jurisdiction. Thus on the 10th November 1673, Clement X forbade, * under severe punishment/ that the Archbishop of Goa or his Canonical Chapter should exercise any act of jurisdiction beyond the ‘ limits of the Portuguese dominions, and exempted from the Goanese jurisdiction both the Vicars and Missionaries Apostolic.’ Moreover, on the 22nd December of the same year, and the 7th of June 1674, in two different briefs, the Pope declared ‘that the Portuguese had no jurisdiction whatever upon the Vicars or Missionaries Apostolic sent to

India, chiefly in the. territories where the King of Portugal had no authority.'

" In spite of all those arrangements, the general progress of the mission was cramped by various causes. Finally, in the year 1837, Gregory XVI, who then sat on St. Peter's chair, published his famous bull " Malta pr declare" by which he divided the whole of India into a certain number of Vicariates Apostolic, and distinctly forbade the Goanese prelates and prices to interfere in any way with the management of the same.

" But the Goanese disregarded this authoritative decree, and began the schism, commonly called ' IndoPortuguese' Indo-Lusitarum Schisma. On the contrary, the great majority of the catholics in India acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Apostolio Vicars and Missionaries, and put them in possession of their churches and establishments — such was the state of things till the year 1861.

" At that time, the Supreme Pontiff Pius IX anxious to procure the eternal salvation of so many Christians, who were miserably adhering to the Goanese schism, first (in February 1857) had concluded a concordat with the King of Portugal, in which, among other dispositions, was inscribed the following, namely, that such churches and Christians as, in the day of the signature of the concordat , were presently under the obedience and jurisdiction of the Apostolic Vicars, should continue to adhere to the same, and that churches and Christians, then acknowledging the authority of the Goanese prelates should remain under their government. To put this decree into execution (in the year which had been fixed in the above concordat No. 17) that is, in 1861, two commissioners were sent to India, one Apostolic Commissioner acting in behalf of the Pope, and one Royal Commissioner acting in the name of the King of Portugal. Through their agency His Holiness granted for Some time {ad tempus) to the Archbishop of Goa, an extraordinary jurisdiction upon the few churches and Christians that were then governed by Goanese priests, either in Malabar, or in Madura, Ceylon, Madras, Bombay, &c. Here is the reason of a double jurisdiction existing till now in the said places. From this statement it is easy to conclude that all catholics arc under the

obedience of the Pope, and that their allegiance to the Kings of Portugal is merely political and accidental. All spiritual jurisdiction is derived, even for the Archbishop of Goa and other Portuguese Prelates, from the visible Head of the Catholic Church, the Supreme Pontiff residing at Rome, and they would lose it eutirely the very day they should throw away their obedience to him.

“ In order to understand better the progress of the Catholic mission in this country, it must be remarked that the present Syrian community, now composed of Catholics and Jacobites, was, at the beginning, one and the same congregation, founded in the earliest times of the church, as the bishops, who subsequently came from Persia into Malabar, communicated to them their own liturgy (which was the Syrian rite),’ for that reason the above-said Christians were usually called Syrians ; they were also designated by the name of ‘ St. Thomas’ Christians,’ according to the tradition handed down from their forefathers that they had really been converted from paganism by that holy Apostle. This Christian community subsisted and gradually increased, both by its intrinsic elements and by the admission of new converts, from the people living in the neighbourhood of Syrian churches. In some localities those neophytes were very numerous, and having, from the day of their conversion, resided amongst Syrians, were considered as belonging to their race. Even now, amongst those who are baptized at Verapoly, the greater part settles in Syrian parishes.

“ But besides this catholic community there is another one, equally catholic, that is called Latin on acoount of its following the Latin liturgy. This was formed from the Malabarese people of various castes, who had been converted to Catholicism before the year 1542 (namely, the date of St. Francis Xavier’s arrival in India), and from the others who have been converted subsequently, down to the present times. As those Christians had been baptized by Latin priests, and in places where generally there was no Syrian church, they began to follow, and even now are following, the Latin rite. At the present time, the Catholic Syrians have 160 parochial churches with a great number of chapels, depending from the greater ones, and number about 200,000 souls. The Christians, who follow the Latin rite, have about 40 principal churches with a proportionate number of annexed chapels; their population is nearly 90,000. It is to be noted that in the above-stated numbers are not inoluded all the churches with their attendants belonging to the Vicariate of Qnilon, but only those of the Verapoly Vicariate, the limits of whioh are in the north Ponnani, in the south Poracaud, and in the east the Ghats. In faot, the Vicariate of Quilon extends from Poracaud in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, having its own churches and Christians, who all of them belong to the Latin rite, the Syrians who live within the said limits being Syrian Jacobites.”

Tippu Sultan in his proselytising zeal carried away many Christians from Canara to Mysore, and in 1793 and 1795, 87 families of these returned and were located by the Honorable Company in the district of Randatara in the Chirakkal Taluk, where lands were assigned to them and money advances given to help them.

Protestants.

The only Protestant mission at work in Malabar is the Basel German Evangelical Missionary Society, of which the latest report, the 43rd, shows that on 1st January 1883 the society had in Malabar 2,632 church members, including children, distributed at the following mission stations : — Cannanore in the Chirakkal Taluk, Tellicherry in the Kottayam Taluk, Chombala in the Kurumbranad Taluk, Calicut in the Calicut Taluk, Codacal in the Ponn&ni Taluk, and Palghat in the Palghat Taluk.

The earliest of these stations was established at Tellicherry in 1839 and the latest at Palghat in 1858.

Besides attending to the spiritual and educational wants of their congregations, the mission has very wisely organised various workshops and manufactories, the productions of which have acquired not merely local celebrity, for " mission " cotton cloths of infinite variety and " mission " tiles for roofing and other purposes are now to be met everywhere in India. Besides these a mercantile branch has been organised, which gives very suitable employment in shops to other members of the congregations. And a printing-press at the mission headquarters at Mangalore in South Canara turns out, both in English and the Vernaculars, work of which any press in Europe might be proud.

Section G. — Famine, Diseases, Medicine.

Malabar does not produce grain sufficient for the consumption of the home population, and this has been more especially the case since by the introduction of European coffee cultivation into the Wynad Taluk, the jungle tribes and other servile castes, who used to cultivate the rice-fields in that region have been attracted to the more profitable employments on coffee estates. Malabar pays for much of the grain consumed by the people out of the money obtained for its special products — coconuts, coir, coconut-oil, areka-nuts, coffee, pepper, ginger, cardamoms, timber, &c.

An artificial famine is therefore always possible in Malabar, and, as matter of fact, such famines used to occur pretty frequently in former times when the supply of grain came from only one or two foreign ports. Thus in October 1755, the King of Bednur, to whom the rice-exporting port of Mangalore belonged, laid an embargo on grain, because

of the ravages committed in his country by a buccaneering expedition under the Mappilla chief of Cannanore. This placed the French at Mahe, the English at Tellicherry, the Dutch at Cannanore, and the Malabar Nayars and Mappillas— the whole community in fact— in a state of comparative famine.

But of real famine in the land there are few records. During the long period in which the Honorable Company occupied the factory at Tellicherry, there is but one record of a real famine. It occurred in August— September of 1727. The factors' diary record is as follows : — " The country about us of late have greatly feared an extraordinary scarcity of rice," and it was accordingly resolved to impose the embargo, usual in those days, on exports of grain. Strict orders were issued " for not carrying any quantity out of our limits." There was none to be had at Mangalore ; the granary — and almost the sole one in those days — from which Malayalis drew their extra supplies of rice. The factors had information that parents were selling their children at Mangalore in order to obtain support for themselves. On examination of the factory store-houses, there was found to be bare provision for the place for one month, so an urgent requisition was sent to the Anjengo factors for supplies. On the 8th September there was famine in the land and the record runs that the factory gates were daily besieged by people begging for support. There is no further record in the diary, and doubtless the worst symptoms disappeared, as they did in 1877, with the garnering of the first (kanni) rice crop in September. The months of July, August, and September are the months in which the poorest classes of Malayalis find it hardest to obtain sustenance. The stores that may have been reserved from the previous season's crops are always then at the lowest ebb. The rice-crops on the ground are usually sufficiently advanced at this season to require only the minimum of attention from out-of-door labourers. And the new harvest is not yet available. In every season the pinch of poverty is therefore felt in these months, more than in the others, and in seasons when famine is raging in neighbouring districts and when famine prices have for months reduced the slender stores of savings, it is in these months of the year, particularly, that organised assistance is required ; and the rich should come forward to help the poor. One meal of rice hanji distributed gratis to all comers daily during this season of the year at many places throughout the district sufficed to stave off actual famine in 1877 ; the number thus daily relieved aggregated at one time over 40,000.

Of remarkable outbreaks of disease the records also contain few notices. In October 1730, the Tellicherry factory diary records —

" The pestilence which has raged for some time among the people of this district being now come to such a pitch, as, with difficulty, people are found to bury the dead, and our garrison soldiers, Muckwas (fishermen, boatmen)

and others under our protection being reduced to such

extremity by this contagion, so as not to be able ˆsubsist in this plaee any longer unless relieved by charity, it was agreed to build barracks for the sick and to entertain attendants " to bury the dead. What the " pestilence " was the records do not give information, but it was probably cholera. A fortnight later requisitions were sent by the factors to Anjengo and to Madras to raise soldiers to supply the vacancies, as the garrison was obliged to do double duty on account of the increasing of the contagion. Calicut also suffered severely, for, on 13th November, there is an entry that the " pestilence was again broke out in Calicut more violent than before." On 18th December the " contagion " was " in no wise abated," and the factors organised charitable relief. The further history of the outbreak stops short here. The garrison at this time numbered about 270 men, including Nayars and Mappillas, in the sendee of the Honorable Company, and besides these the men of two other out-posts, which cost about Rs. 250 more per mensem.

It was not till July 1757 that the next severe visitation of disease occurred ; and on that occasion it was said to be due to the excessive monsoon rains. There was " terrible mortality" at -Calicut, Mahe, and Cannanore, but by 29th July it had abated at Tellicherry. What the disease was was again not recorded.

In August 1800 there was a scare, lest the plague then raging at Baghdad should be imported into India, and strict quarantine regulations were imposed.

In December 1801 very handsome rewards and encouragement were offered to natives who successfully practised inoculation 1 for small-pox, and in 1803 the SubCollectors were directed to exert themselves " personally to the utmost in persuading the principal inhabitants of the country, who have not had the small-pox to submit to vaccination."

Notwithstanding the measures then taken and the organisation subsequently of a special establishment to deal with this disease, it almost annually claims its thousands of victims, and, alternating with cholera, the two diseases carry off a large proportion of those who live insanitary lives.

The chief source of disease in the low country is the badness of the water-supply, and as there is hardly any water, however filthy in appearance, which the lower classes of the population refuse to utilize for domestic purposes, there is little to be wondered at in this.

The higher classes are much more particular in this respect than in East Coast Districts, but they, too, have yet failed to realise that a water source once

tainted is not fit for use for sometime. They, in futile fashion, beat drums and blow horns to drive away the devils, which

1 This was probably the “ vaccine inoculation,” then recently discovered.

bring, they think, the disease, but never dream of taking exceptional care to keep their water-supply untainted.

Recent experience has shown, however, that the mortality from cholera can be lessened, if not prevented altogether, by judicious administrative measures. The closing of the wells of the infected locality .is not the least important of the steps to be adopted. And great good results from the mere presence in an infected locality of the officers specially charged to deal with the disease.

The District Medical and Sanitary officer (Surgeon-Major H. D. Cook, m.b.,) has furnished the following brief sketch of the principal diseases : —

“ The principal diseases that are especially prevalent in the Malabar District may be enumerated as follows : —

1. Anoemia (general weakness).
2. General dropsy.
3. Splenitis (or ague cake).
4. Ague.
5. Dysentery.

1. Skin diseases. 7. Elephantiasis.

“ A few remarks on each is necessary. Anaemia, general dropsy, and splenitis, although put down as special diseases, are generally, if not always,’ the result of neglected or protracted attacks of ague. They oocur in this way. People of Malabar of all classes reside for some time or other in Wynad. In the months of March, April, and May ague abounds there and spares few, rich or poor. The poor, through neglect of seeking medical aid, have repeated attacks of it undermining their constitutions, the result being that they flock back to the coast, bloodless, dropsical, and with spleens occupying sometimes half the cavity of the abdomen instep of the area of a man’s hand. One has only to attend one of the dispensaries in Malabar, or walk through the bazaars of some of the principal towns, and see the great amount of people with

ansemia, dropsy, and enlarged spleens. These classes of diseases fill our dispen-sanes ail the result of neglected ague or from repeated attacks of it.

Dysentery is very common indeed, and it is a common saying • if you are subject to dysentery avoid Malabar.' In my experience I have

r.i7 tdy" *r7 so common among the rich, but the poor suffer fearfully from it, and generally the acute variety. The season for it is

:™',Jul/ian Aufu,s'- and th« «ause the climate. The hot and dry

and July Th! b Z T SUCCee(iod by tbe w < * ones of June "d ,J" y; The houses of the poor are mere huts, thus exposing the

inhabitants to damp and cold. Children suffer terribly Lm this

Dysentery, of course, is often the result of affections of the liv" and

o malaria. But what I refer to is acute dysentery, the result as said

of damp and cold, or sometimes from eating bad fish

„ .abound, the principal form being scabies, vulgarly

called Malabar itch.' Itch generally is the result of uncieTuhnesI over he world ; but the form of itch met with in Malabar is of an

Malabar district.

aggravated form, and I cannot give any particular reason for it. Some attribute it* to eating a kind of fish called in Malayalam ' Ayila.'

" Elephantiasis. — This is very common in Malabar, especially amopg M&ppillas on the coast. It is called in Malayalam ' Mantha kalu,' or ' Ana kalu.' The ordinary form is a hypertrophy of the skin and areolar tissue of some part of the body, but generally attacking the legs and genital organs. The skin becomes enormously thickened with a quantity of albuminous fluid in the areolar tissue. It is most common in males. Various causes are said to be assigned for this disease — air, water and food — and it generally occurs near the sea. Eating fish has been said to be a cause for it. I think that poor living has a good deal to do with it.

" Dr. Fayrer, in his book, attaches much importance to the presence of filariae in nutritious fluids. This is too big a question to take up here ; but I may as well mention that acute researches are now being made to prove that mosquitoes have very much to do with the production of many diseases, by

communicating filariae to the human body and entering the blood becomes what is termed filarice sanguinis hominis . Any one desirous of obtaining all information on this subject, I advise them to read Dr. Fayrer's book on ' Tropical Diseases.' "

The native system of medicine and surgery is based upon the obsolete ideas, apparently borrowed from the Greeks, of the body being composed of five elements — earth, water, fire, air, and ether. Physical health is supposed to be preserved by the preservation, in exact proportions, of the three general elements, viz., rheum, bile, and phlegm, or air, fire, and water respectively. " Their harmonious1 admixture tends to constitutional nourishment, whilst anything that disturbs or destroys this harmony causes impaired health. Though in a sense pervading all the body, each of them is not without its allotted province, that is, air, or rheum, spreads itself below the navel ; fire, or bile , between it and the heart ; and water, or phlegm, above the heart and upwards. By the predominance of one of these humours over the others, the human health is deranged, whilst their proportionate evenness secures good health."

" Tastes are six in number, viz., sweet, sour, saltish, bitter, pungent, and astringent, which are the attributes of substances, each preceding taste being superior to that immediately succeeding it. The first three

_ sweet, sour, and saltish— appease rheum ; and the remaining three

bitter, pungent, and astringent— appease phlegm, while bile is appeased by astringent, bitter and sweet. According to another opinion, the three humours are said to be promoted by these tastes, viz., the rheum, by bitter, pungent, and astringent ; the phlegm by sweet, sour, and saltish ; and the bile, by pungent, sour, and saltish Substances have three

1 Translated from the Introduction to Mr. 0. and Commentaries oil the ' Ashtanga Jlridagain, or Calicut, 1878.

Cannan's " Malayalam Translation Treatise on Manhood (Ayur Vidam)."

forms of digestions, viz., the sweet and saltish will digest sweetly, the sour in its original taste, and che pungent and astringent mostly turn acrid.

" Medicines are of two classes known as clearing and subsidiary. The first effects the cure by purging out the irritated humours ; and the second by establishing the humours which have been disturbed in their respective positions.

“ To secure health, we should try to purge out the bile and other humours according to season.

“ Purgatives are essential, as otherwise the humours, augmented by their stagnancy, will endanger even life. The humours allayed by fasting, or by the use of medicines having digestive properties, will sometimes be irritated.

“ If properly purged out, these humours are not liable to irritation.

“ Oil bath, athletic exercise, simple bath, aud oil-syringing are also .necessary, as these will restore health and establish the digestive powers, and likewise create intellectual brightness, personal beauty, acuteness of the senses, and prolongation of life. Refrain from doing anything disagreeable to the mind, feelings and thoughts, lest a deceitful conscience irritate all the humours ; govern the passions and senses in order that they may not be led astray ; remember the past, and conduct yourself with due regard to the peculiarities of the time and place as well as of your own constitution, and pursue the well-trodden path of the righteous.

“ He who wishes for happiness in this as well as in the next world should, in controlling the passions, successfully resist the blind rush of the thirteen mental vices known as (1) avarice, (2) envy, (3) malice, (4) enmity, (5) lust, (6) covetousness, (7) love or passion, (8) anger,’ (9) pride, (10) jealousy, (11) arrogance, (12) haughtiness and (13) self-conceit, inasmuch as man, imbued with any one of them, is apt to commit vicious acts of divers sorts, resulting in iniquities, which gaining ground in successive births, will force themselves out in the shape of diseases causing immense misery. Moreover when these evils take hold of the mind, their influence agitates it and destroys the mental ease and vitiates the vital air, which is wholly dependent on such mental ease ; and as the very life, vigour, memory, &c., are all sustained by this vital air, its loss entails hazard to them, and injuring respiration gives rise to various diseases. By treading the paths of virtue and possessing a truthful nature, a charitable disposition, compassion, sympathy, and continence, and by using such fare as is congenial to the mind free motion to the vital air will be secured. For mental vices, spiritual knowledge, combined with prudence and courage, is tiie best remedy by

seeking which, the mind will be liberated from evil passions and left to pursue a virtuous course. ”

After much Wise discourse on the true means of attaining the “ pith follows endeav0ur9 > ” haPriness, by aid of virtue, he continues as

“ Speak but little, and that significantly and opportunely, so as to be agreeable to your hearers, and let your speech be characterised by sweetness,

veracity, and cheerfulness, and an open countenance graced with kindness and affability.

“ Eat or enjoy nothing alone. Do not be overcredulous or suspicious. Be sagacious in guessing other minds ; treat them with kind and greeting expressions and do not overvex or over-indulge the organs of taste with distasteful or delicious fare.

“Let your mental, vocal, or bodily exertion cease before actual fatigue commences.

“ Do not deal in, or drink, spirituous liquors, nor expose yourself to the east wind, directly to the rays of the sun, or to the dust, snow, and storm.

“ Do not in a crooked position yawn, cough, sleep or eat, nor shelter under the shadow of trees on the margins of rivers.

“ As the wise have the world for their preceptor in all doings, you ought to study the movements of the righteous, keeping yourself steadily to their virtuous path.

“ A tender feeling and unaffected charity towards all creatures, and a self-restraint, physical as well as vocal and mental, combined with a due regard to the interests of others, are moral virtues which complete the test of true uprightness.

“ He that daily contemplates his own acts, as to whether and how he has actually realised the grand ends of his existence on the day, the lapse of which has brought him nearer to the grave than on the previous day, canuot be overtaken by grief, inasmuch as his deliberations, secure in divine grace, will ultimately conduct him to the attainment of true wisdom, regarding the mutability of this world and the eternity of God ; and he will, thus, be freed from all sins and sorrows, and in the end gain everlasting happiness. Moreover as each day passes, life becomes shorter, and patent is the fact that the exercise of morality can be prosecuted only while it exists, and as the extrication from sorrow is the result of a strict pursuit of virtue and abstinence from vice, a daily reckoning of the nature and amount of our virtuous deeds is a

salutary remedy for all mental diseases.

“ A strict adherence to the daily observances herein briefly summarised will lead to longevity, health, prosperity, reputation and

eternity.” . ,, ,

The lofty tone of morality above sketched runs quaintly through

the voluminous treatise, which follows consisting of six parts and containing 120 chapters. The treatise gives extremely explicit directions, first for the preventive and afterwards for the curative measures to be adopted in the multitudinous circumstances of life.

A more detailed examination of the system of medicine -in vogue

would be beyond the scope of the present work.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY.

Section A. — Traditionary Ancient History.

The Kerala Mahatmyam and the Keralolpatti (Kerala-ulpatti = origin of Kerala) , the former written in indifferent Sanscrit and the latter in modern Malayalam, contain the traditions current among the people regarding the ancient history of the province.

The mace-bearing incarnation of Vishnu (Paras-u Raman) the former work says, was obliged by the Rishis to expiate the sin of having slain his mother by extirpating the Kshatriyas, the enemies of the Brahmans. This he accomplished in twenty-one expeditions. At Vishvamitra*8 suggestion he then made over all the land within the four seas to the Rishis " with all the blood-guiltiness attached to it, by making them drink of the water 1 of possession." The Brahmans, it is said, turned him out of the land he thus gave away, but with Subra-manya's assistance, he obtained by penance from the god of the seas (Varuna) the grant of some land to dwell on. The throw of his mace (parasu) was to determine its extent. He threw it from Kanya Kumdri , (Cape Comorin) to Gokarnam. The gods came to visit the land thus miraculously won and called it Parasu Raman's land, and JSiva condescended to be worshipped in Gokarnam , the metropolis of the province thus reclaimed from the sea. To people this land, Parasu Raman is said to have first tff all brought a poor Brahman from the shores of the Kistna river. This man had eight sons, and the eldest was made head of all the Brahmans of Kerala and located, some say, at a place near Gokarnam , others say at Trisivaperur (Trichur in the Cochin State). Other Brahmans were next brought and located in sixty-four gramas or villages. Ships with seeds and animals next came, also eighteen Sdmantas2 (sons of Brahmans and Kshatriya women) also Vahhyas (Chettis) and Sudras and the low castes. Some of the Brahmans emigrated, and to prevent this for the future the special customs already alluded to (ante p. 155) were prescribed. Bauddhas are confounded in

1 N.B. — The fact that the janmam (birth -right) of land in Malabar is also called the *' water-contact-birthright " (Nxrattiperu) is fully commented on in Chapter IV.

2 The families of the native chieftains are mostly of this caste, but they are classed as Sudras.

the Mahdtmyam with Muhammadans, and the first Buddhist vihara or pcilli (chapel, mosque) is said to have been located at Madayi 1 south of tlie Seven Hills,2 i.e ., Mount Deli. The Mahdtmyam is full of the usual inflated Brahmanical legends, and is not so worthy of serious analysis as its more popular form, the Keralolpatti.

The Keralolpatti too is full of Brahmanical legends, but historically there is something to be learnt from it.

It agrees with the Mahatrkyam on the main points, the miraculous formation of the land, and the peopling of it first of all with Brahmans. It sets forth that the first Brahmans who arrived from various places did not remain in Iveralam owing to their dread of the myriads of serpents 3 infesting the country. When the Brahmans retired, the serpents are said to have protected the country. Then Parasu Raman fetched more Brahmans from the north and located them in sixty-four villages or grama ms, viz., (1) Gokarnam ; (2) Gomakutam ; (3) Kdra-valli ; (4) Maltur ; (5) Eppanur ; (6) Chcppaniir ; (7) Kdfalur ; (8) Kalian nil r ; (9j Kdryachchira ; (10) Peiyanchira — this was the first group in the extreme north of the newly reclaimed land— (11) Trikkani ; (12) Tnkkatta ; (13) Trikkanpala ; (14) Trichchola ; (15) Kolldr ; (16) Koma-lam ; (17) Velldra ; (18) Vengdtu • (19) Venkata m ; (20) Chcngdtn— another set of ten gramams presumably to the south of the first group and all lying in North Canara or Tulundd— (21) Kdtisvaram ; (22), Ma.nchisvaram ; (23) XJtuppu ; (24) Sankarandrayam ; (25) Kottam ; (26) Sivulli ; (27) Alora; (28) Pancha ; (29) Vittal ; (30) Kumdraman-galum ; (31) Anantapuram ; (32) Kannapurarn — a group of twelve grama ms lying in South Canara or Tulundd — (33) Peiyandr; (34) Pcrinc he llu r ; (35) Karikkatu ; (36) Isdnamangalam ; (37) Alattur ; (38) Karintdlam ; (39) Trmivaperur ; (40) Panniyiir ; (41) Chdvaram — these though only nine in number are said to have formed another group of ten gramams — (42) Parappur ; (43) Eirdnikknlam ; (44) Miishikakulam ; (45) Iringatiklcotu ; (46) Atappiir ; (47) Chenganotu ; (48) Uliyanur ; (49) Kalutandtu (50) Kalachchur ; (51) Ilibhyam; (52) Chamundha ; (53) Aoattipputtdi — another group of twelve gramams— (54) Kdtnkaruka ; (55) Kitangur ; (56) Karanallur ; (57) Kaviyur ; (58) Ettulaniyur ; (59) Nilrnanna ; (60) Anmani ; (61) Amnalam; (62)

, Tiruuallayi ; (63) Chenganiyvr . One of the names has probably been lost.

The last named thirty-one gramams seem to belong to Malabar Proper and the Native States of Coohin and North Travancore ; but some of the names of places cannot now be identified, nor are the names which can be identified arranged in strict order proceeding from north to south.

The Keralolpatti proceeds to describe how certain of the Brahmans obtained the gift of arms, how the serpents which had formerly been the terror of the Brahmans were made their household gods — a portion of

1 Compare p. 194.

1 Vide p. 6.

- See foot-note to p. 201.

the shares 1 of the Brahmans being set apart, to satisfy the serpents — how fencing schools with tutelary deities were established, how the goddess Durga was set to guard the sea-shore, and the god Sasta the foot of the hills, how the unstableness of the land was removed by sprinkling gold dust on the ground, by stamping so as to make it firm, and by depositing water carrying golden sands. Par am Raman finally organised the gramams , setting special tasks to some, and to particular individuals others. H is last injunction to the gram aim was to adopt the law of succession through the mother, but only one of them (Peiyanur), located in the extreme north of the Malayalam country, obeyed him.

After all this had been arranged he next introduced Sudras from the countries east of the ghats, and caused all of them to adopt the law of succession through the mother, and he constituted them as the bodyguard of the Brahman villages.

“ Thus,” the Keralolpatti runs on, “ Parasu Raman created the land of Malabar— the Karmabhumi , or country where salvation depends entirely upon good actions — and bestowed the same upon the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams as a poured-out gift.”

The narrative recites how he selected the four gramams of Peiyanur , Perinchellur , Parappur and Che.nganiyur and gave them authority to act in place of the whole sixty-four gramams . While the armed Brahmans were ruling the land, it is said, disputes arose and injustice ensued. So the Brahmans assembled and appointed a Protector in each 2 of the four selected villages, to hold office for three years, and assigned to each Protector a share equal to £ of all the land for the support of himself and his subordinates. This

institution, it is said, did not work well, and the people were oppressed by the Protectors, who sought to make the most of their opportunities during their short terms of office. So the Brahmans, assembled at Tirundvayi , determined to select a king, and empowered the four selected gramams to choose a king. Their choice fell on Key a Pertmdl , of Keyapuram , in the country east of the ghats. He was brought, it is said, to Kerajam and installed as the first of the Perumals in the year of the Kaliyug " Bhumanbhupoyam Prapya corresponding to A.D. 21 6. 3

The Brahmans arranged that he should rule for twelve years, but it is said he redgned for only eight years and four months.

It is incidentally mentioned that there were two other Perumals besides the Key a (C/iera , Kerala) Perumdl. These were the Choya (Chola) Perumal of ChoyarnandaJam , and the Pdndi or Kulasekhara Peru-mal of Pdndimandalam , which information is corroborated from other and early sources, which mention Chera , Chola and Pandya as being the three great kingdoms of the south of the Peninsula.

» Vide p. 183.

2 There is a different tradition about this.

9 The specific dates mentioned in the work are all unreliable.

It is further incidentally mentioned that the Malandd (hill-country, Malabar) was divided into four parts, viz. : _ _

1. Tula kingdom extending from Gokarnam to Perumpula (the big n), i.e.t the Canaras (north and south) very nearly as at present defined.

1. TheKupa kingdom extending from Perumpula to Putupattanam ,

the seat of the Tekkankur (Southern Regent) of the north Kolattiri dynasty situated on the Kotta river, i.e. , North Malabar as at present defined less the southern half of the Kurumbranad Taluk.

1. The Kerala kingdom extending: from Putupattanam to Kannetti ,

that is, South Malabar, including the south half of the Kurumbranad Taluk, the Cochin State, and North Travan-core.

1. The Mushika. kingdom extending from Kannetti to Cape Ccmo-

rin , that is, South Travancore.

It would appear, therefore, that the Perumal whom the Brahmans say they selected ruled over only a small portion of the country (Kerala) reclaimed by the efforts of Parasu Raman, and that Kerala , the name usually applied to the whole of Parasu Raman' s reclamation, was in fact the name by which the Brahmans designated the middle half only of the country inhabited by the Malaycalam speaking race of Dravidians.

This fact has an important bearing on the question as to when the Brahmans really did settle in Malabar, for Kerala is now by scholars recognised to be a dialectic (Canarese) form of the ancient name of the whole country, viz., Chera or Cheram . or Keram, a name which probably still survives in Cheranad , the western portion of the iErnad Taluk, and possibly also in Chcruman (p\K&=CherumakkaP) the agrestio slave caste. The name Kerala was probably not in use in Malabar itself until it was imported along with the Nambutiri Brahmans, and after being so imported it was naturally applied to that portion only of ancient Chera where these Brahmans settled most1 2 thickly, that is, in the third of the divisions or kingdoms mentioned in theKeralolpatti. Outside the Malayalam country the name was certainly in use, as will be seen presently, for centuries before the Nambutiri Brahmans arrived, and was employed to designate the dominions of the Chera king.

Thus runs the Keralolpatti : — " When the Brahmans first appointed a king they made an agreement on oath with him to this effect — ' Do that which is beyond our power to do and protect. When complaints happen to arise, we will settle them by ourselves. You are not to

1 The Cherumar are supposed to be so styled because of their low status (Chert i = small) hut low feeding produces low stature, and it is very possible that the slave cast© constituted the aborigines of the ancient Chera kingdom (vide p. 147).

2 See the table given at p. 119.

question us on that point. For formality's sake you may ask why we deal with affairs ourselves after making you a king.' At this 1 day even when complaints arise the king says : — ' Why do you deal with them ? Why did you not make your complaint to me ?' This is owing to the former oath."

It is further said they gifted him with lands and fixed his headquarters at Allur alias Kodtingallur (Cranganore) alias Muyirikodu (Jews' deed) alias the Mouziris of the Greeks.

After Keya PerumdCs death the Brahmans, it is said, brought Choya Perumdl

from Choyamandalam. He reigned ten years and two months and returned to Choyamandalam.

They next brought Pandi Petunia l 2 from the Pandi country. He built a fort, reigned nine years and returned to his former home “whence a messenger had come to inform him that there was no one to be king at Pandi rnandalam”

It will be noticed that the names of these three first Perumals, supposed to be single individuals with exact terms stated as to the durations of their reigns, are in reality the names of the Chera , Chola, and Pandya rulers, and it is quite possible that when the dominion of the Chera princes terminated, they were succeeded in the suzerainty of the Kerala chieftains, first by the Cholas and afterwards by the Patldyas.

Then comes in a tradition of a king called Bhutarayar 3 Pandi Peru - nal, between whom and the Brahmans bitter enmity arose. He was guarded by two spirits and the Brahmans could not compass his destruction, until one of them played chess with him and won the services of the guardian spirits ; after which he was assassinated 4 by a Brahman, from whom descended the Nambidi caste.

The Mdhatmyam says of him that the Pdndyans invaded Kerala with an army of Bhutans (spirits) that Parasu Raman said to the Bhuta Raja angrily : “ Your arrival at my country is in vain. I have given it over to the Southern king Adityavarmman .” 5 The Bhuta army was then defeated, and the boundary of Kerala was fixed at the place (Bhuta pandi) where Parasu Ratnan accosted the invaders.

Invasions, it is said in the Keralolpatti , became frequent : the Brahmans applied to Parasu Ratnan , who told them to select a king at

1 The work is generally supposed to have been written in the 17th century A.D.

- One version asserts that this was an “ enterprising female.—” Jnd. Ant. IX, p. 78.

- This Pcrumdl who was guarded by evil spirits and inimical to the Brahmans’ was not improbably the Perumdl who became a convert to Muhammadanism, the Palltbdna Perumdl, as he is called further on, and the Cheraman Perumdl of the popular tradition.

4 Another version asserts that the PerumAl thus assassinated was called Shola Perumdl (or Chbya Perumdl above referred to).— Ind. Ant. IX, 78.

This seems to refer to the Chola king of this name, who, according to present know, ledge, overran a large part of Southern India about A.D. 894. If the Bhutarayar Pandi Pcv/w/above referred to was, as suggested, the Muhammadan convert, then this allusion to the C ltd la king is chronologically correct.

Tirumvdyt? that the Gangadevi (Ganges) would come 1 2 on the day of the festival at Tirundvdyi , that they might choose whomsoever they wished, and that he should be anointed with the water of the Perar (big river), that is, the Ponnani river, on the north bank of which Tirurd-vayi stands : Par am Raman likewise gave them the sword of Bhadrakdli 3 tor the protection of the country.

They proceeded to Choyamandalam , the narrative continues, and brought thence a king named Keralan. He was anointed on the day of Puyam, in the month of Kumbham, in the year when the planet Jupiter was in the constellation of the Crab, that is, he was anointed after one of the Tirunavayi Mahamakham 4 festivals, and the ceremony was performed in the royal hall of Vdkayur .5

On him the Brahmans, it is said, conferred the following privileges :c Battle wager, land customs, fines for evasion of ancient usages, riding on elephants, cows with five teats to the udder, cows with three teats to the udder, bulls that have slain men or animals, spotted bulls, tails of tigers slain in hunting, wild pigs that have fallen into wells* regulation of the beds of streams, accretions from the sea, tax on headloads (or, perhaps, trees or fruits of abnormal growth, or, perhaps, the cabbage of palm trees cut down), sea customs, the revenue and charges of all Kerala. They also presented to him the sword of Bhadrakdli, and built him a palace at Trikkata Matilakam.

It is said he reigned for twelve years and then returned to his own country, and on account of his good qualities, it is said, the land received the name of Kerala.

To him succeeded King Pandyan alias Chenaar of the Pandyan Raj. He reigned twelve years and then went back to his own country after settling up accounts with the Brahmans.

Then followed King Choyiyan of the Choya Raj. He also, it is said, ruled twelve years.

The tradition about these three kings is, it will be observed, just a different version, with some local colouring, of the tradition already alluded to above pointing to the probability that the Kerala princes proper were followed in the suzerainty of Malabar b}’ the Cholas and Pdndyas ; only this repetition of

the tradition seems to place the Pandyas' suzerainty as an event prior to that of the Cholas.

The Keralolpatti next proceeds to state that the Brahmans, in order to prevent the king from seizing despotic power, divided the country

1 Vide p. 162.

2 At the Mahamakham festival (vide pp. 162—69) still held at KurabhakOnam, in Tanjore District, every twelfth year, the Ganges in the form of a blooming girl of seventeen years (sometimes still seen by imaginative individuals) is believed to visit a certain tank in that town much bathed in on such occasions.

3 Coni. p. 211.

4 Conf. p. 165.

- Conf. p. 168.

• Conf. p. 169.

TRADITIONARY ANCIENT HISTORY.

into seventeen divisions, and committed the power of control to four gr&mams (Brahman villages), namely, (1) Eiranikk ulam , (2) Iringaiik - kotuf (3) Mushikakulam , and (4) Parappur. Of these four villages, it will be noticed that only one (Parappur) was among the first four villages selected by Parasu Raman. The reason assigned for the supersession of Peiyanur , (or perhaps Panniyur)y Perinchellur and Chengamyur , is that these were too distant from Paravur , or Parappur. The faet, however, is also consistent with the supposition that political reasons had been at work, and the acquisition of independence by the Northern Kolattiris in North Malabar and by the Southern Kolattiris in Travan-core (for which there is a strong tradition) may have led to the withdrawal of the Peiyanur gramam from the list of controlling gramams in North Malabar, and to the non-establishment (a fact which remains to the present day) of any Nambutiri villages to the south of the Quilon river. If, on the other hand, it was the Panniyur . (literally pig village) gramam which wras superseded, that also is explicable on the supposition (for which also there is some extraneous evidence) that there was at one time a diminution 1 2 3 in the influence of the Yaishna-vites (worshippers of the boar incarnation of Vishnu) and an increase in the influence of the Saivites. Kerala was probably stripped of its northern province by the power and influence of the Western Ohalukyas, whose emblem was this same boar incarnation of Vishnu, and the Rashtrakuta or

Ratt'a dynasty in turn with strong Brahmanical and Saivite proclivities superseded the Western Chalukyas and claimed to have conquered Keralam.

The precise time or times when those events occurred will be considered in the next section of this chapter, but meanwhile, as somo additional evidence that political influences were at work, it is necessary to draw attention to the fact that the Keralolpatti next proceeds to describe a new arrangement of the gramams which took place at this time. The thirty-two Tulu gramams (north of the Pcrumpula) were, it is said, " cut off from all connection (or perhaps intermarriage) " with the thirty-two pure Malayali gramams lying to the south of that river, and a fresh distribution of the Malayali gramams themselves took place. The narrative further runs thus : — " The other thirty-two gramams (i.e., those lying to the north of the Perumpula) are composed of those who went away to join the Panchadravidas 2 and returned afterwards. They are called Palantuluvar 3 or Tulunainbis ." 4

1 Coni. pp. 119 & 120. At the present day, the Panniyur (pig village) Brahmans are considered not to be entitled to recite the Veda*.

2 Literally five Dravidas , which usually refers to the five chief Dravidian dialects — Tamil, Telugu, Canarese, Malay&lam and Tulu. Had the word in the text been thr " Fifth Dravidas," i.e., the Tulus, the meaning would have been clear.

3 Literally ancient Tulus.

- Literally Tulu Vauhnavat.

Some time after this, so the tradition runs, the Brahmans brought from the East Coast from Banapuram 1 a king whom they called Bana 1 2 Perumdl. He was installed at Allur, i.e., Kodungallur (Cranganore). It* was during his reign that the Mappillas came and gave an account to him of the greatness of their religion. The Perumal, it is said, was convinced, and embraced the Muhammadan [or Baudha (sir)] faith. He sent for the Brahmans and said to them : " Everybody in this Malanad (hill country, Malabar) must embrace this way (religion). 1 " The Brahmans were embarrassed and could not eat with comfort owing to the defilement of the choultries. It is said they finally persuaded the Perumal to allow them an opportunity of controversy with the exponents of the new religion, agreeing that the party which was worsted in the encounter should have their tongues cut out. The Mappillas, it is said, were defeated and the Perumal cut out the tongues of those who remained and expelled them from the kingdom. Somewhat inconsistently, however, the narrative runs that the Perumal himself did not revert to Hinduism and after a reign of four years he proceeded to Mecca, " saying that since he believed

in the Mappilla faith he had no other way of obtaining salvation" ; and one account of him winds up thus u The Baudkas (Mappillas) say that Cheraman Perumdl went to Mecca and not to heaven. That was not Cheraman Perumdl, but this Pallibana Perumdl 2 (king of Kerala) ; Cheraman Perumdl did indeed go to heaven. He was the fifth after four kings had reigned."

Notwithstanding, however, the assertion in the text, it will be seen presently that the tradition about the conversion of this Baudha (alias Mappilla) Perumal fits in accurately with the little that is known of the real Cheraman Perumal, and these traditions themselves, it will be seen, have assigned to him his proper place in history as having reigned subsequently to the partial disruption of the ancient Chera kingdom alluded to above.

The Keralolpatti then proceeds as follows : — " The Brahmans went to other countries and brought Tulubhan Perumdl from the northern country." He fixed his residence, it is said, in the gramam of Kotisvaram ,3 and it was he that gave his name to the Tulunad (Canara). He is said to have reigned six years and to have died.

Indra Perumdl was next, it is stated, sent for and made king. He

1 Q'*ery- — The Mahavali dynasty of kings was also called the Bana dynasty. Ia Banapuram another name for Mamallaipuram (the Seven Pagodas near Madras), and did this Perum&l belong to the Mahavali dynasty ?

2 Thi3 Muhammadan Perum&l must have lived subsequently to the seventh century A.D. when the Muhammadan religion was founded, and if, as the text says, Cheraman Perumdl was the fifth of his successors, it follows that Cheraman Perumdl must have lived after the seventh century A.D., whereas further on it will be seen, the text says, he went to heaven in the fourth or fifth century A.D. All the specific dates mentioned in the text are worthless.

2 This gr&mam Lay in South Canara.

lived at the big palace (Kdvilagam = king's house) at Allur1 (Kodun-gallur, Cranganore). He reigned, aided by the councillors, it is said, of the four representative Brahman villages, for a period of twelve years, and then went away to the east, leaving orders to appoint another king.

Arya Perumal was brought from Aryapuram and installed. He, it is said, inspected the whole of the country and arranged 2 3 4 * it into four divisions or provinces, viz. : —

1. 7Ww«ountry, from Gdkamam to Perumpula.

2. Kerala ,8 9 from Perumpula to Putuppaftanam.

3. Mmhika 4 oountry, from Putuppaftanam to Kannetti.

4. Kuvala 5 country, from Kannetti to Cape Comorin.

He is further said to have arranged it into seventeen nads or counties, and each nad into eighteen kandams or portions. He also, it is said, organised the country into desams (territorial military units) and named them.

He reigned with the aid of the councillors of the representative Brahman villages, and at the end of five (or twelve) years " the gods let down their chariot from the heavens, in which the Perumal went in a royal procession to heaven " to the great sorrow of the Brahmans.

They, however, next sent for Kannan Perumal " from the east country." He is said to have built a " king's house " at Kundivaka near Kannetti.6 * He reigned four (or twelve) years and went away to his country.

Then Kotti Perumal was sent for and crowned as king. He lived at Kotti kollatn 7 for one year and died.

To him succeeded, it is said, Mata Perumal who reigned for eleven (or twelve) years and then thought of building a fort, so he sent for his younger brother Eli Perumal ,8 i.e, the Perumal of Mount Deli, and went away to his country.

This Eli Perumal 8 built, it is said, the Mdtayeli 9 fort, and after reigning twelve years he either died or went away to his native country.

Komban Perumal was next sent for, and it is said he lived for three

1 To the present day this place lies in the Native State of Cochin.

2 Another version says the division took place in the reigns of the two Perumftls last above mentioned as icell as in this Perumal's reign (. Ind . Ant. IX, 78). This version of the tradition materially helps the suggestions made further on in the text.

3 N.B. — Kera}a here acquires a very restricted meaning, and corresponds precisely to what was the dominion of the North Kolattiris in historical times.

4 N.B. — This Province was in the previous distribution called Kerala.

- N.B. — This Province was in the previous distribution called Mushika.

4 In Travancore.

1 Conf. pp. 157-58. The assertion that this place was the modern Calicut (Ind. Ant. IX, 78) seems to be ritere conjecture.

8 Conf. p. 6.

9 Note This is probably the original spelling of Mdddyi, the third most ancient of tha kings houses of the Northern Kdlattiris. It is in the immediate vicinity of Palayangidi referred to in the notice of the Tftliparamba River (ante p. 10). | Col. Yule, in " Marco Polo,' has a note (II, pp. 375-76) on the various spellings of Mdddyi.

years and six months in tents or in camp on the hanks of the Neytara river, another name for the Valarpattanam river1 (ante p. TO).

Then came Vijayan Perumal , who built the fort at Vijayan kollam.2 He reigned for twelve years and went away to his country, leaving orders to appoint another king.

The Brahmans, it is said, next sent for Valabhan Perumal " from the eastern country " and made him king of Kerala.3 He is said to have consecrated gods and built a fort on the banks of th Neytara 4 river (Valarpattanam river). The fort (ante p. 11) received the name of Valarbhattu Kotta , and he appointed this as the hereditary residence of the future kings of Kerala.3 He reigned for eleven years and died.

Harischandra Perumal was next brought. He is said to have built a fort on the top of the Purali hill in Kottayam taluk.4 5 It was, however, haunted 6 7 8 by forest deities, and men could not, it is said, safely go there and speak to the king. After reigning a few years, he is said to have disappeared.

Then Malian Perumal was sent for. He built the fort of Nalluru-mallan in the Mushika 7 province, and after a reign of twelve years went away to his country.

The next Perumal was Kulasekhara Perumal 8 from the Pandyan country. He built his king's house in the Mushika Province, introduced Kshatriya families, and organised the country, it is said, into small chieftainships to protect it against the Mappillas. He is also credited with having introduced the study of sciences into the Malayali country, for the Malayali Brahmans were, it is said, ignorant of sciences up to this time. In this he was assisted by a person styled Udhayatungan, also called the chetti (foreign merchant), who endowed the

teacher of science, Prabhdkara Gurukkal , with land sowing 5,00u kalams (bushels) of seed. The Perumal's gift was of land sowing, it is said, 7,000 kalams . " Kulasekhara Perumal reigned for eighteen years and went to heaven with his body " in the Purudisamasrayam year of the Kaliyuga, or in A.D. 333, 9 so it is said. The Bhagavati temple at Tiruvanjakkulam

1 In North Malabar.

1 This place is subsequently mentioned in the text as being near KdnyarUt (Cassergode) river in tve Malayali portion of the South Canara District.

3 y.B. _ Kerala it will be noted had now according to the text the restricted meaning

of the territory lying between the Perumpula river and Putuppaftanam, that is, the dominion of the Northern Kalattxrii, North Malabar in fact.

4 In North Malabar.

8 In North Malabar.

8 This tradition still survives. .

7 That is, South Malabar, Cochin, and North Travancore, according to the distribution

8 N.B.— This is still one of the titles of the Mahftrftjfts of Travanccre, the Southern

Kslattxria.

9 H0te. — Considering that Muhammad himself was the date mentioned is obviously incorrect, if, as stated, against the M&ppijlas.

born only in the 7th century A.P., this Perum&l organised the country

(near Cranganore) is also said to have come into existence in the same year.

And here it will be as well to pause to consider who these Perumala were, who are said to have succeeded to the Muhammadan Pallihana Perumal in the manner above related. It has already been set forth above (ante pp. 72, 157-158) that there are two well-known places called Kollam1 — one in North Malabar and one in Travancore — that there are two Kollam erasnn use in the Malayali countries, and that the northern Kollam era began on

25th August 825 A.D. There is further extrinsic evidence (ante p. 196) that at or about this very time a king of Malabar, stated by the Mappillas to have been Cheraman Perumal, whom all — Hindus and Muhammadans alike — regard as having been the last of the kings of Kerala, embraced Muhammadanism, went to Arabia, and died at Zaphar , where his tomb is still to be seen. Further, there is reason to think that this date, 25th August 825, was the day of the Onam festival, when it was, and still is, customary for dependents to visit their suzerains and to do acts of homage either in person or by deputy to them, and this of all days in the year would be the day for a vassal to proclaim his independence of his suzerain. It is not therefore an improbable suggestion that this was the day on which the Southern Kolattiris and possibly also the Northern branch broke away, possibly under the pressure of foreign influences, or possibly out of disgust at Cheraman PerumaVs perversion to Islam, from their allegiance to the last of the Kerala Perumals.

And again, for reasons which will be set forth further on, it may perhaps be guessed that the Northern Kolattiris had not up to this time attained to the dignity of a separate dynasty, whereas their cousins of the south, the Southern Kolattiris (Travancore), had, as the Jews and Syrians' deeds show, been a distinct ruling family for some time.

It is a noteworthy circumstance in this connection that even now-adays the Travancore Maharajas on receiving the sword at their coronations have still to declare 2 : — " I will keep this sword until the uncle who has gone to Mecca returns."

The use of this phrase would seem to point to another solution of the problem, namely, that the Southern Kolattiris only assumed indepen-

1 Note. — It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that the Kolattiris were really originally the Kollattiris, i.e., chiefs of the countries lying round the two Kollamt. Kollam is only an abbreviated form of Koyilagam or Kdvilagam , which word means " King's house." The word Kollam is also applied to many other places where there were " King's houses," e.g. Kodungallur or Cranganore. It may be objected that the Northern Kolattiris never held sway about North Kollam which lies to the south of Putuppattanam on the Kbtta River, usually assigned as the North Kolattunad southern limit, but this is rendered doubtful by the fact that down to the present day N&yar women from North Malabar may not pass to the south of the Ellattur river. All to the north of this latter river, including North Kollam, was probably at first the dominion of the North Kolattiris.

1 Mateer's "Native* Life in Travancore." London 1883, p. 121.

dence after the Perumal had left the country, and then only on the understanding that it was to be laid aside directly he returned. There is more in favor of this view than the former, for it renders it easier to understand how the writs obtained by Sheikh-ibn-Dinar and his family from Cheraman Perumal obtained 1 ready acceptance and recognition at the hands of the various chieftains whose territories they visited with a view* to the propagation of Islam.

Whichever of these views is correct, it will he noted that the principal actors on the Malayali stage after the flight or pilgrimage of the Muhammadan Pallibana Perumal ought to be the North and South branches of the Kolattiris and the other chiefs who attained independence in consequence of the Perumal's flight, and if the traditions contained in the Keralolpatti are correct, they ought, after relating the disappearance of the convert to Islam, to go on to describe the chiefs who at this time attained to independence : nor does this test fail, for it will be seen from the details given above that the Perumals described as having reigned after Pallibana Perumal are either the North or South Kolattiris or the Tulu or Cochin chiefs. The name " Kerala " even undergoes a change, and instead of meaning the whole of the land between Gokarnam and Cape Comorin it comes at this time to signify merely North Mulabar, i.e ., Kolattunady the kingdom of the Northern Kolattiris.

In his review of the Kerala Mdhatmyam, Dr. Grundert observed 2 : _

The intention of the Purana is evidently to describe Kerala as being first under the rule of the united Travancore and Kolattiri dynasty, the sway of which, being contracted by foreign aggression in the north, paved the way for the independent rule of the Kolattiri branch." This view it will be seen has much in common with what is set forth above, but it is more probable that the circumstances which finally led to the independence of the Kolattiris (or perhaps Kollattiris) were those detailed in what follows iu the text.

The natural view to take of the text seems to be that two traditions — one probably a pure Brahman tradition, and the other a more popular tradition — have become mixed up, that Pallibana Perumal was really Cheraman Perumal , and that the Perumals who are recorded in the manner just set forth to have succeeded Pallibana Perumal were in reality the petty dynasties among whom Cheraman Perumal divided his dominions, in the manner to be presently described, before he set out on his pilgrimage to Arabia.

The Keralolpatti after recording the death of Kulasekhara Perumal proceeds to describe over again the organisation of the Brahmans into an arms-bearing caste in order to protect the country. It is said eight and-a-half of the gramams took up arms, and were subsequently joined by two others, and it is

recorded that seventy-two chiefs of one of the

1 Pages 193-195.

*“M.J.L.S., XIJJ, ii, 97.

four selected villages fell in battle, but when, or where, or how, is not stated. One person each from two others of the selected gramams are also stated to have fallen in fight. In these cases the names and the date of the month on’ which they fell are preserved, chiefly, it is presumed, because death ceremonies had to be performed for them once a year ever afterwards. These armed Brahmans or protectors had, it is said, four chief things to attend to, viz. : —

(!) To assemble to consult about Government affairs.

1. To assemble for play.

2. Sankha Lakshanam, which literally means the characteristic

mark of assembly, whatever that may have been.

To these three, which the protectors had from the beginning, was added —

1. Authority to fix the flag at Tirundtayi , i.e., presumably at

the Mahamakham festival held there every twelfth year.

Regarding the above organisation it seems probable that an attempt was made to form some of the Brahmans into a military caste, but it is impossible at present to say when this occurred or what was the occasion for it. That it ever supplied the place of a ruling king in the country is inconsistent with established facts and is, from the account given of the institution, also incredible.

Having dealt with this institution, the Keralolpatti proceeds as follows : — “ After the country had been thus governed by the Brahmans of the sixty-four gramams and the P cranial’ for a short period, the sixty-four gramams assembled at Tnkkdriyur1 2 temple, consulted and resolved as follows: — ‘’This state of things wrill not do. The country will be lacking in the administration of justice. The Brahmans will have to leave the country and go away. A king is wanted.’ They went to the eastern country, obtained an interview with Anakundi Krishna Rayar, and after making various agreements with him asked him to send a king for Koralam to rule for every

twelve years. (3 He accordingly sent Perumal, the first king, and then Pdndi Perumal to rule for twelve years, and after their reigns were ended) he sent the Kshatriya, Cheraman Perumal.

“ They sat in the palace of Trikkanyur for the ceremony of coronation. Then the Brahmans of sixty-four gramams gave him an Anaya - fittu ” (a kind of writ) to rule Kerala, the land 160 Kdtam (leagues) in length, and authorised him to rule as sole Emperor, giving him flowers and water. (4 Thus Cheraman Perumal obtained the country of Kerala ,

1 The military organisation of the Brahmans seems by this to have occurred during the reign of one of the Perumals.

2 Or, as another copy says, “assembled in full at the sandy island of Tirunavdyi ” (ante p. 162).

the passage within brackets is a variation in the text. Tt seems to be an incomplete version of a tradition about the predecessors of Chn amin Penmttt.

- Variation in the text.

160 Kdtam (leagues) in length, with water. That Kali year was Swargasandehaprapyam 1 (A.D. 428).”

The Anakundi Krishna Rayar mentioned can be no other than the well known (puppet?) King of Vijayanagar, who flourished in the early part of the sixteenth century A.D. ; and the statement that a Perumal nominated by him came to Kerala in A.D. 428 is sufficiently absurd. This date, like the others already mentioned, is worthless, and the allusion to Krishna Rayar of Vijayanagar must also be inaccurate, since he lived in the first century after the Portuguese arrival, and the account which follows of the partition of Kerala among the existing families of Rajas by a Perumal of his nomination is palpably erroneous.

It is said that Cheraman Perumal after inspecting the country found that Trikkariyur, Tirundvayi and Valarppattanam fort were holy places, and of the eighteen seaports (literally , entrances to the deep), he selected that at Tiruvanchalimukham , and there erected the temple of Tiruvanchakkulam .1 2

At the end of twelve years the Brahmans being pleased with him determined, it is said, to set at nought the injunction of Krishna Rayar that the Perumal was to reign for only twelve years, and they accordingly made him reign for another twelve years.

They next wished to have a race of good Kshatriyas in Kerala, so they sent for a u Surya Kshatriya " woman, and to her two sons weˆe assigned, respectively, the Mushika 3 country and the Tulunad 3 country.

It is not said that this was a wife of Cheraman Perumal , but on the contrary it is stated that the sons were the sons of a Brahman and

v

of the Kshatriya woman after the fashion current now-a-days in the Malay ali Rajas' families. This tradition relates, as will be seen presently, to the Cochin Raja's family. The woman was probably a sister or other near relative, natural or adopted, of Cheraman Perumal; and in corroboration of what is here stated the J ews, in connection with their copper-plate grant, explain the absence of the Cochin Raja's name from the list of witnesses to the deed by asserting that he was Chdraman PerumdVs heir.

Then follows an account of three women (one Kshatriya and two Sudra), strangers from some northern land being stranded in a boat on Mount Deli. Cheraman Perumal took all of them to wife apparently, and on the descendants of the Kshatriya woman he conferred the title

1 Literally , "He went to heaven with his body." The value of the chronogram is 1,288,734 days of the Kali Yuga.

2 The temple at Kodungallur (Cranganore), but see ante p. 230, for another account of this temple.

i Mushika here seems to mean the province between Putuppaltanam and Kannetti and Tulunad, the country north of the Perumpula. This partition between the two sons of this woman is commented on further down.

of Elibhupan (king of Eli) with " heirdom to the kingdom," and he built for her the Elott king's house at the foot of Elimala (Mount Deli).

This tradition relates undoubtedly to the Northern Kolattiri family, the second most ancient seat of the family having been at this particular king's house under Mount Deli.

The descendants of the other two (the Sudra) women became, respectively, the ancestresses of the Nerpatt and Chulali dynasties.

These families became the chief feudatories of the Northern Kolattiris. The

Chulali dynasty apparently protected the trade 1 route between Coorg and the Kolattiri s' dominion which passed through Srikandapuram or Jarfattan , where one of the original Muhammadan mosques, as already related, was built. If it is a correct tradition that the Chulali family is descended from Chcramun Pcnimal , it was a very natural thing for the Perumal to include among the letters given to Sheikh-ibn-Dinar one addressed to the Chulali family ; and the building of the mosque at such an apparently out-of-the-way spot becomes in this light intelligible.

Another remark deserves to be here recorded, for these traditions explain a very powerful influence which was, and it may be added still is, always at work tending to the disintegration of Malayali families and Malayali inheritances. A Malayali king's natural heirs were his sister's or aunt's or female cousin's children. His own children were the heirs not of their father but of their mother. But from natural affection a suitable provision would always be made for the mother of the king's children and her offspring ; and this provision often took the shape of a grant of territory. It was undoubtedly thus that the dominions of the Northern Kolattiris became so curtailed in extent. The Kadattundd family thus acquired the portion of their dominions which used at one time to be under the Tcklce Ilankur, or Southern Regent of Kolattundd , with head-quarters at Putuppattanam , and the Keralolpatti explains how the Nilesvaram dynasty holding the Malayali portion of South Canara sprang from a matrimonial alliance between a prince of the Kolattiris and a lady of the Zamorin's house.

The more powerful the family of the lady was the more likelihood there was of the provision for her leading to the founding of a dynasty and to its semi-independence of the male parent stock. It is not at all improbable therefore that the Northern Kolattiris are descended from a matrimonial alliance between the last of the Iverala Perumals and a lady of the stock of the great southern feudatory, the Travancore (South Kolattiri) Rajas. The two families have always observed pollution, when deaths occurred in their respective houses, and, as matter of fact, the southern family would have ceased to exist long ago but for the adoption of heirs on several occasions from the northern family.

Srikandapuram is in the Chulali amsam of Chirakkal taluk. It is railed in the Ktrn. Mpatti Sira»patt<uuun (S. 7. Part 2). which i6 not far from the Ja‚jntto„ of the Arabs.

In all probability a fresh adoption will have to be made in the course of the next few years.

This solution of the problem, while in strict accordance with the text,

supplies a sufficient answer to the question why the Northern Kdlattiri was not, while his cousin of the south was, a witness to the copper-plate grants whereby the J ews and Christians obtained extensive privileges from two of the Perumals in the eighth century A.D.

This absence of the name of the North Kolattiri from the list of witnesses to these deeds led Dr. Gundert to conjecture1 that the North Kolattiri was, at the dates of their execution, independent of the Perumal, but so far as evidence is yet forthcoming there is nothing to show that the North Kolattiri dynasty had a separate existence in the eighth century A.D ; and it will be seen that the Muhammadan story about the introduction 2 of Islam into Malabar renders it probable that the last of the Perumals had sufficient influence over the North Kolattiri to induce him to grant a site for a mosque at Maday: and to endow the institution. This would not have been a very probable occurrence had the North Kolattiri been, for perhaps a century and-a-half previously, as Dr. Gundert conjectured, independent of the Perumals altogether.

Cheraman Perumal , the text goes on to say, encouraged merchants, and invited Jonaka 3 Mappillas (Muhammadans) to the country. In particular he invited 4 a Muhammadan and his wife to come from his native land of Aryapuram and installed them at Kannanur (Cannanore). The Muhammadan was called Alt Raja , that is, lord of the deep, or of the sea.

ChSramdn Perumal had reigned for thirty-six years when Krishna Rayar, it is said, sent an expedition to subdue the country and enforce his commands.

Another version of the text says that it was not Analcundi Krishna Rayar but a Pandyan king who invaded the country in Cheraman Perumal's time : and the reason for the expedition is said to have been that the Perumal himself came from the Chola country, and the Pandyan was jealous of the growth of the Chola influence in Kerala. The Pandyan, it is said, ascended the Anamala mountains, descended through the forests on Kerala, and built a fort in the Tarazu) country.

To drive back the invaders Cheraman Perumal , it is said, employed Prince Utaya Varmman of the Karippatt 5 king's house, his son by the Kshatriya women r.and he also sent for Manichchan and Vikhiran of

1 M.S.L.S., XIII, Part I.

2 Ante p. 194.

2 Vule foot-note p. 191.

- There are other traditions about the origin of the family of the Chief of C annanore and of the Laccadive Islands, which will ho alluded to further on.

- This is the earliest of the seats of the North KtUttiru. It lies in AunoxmaUu,

Amsum in Chirakkal taluk.

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Puntura' or, according to another version, these noble youths while on a pilgrimage came to Tirundvdyi , where the Perumal was residing after having sustained a defeat in battle. He was apparently even contemplating a flight in boats when assured by the youths that they would take the fort.

So the expedition was organised and despatched under the Puntura youths. It is unnecessary to relate the events of the campaign, as they are all more or less of a mythical character and include the mention of the use of fire-arms and cartridges ! ! The battle lasted for three days, and the result was, it is said, that the Rayar evacuated his fort, and it was seized by the Perumal's troops. It is also related that the well known body of Nayars, the Ten Thousand of Pdlanad (country about Calicut), were specially selected by the Puntura youths and miraculously marked by them with a vulture's quill. They distinguished themselves greatly on the occasion and earned, it is said, the reward of being stationed in the best district of the kingdom.

It is known from the Jews' and Syrians' deeds that the Zamorin's family had attained the dignity of Utayavarioi at least a century before the dawn of the Kollam era ; the tradition then, which makes the Perumal summon the boys from school, as one version relates, to lead his army, is apochryphal unless indeed there is here to be found the real tradition of the founding of the family some considerable time previously to the reign of the last of the Perumals. It is not at all unlikely that a battle against invaders coming via Anamala , that is, through the Palghat gap, did take place, and the gallantry of the ancestors of the Zamorin brought them on that occasion into favorable notice, but it must have been on an occasion long prior to the beginning of the Kollam era.

Again it is noteworthy that the North Kolattiri, whose name is also mentioned, seems to have played no paid in the campaign conducted by the Puntura youths, although, as said above, the Perumal had selected him to drive back the invaders. But this is accounted for if it be supposed that Kerala was threatened from two sides simultaneously — from the north rid the coast, and from the east via the Palghat gap — and it may be added that, as

the Keralolpatti itself says, invasions became frequent, and invaders apparently did come from both directions about this time. The North Kolattiri may possibly have reconquered for the Perumal the Malayali territory (North Malabar) which from the first description of the limits of Kerala (ante p. 224) seems to have been previously lost to the latter. The " heirdom to the kingdom" conferred on him by the Perumal may have subsequently led to the designation of Kolattunad as Kerala (ante p. 229) ; but how'ever this may be, it is pretty certain that the North Ko/attiris had the duty assigned

1 Pintnrakkˆn (King of Puntura) is still one of the titles of the Zamorin Maharaj & Pahadur ot Calicut, and his official title is Mdnutikratnan, a compound of the names mentioned in the text.

to them of protecting the north of the PerumaPs domain, just as their cousins of the south (Travancore) had already for some generations been guarding the southern passes.

" At the time of this successful war " continues the Keralolpatti, " there was born as the son (or incarnation) of Mahddevan (Siva) a celebrated genius. It was he who was afterwards known as Samkara - charyar ." And the text goes on to give one of the versions of his life which have already been summarised. 1 He is further stated to have laid down laws for the guidance of the Malayali Brahmans in all the ordinary business of life, as well as for the Sudras and other classes. The Sudras (Naifdrs) were told off to " battle, hunting, service, guard, con, and escort. It is also incidentally mentioned that subsequently to the reign of Mayuravarmman in Malayalam, or, as another version has it in Toulavam , i.e., the Tulu province (South Canara), the Rajas were in the habit of adopting the suffix of Varmman or Sarmman to their names. The text next diverges into a general account of the Malayali castes and mentions among other facts that the Chinese were among the merchant immigrants, as also were " the men of round hats (/)■" of whom there were four castes, viz. 1. Parinki (Portuguese), 2. Lantd (Dutch), 3. Parintinss (French), and 4. Inkiriss (English). The various castes, including apparently the " round-hatted " Europeans, are said to have been told off to their various functions in the State by Samkardcharyar himself. The text runs : " Thus Sankaracharyar laid down the rules to be observed by the seventy -two classes/' and he is said to have solemnly proclaimed the same *« on the day next after the Mahamakham which occurred in the month of Kumhham in the year of the cycle of Jupiter when he was in the sign of the Crab."

This account of Samkardcharyar , which makes him a contemporary of the last of the Perumals, is interesting, because, as a matter of fact, the tradition

on the point is probably correct. The last Perumal, for reasons stated, probably left Kerala on his voyage to Arabia on or shortly after the 25th of August 825 A.D., and the latest authority 1 for Samkara-charyar' s date places it at 788 — 820 A.D. As the last Perumal is understood to have reigned for thirty-six years, it follows that he was a contemporary of the " gracious teacher."

The mention of Mayuravarmman' s name is also important, as it was he who, according to other extraneous traditions to be noticed shortly, first introduced Vedic Brahmans into Kerala. The time when this occurred will be noticed further on, but it is important to observe that the tradition is that he was ruler of the Tulunad (Canara) Province only.

The Keralolpatti next proceeds to detail the division made of the Malayali Provinces by Cheraman Perumal : " While Cheramdn Perumal was thus ruling the kingdom independently he thought as follows : —

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' This country was given as a poured-out gift by Parasu Raman to the Brahmans. I have enjoyed it for so many years. How am I to expiate that sin ?' He* consulted several Sastris (selected Brahmans). They informed him the expiation was not to be found in the six Sastras and three Vedas sftid that the remedy must be sought for in the fourth Veda." 1 Then it goes on to relate how the Perumal wished to punish his minister for a fault which strangely reminds one of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. The minister was miraculously saved, it is said, by being taken straight up to heaven, and his last words were to the " Ten Thousand" to " do his office of body guard." The name of the minister was Patamalandyar2 and therefore he was a Sudra (. Nayar). As he was ascending to heaven the Perumal asked him : " How can I attain eternal bliss ?" and the reply of the minister was that he should join the Muhammadans, go to Mecca, and there he would through the efficacy of the fourth Veda attain half bliss.

This version of the tradition contains what was a sufficient reason for the secrecy of the Perumal's final departure as related by the Muhammadans. The Perumal had evidently for some reason entertained suspicions of the loyalty of the " Ten Thousand " — of the body guard, that is to say. He seems to have put the chief of that corps to death, and it was incumbent on the survivors, by the old established custom of Kudippaka 3 (blood feud), to seek his death in return.

Another tradition is that the Perumal' s final dispute was with the Brahmans as they were bathing in the holy water on the day of Maha-makham .4 It

related to the Vedas, and it is said that, being offended, the Perumal determined to go to Mecca with the Mappillas [Bauddhas (««)]•

Whatever the immediate moving cause was, the Perumal, it is said, determined to partition his dominions among his friends and relatives. “ Between Gokarnam and Cape Comorin , within Kannetti 5 and Putuppat-tanam, there lie on the south Changalappuratta port, and on the north Putuppattanam 5 port, on the east the eighteen mountain passes, on the west the eighteen entrances to the deep. Between these and the four comers, north-west, north-east, south-east, and south-west, lies the country of Cheraman 5 6 (Parasu Raman’s land) 160 Kdtam in extent. The adjoining five countries are Pandi, Kongu , Tulu, Yayandd, Punnad

1 Vide p. 191. The fourth Veda is the Koran.

- Fata — warfare, Mala =: hill, and Nayar ~ caste of fighting men.

3 Vide p. 169. The Nayar hostages on board Vasco da Garna’s ships, when warned of the fate which awaited them because of the Zamorin’s having treacherously detained da Gama on shore, replied : — “ Yes, that there they were, and if any harm were done to the Ambassador on shore, the Portuguese might cut off their heads if they pleased, for they were men who had brothers and relations on shore, who would revenge their deaths even

upon the person of the King.” (Correa).

- Vide p. 162.

6 N.B.— Cheraman’ t country by this description excluded the dominions of the two Kolattiris.

MAT.ARAR DISTRICT.

2 tO

“ In this country of Cheramdn , Utayamrmman Kolattiri was made Perumdl of the north (Crowned King and Lord of Kerala) ; Kolattiri was then crowned. The two barons of Kolattiri , namely, the two Nambi-yars, Chulanna (Chulali) Kammal and Nerpetta Kammal , were each given twelve Kdtann (leagues) of territory and 12,000 Nˆyars. Cheramdn , then blessed Utayavar mman and said to him : 1 2 ‘If I return you shall be Ilankuru (heir apparent), if I don’t return you shall have Cheramdn’* crown (chief authority).’ Then in the south to the Vendtatikal 2 (of Kulasekhara’j dynasty) were appointed 350,000 3 Nayars armed to serve him in the Omana new king’s house (on the right hand side of the fort at Kalkkulam) and territorial kingly authority (over Omnad

and Venandd). Cheramdn said to him : '-You must assist Kolattiri and expend money,' and he appointed him ruler4 (Vdluvdn) of the Kuvala kingdom. Then to the Surya Kshatriya he gave fifty-two Katarn (leagues) of territory, many (fighting) men, eighteen barons, and forty-two (or seventy-two) ministers, and conferred on him the title of Perimpatapp. 5 . . . (His younger 6 brother Kavisimhaveru was appointed to protect the Tulunad, and was given kingly authority to the north of the Perimpula. Four chiefs were ordered to support him, viz., Parampar (Bangar of Nandavar) Ajalar (Ajilar) Savittar (Chantar of Mudubidri) and Samantareru (Samau - tar of Hulukki). The text then goes on to say that donations of territory, &c., were given to the Poraldtiri of Polanad , to Kurumbardtiri (or Kiirumbiyatiri), (to the Raja of Kollam)7 to the Raja of Pantalam lying between Venandd and Omnad, to the Parappur , and Vettatt , and Kdyankulatt Cherayi dynasties. To Valhwakkonattiri he assigned a ndd (or county) and the privilege of conducting the Mahdmakham 8 festival at Tirunavdyi. He is said to have conferred on the Valluva Konattiri the title of Arangattu 9 or Arangdttur .9

Under this arrangement the Zamorin was left out in the cold, so, it is said, that as the Perumal was about to set sail for Mecca, the survivor,

1 Compare the declaration which the Maharajas of Travancore have to make at their coronations (ante p. 231).

2 The Travancore Maharaja.

3 The same number were assigned to the North Kolattiri.

4 It is beyond doubt that the Travancore Chiefs were Utayavar (the same word as the Woddear , &c., of Coorg, Mysore, &c.) of the south long before the last Perumal's time. See also the declaration which the Maharajas still have to make at their coronations (ante p. 231).

5 This is still one of the titles of the Raja of Cochin.

6 From another version.

7 That is, north Kollam {ante p. 72). This occurs in one version of the text, and it is probably an interpolation to suit subsequently existing facts, and indeed much of what is here stated seems to be in the same case, for the only Malabar Utayavar families mentioned in the Jews' and Syrians' deeds are the Zamorins, the Valluvanad and the Palghat Rajas.

8 Ante p. 162.

9 The title was in use before the last Perumal's reign. The Valluvanad Raja

was thus designated in the Jews' and Syrians' deeds. The name literally signifies the chief of the ndd or district lying across (angdttu) the river (dr) from the Penunal's palace at Kodungallur, i.e., the district north of the PonnAni River.

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according to one version, of the two Puntura youths, one (Manichan) having fallen in battle, went to the Perumal, who told him he had already divided his kingdom, that there were left only one De&am so small that a cock 1 crowing could be heard all over it, also one bit of thorny 2 jungle, that he could give him these, and that he was sorry he had not come sooner. The Puntura youth, it is said, agreed to take this insignificant gift accompanied, as it was said to be, with the Perumal's sword,3 and with the advice to " die, and kill, and seize " and to make himself master of all the Malandd. The Perumal gave the territory and the sword with water, and one version says he gave the sword to Mdnichchan and the water to Vikkraman , both being alive and present. The Zamorin was forbidden, it is said, to go to war with either the North or South Kdlattiris , but he might go to war with the other chiefs.

The Perumal, it is further said, distributed territory among other petty chiefs and feudal lordships among others. He is also said to have appointed four men (named) to commit the laws and customs to writing, and they met at the Mahamakham festival on the day of Puyam, in the month of Magaram, when Jupiter was in Cancer.

" After doing all this the Perumal left the sandy island of Tirunavayi with the people of the Veda and descended from a ship at Kodungallur harbour and entered the palace of Kodungallur with a view to proceed to Mecca {Cheraman embarked for Mecca with the people of the Veda) It was in the Kali 4 year [" Cheraman desaprapyah "] " (A.D. 355). Then follows the Mappilla version of the story, as already summarised,5 but with the addition that the ship in which he sailed was pursued by other ships and it was only by fighting hard that he escaped.

The proper light in which to regard these last traditions is undoubtedly to view them as a repetition of the traditions already commented on, which detail how various Tulu and North and South Kolattiri Perumals succeeded to the Muhammadan convert Pallibana Perumal. Cheraman Perumal may safely be taken as identical with Pallibana Perumal, the traditions about the latter being from a Brahman point

1 Allusion is here made to the popular derivation of the name of Calicut Koli

(fowl) and Eottu (a corner or empty space) or Kdtta (a fort.)

- Perhaps a salt swamp was intfended if the thorny hush referred to was the water-holly (chulli) so common in the salt marshes.

3 The frontispiece to this volume is an engraving from a sketch of this weapon, as still preserved by the Zamorins. The blade is rusted to the scabbard, and the whole of the weapon, which is 3 feet 2 inches in length, has been carefully coated with a copper covering to preserve the original. It is daily decorated with flower wreaths. The weapon used

to play an important part at the Mahamakham festival at Tirunavayi (ante p. 162 _ 69),

and it was in all probability the weapon which the Perumals used on the occasions of the occurrence of the assembly every twelfth year of the people at that festival. It may have been the sword of Bhadrakali referred to (ante p. 226).

1 Like the other dates already mentioned, this is evidently a random guess, nowhere near the truth. Moreover it is contradicted by the last date mentioned above.

4 Ante p. 192.

of view, while those about the former are from the point of view of the common people.

The exclusion of the domains of the two Kolattins or Kollattiris from the kingdom of the Perumal, and yet his having granted territory to them before leaving for Mecca is probably to be explained oy the fact of his having conferred the " heirdom to the kingdom," i.fi.y future independence of future Perumals, on the North Kdlattiris , and of his having conferred somewhat similar authority on those of the South. Their independence may have been recognized before the Perumal sailed for Arabia. The dates on the Zaphdr tombstone record the Perumal's arrival at that place as having happened some time after the Koljam era commenced, and it has been already suggested {ante, p. 19G) that he may have spent at sea and at Shahr Mokulla , where he first landed, the interval that elapsed between the date on which he set sail (presuming that date to have been the initial day of the north Kollam era) and the date recorded on the tomb of his arrival at Zaphdr. But it is equally probable that he did not sail till some time after having partitioned his dominions in the way described, and the initial day or days of the Kollam eras may have been the day or days on which he conferred the " heirdom of the kingdoms " on the two Kolattiris or Kollattiris. It is in favor of this view

that the tradition regarding the partition by himself of his own kingdom is so strong.

The tradition about the grants of territory to the Perimpatapp (Cochin) and Tulundd Rajas, the sons of the Surya Kshatriya woman, presumably a sister or female relative, natural or adopted, of the Perumal, is merely a repetition of the tradition already commented on above (ante, p. 232). This tradition throws some light on the Muhammadan story about the introduction of Islam, for if the Perumal's dominion extended only from Putuppattanam to Kannetti as related, it is difficult to understand how the Perumal's letters should have obtained for the Muhammadans such a favorable reception at Mangalore, Barkur, and Kdnydrott (Cassergode) which all lie in South Canara.

At the same time of course this tradition that the Perumal assigned the Tulunad to one of the brothers is inconsistent with the tradition, already commented on, that prior to this Perumars reign the Tulunad had been definitely severed from the Kerala kingdom. It may be suggested that a connection, either natural or adoptive, existed between the Perumal and the Tulu king. After Mayura Varmmans time it will be noted the Perumfils are said to have adopted the suffixes of Vannman and Sarmman to their titles. The first authentic instance of the use of such a surname by a Perumal occurs in the J cws' deed (circa 700 A.D). This fact points to a close connection between the Perumals and the Tulu kings, and if the Surya Kshatriya woman was adopted by the Perumal from the Tulu king's family, it is not difficult to understand how her sous obtained Cochin and Tulunad, respectively, nor to understand how the Perumal even after his setting out for Mecca should have retained influence in Tulunad.

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Finally, there remains the important point that the Zamorin was treated so shabbily by the departing Perumal in the matter of the grant of territory. The Jews and Syrians' deeds show that the Zamorin had long previously attained to the rank of Utayavar of Erdlinad or Ernad, so that the family did not spring into existence at this time which was probably 125 years later than the date of the earliest of these grants. The differences between the Perumal and the Ten Thousand, whose headman the Perumal apparently put to death, had probably something to do with the matter, for the Ten Thousand were in later times at least the Zamorin's bodyguard. The Ten Thousand were moreover the troops specially selected by the Zamorin with which he repulsed the invaders. The Nayar of Calicut, one of the small bits of territory assigned to the Zamorin, was, up to the time of the British occupation, one of the leaders of the Ten Thousand, and the text after describing the victory also

runs that the Perumal out of gratitude for the success the Puntura youths had won called them before him, told them he would make them his successors, or heirs (Anantaravar), and station them at Calicut ; so that there is much reason for the inference that the Zamorin had cast in his lot with his favorite troops and there is little wonder then that he was not in favor with the Perumal at his departure. It is not at all improbable under these circumstances to suggest that the Zamorin's power and influence had been increasing after his successful repulse of the invaders, that this had excited the Perumal's jealousy and had led him to adopt stringent measures against the Ten Thousand, ending naturally enough in his being obliged to flee the country after providing, as best he could, for his immediate relatives. In corroboration of this view it is at least suggestive that not one of the original Muhammadan mosques founded by Sheikh-ibn-Dinar was situated in territory under the sway of the Zamorin.

The grant of territory to the V alluvakonattiri (Valluvanad) and the grants to the other petty chieftains who are named in the text were not, it may be presumed, made at this time ; for the Valluvakon , as evidenced by the Jews and Syrians' deeds, had been an Utayavar of a nad (county) like the Zamorin and Travancore Rajas for several generations before the Perumal left Malabar.

This ends the portion of the Keralolpatti dealing with the earliest traditions and with those current concerning the Perumals. The remaining traditions relate to the subsequent changes among the ruling families wrought after Cheramdn PerumaVs departure (circa 825 A.D.) and will be best considered further on.

It remains to sum up the traditions already narrated and commented on before proceeding to detail such scraps of the ancient history of Malabar as arc to be gathered from other sources.

It cannot be doubted that the first half of the ninth century A.D. was an important epoch in the history of Malabar and of the Malayalis. It is beyond all doubt .that events of sufficient importance occurred at this time to create an era, which, dating in Malabar, Cochin and North

Travancore from the 25th day of August 825, continues down to the present day to be the era in common use by the people.

What those events were may perhaps be gathered from the traditions now under consideration. The chief event was the termination of the reign of the last of the Kerala or Chera Perumals or Emperors, who for centuries had been kings of the land ; for it may be assumed, until evidence to the contrary is

forthcoming, that the Muhammadan nadition is correct, and that the Hindu King of ˆMalabar, who lies buried at Zaphdr in Arabia, was indeed Cheraman Perumal. The dates on that tombstone, which however still require verification, place this event as closely contemporaneous with the inauguration of the new era. Why it was called the Kollam era these traditions also seem to explain ; for the independence, until Cheraman Perumal should return, of the two branches, of the Kolattiri (or perhaps Kollattiri) family seems to have dated from this time, and to have been brought about in the manner already described in the commentaries on these traditions.

Of the events which preceded, and of the Perumals who reigned in the country prior to that event, these traditions tell next to nothing, and the reason is not perhaps far to seek. These traditions are mainly of Brahmanical origin, and from facts which will be detailed in the following section it is pretty certain that the Brahmans had not, for more than a generation or two at most, been settled in the land when Cheraman Perumal assumed the reins of Government. The Brahmans are notoriously careless of history and of the lessons which it teaches. Their lives are bound hard and fast by rigid chains of custom. The long line of Cliera kings, dating back to the " Son of Kerala," mentioned in the third century B.C., in King Agoka'. $ rock-cut inscriptions, had for them no interest and no instruction ; and it is not to be wondered at that the mention of them finds in the Keralolpatti no place.

What is substituted for the real history of this period in these traditions is a farrago of legendary nonsense, having for definite aim the securing to the Brahman caste of unbounded power and influence in the country. The land was miraculously reclaimed for their benefit ; the whole of it was made over to them with the " blood-guilty water of possession they were the first inhabitants ; the kings were appointed and the land was governed by them ; and the only allusion to prior occupants is an obscure allusion to the " serpents," from fear of which the first immigrants fled back to the country whence they came. This allusion to the serpents, who " protected " the land, contains perhaps an allusion to Jaina immigrants, worshippers of the twenty-third Jaina, Tirtham Kara, Pdrsva or Parsvanatha , whose symbol was a hooded snake. That the Perumals were originally of the Jaina persuasion is not at all improbable, considering the facts already stated (ante p. 184-86) regarding the style of religious architecture still prevalent in the land.

Judging by the extent of country over which this Jaina style of religious architecture prevails, the limits of the old Chera kingdom were

not. improbably those which it is said Param Raman miraculously reclaimed from the sea, viz., Canara, Malabar, Cochiu and Travancore. But when the bearers of these traditions first came into the land, Cher a or Kerala had dwindled down to the small province of South Malabar, Cochin, and North Travancore (Putuppattandm to Kannetti), and it was apparently to these limits that the name of Kerala, thus imported into Malabar at this time, was originally applied by Malayans themselves.

There is also to be learnt from these traditions that the time was ripe for religious movements, the last Perumal became a convert to Islam, and the great Samkardcharyar , himself a Malayali, was engaged in creating that revival of Hinduism which has moved so profoundly every generation since. The " great 1 saying " had just gone forth, and the words " Thou art that " had set for the great mass of the people an exemplar which they have patiently and piteously, but very imperfectly, been studying ever since to attain. It was a fitting time for the commencement of an era, and the dynasty of the ancient " Sons of Kerala " (Keralaputran) drew appropriately to a close as new religious light began to be disseminated in the land.

It has been noticed that the Maharajas of Travancore have still to declare at their coronations that they hold their territories only on sufferance until their kinsman returns from Mecca. The Zamorins too, at their coronations, have still, when crossing the Kallayi ferry, to take betel from the hands of a man dressed up as a Mappilla woman, and are actually put out of caste 2 by the ceremony, aud have to live separately thereafter to their manifold discomfort. These are no doubt relics of the time when the Perumal turned Muhammadan and left the country to its own devices. The Travancore , the Valluvakon [literally king of the Valluvar. (? Pallams)], and the Zamorin Rajas were left free by his flight to establish themselves as independent kings of their respective little States. The Cochin and perhaps the Tulunad Rajas and the North Kolattiri Raja, the Chula li and Nerpett Kammals, being his heirs and children, respectively, were, as these traditions seem to show, provided for with grants of territory and with men to defend them ; and thus the country was split up into little kingdoms, which under ordinary circumstances would have immediately set to work to devour each other. The organisation of the militia, however, as will be explained presently, served to retard the process, and though it may seem strange that after the lapse of so many centuries nearly all of these identical families should have remained in existence, still it is a fact which deserves careful consideration that these ˆery families were the chief among those with whom the British Commissioners came into contact in 1792 when reorganising the country after Haidar Ali's and Tippu's wild raids through it.

1 Ante p. 188.

2 Was this brought about by their having been constituted as Cheraman Perumal' t successors or heirs after the victory obtained over the invaders?

Section B. — Early History from other Sources.

Some of the more remarkable of the vegetable and animal productions of the Malabar Coast have been known to Western nations from times antecedent to the Christian era, and have been the objects of maritime enterprise and commerce through all the succeeding centuries.

Perhaps as early as the time of Moses, the great Jewish law-giver, this commerce existed, for cinnamon and cassia played a part in the temple services of the Jews (Exodus xxx. 23, 24), and at any rate the commerce existed in the time of King Solomon (c. B.C. 1000), for the Bible narrative records that silver " was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon " — everything was of gold. " For the king had at sea a navy of Tharshish with the navy of Hiram ; once in three years came the navy of Tharshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory,1 and apes and peacocks (I Kings x. 22) .2 With the exception perhaps of silver, these are all productions of the Malabar Coast, and the biblical name for the peacock tuki — is evidently the Tam. Mai. tokei , the bird of the tail.

Again, Solomon obtained his gold from Ophir. It is hazardous after all that has been written about this place to contribute anything more to the controversy, for as Master Purchas quaintly wrote about it : " This Golden Country is like Gold, hard to find, and much quarrelled, and needes a wise Myner to bring it out of the Labyrinths of darknesse, and to try and purifie the Myners themselves and their reports." (Purchas His Pi/g rimes I, 25.) But it may as well be pointed out that Beg pore lies at the mouth of the river of the same name, which still brings down gold from the auriferous quartz region ,of South-East W ainad , the mines of which were well worked in pre-historic times; that Tundis, the " village of great note situate near the sea/'* mentioned in the early centuries A.D. by the author of the Periplus Mar. Eryth. (ante, pp. 76-79), lies close to Beypore on the southern bank of the same river ; and that the country lying inland from these places is still called Ernad — the bullock, that is grazing, country. If Ophir , as is generally now supposed, meant the country of the Ab/nra or cowherds (? Kurumbar), then the name of Ophir fits the locality indicated as well as, or better perhaps than, any of the very numerous other places with which it has been identified. There has also been much learned disquisition on the word Tharshish , and the name perhaps survived 3 on the coast till the ninth

century A.D. in the word Tarisd-palli or church of the Tarisa (Tharshish P) people, which occurs in the third of the ancient deeds published in Appendix XII.

1 Elephants' teeth.

2 Con/. Genesis x. 29; I Kings ix. .28, x. 11, and xxii. 48; I Chronicles xxix. 4; II Chronicles viii. 18, and ix. 10, 21 ; Job xxii. 24, and xxxix. 13 ; Isaiah xiii. 12.

3 M.J.L.S. XIII, part I.

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

The fact remains to the present day that Jewish colonies are settled on the coast, and if their progenitors, often of course replenished by further immigrations, did not come with King Solomon s fleets, they have at least traditions which carry back their arrival on the coast to the time of their escape from servitude under Cyrus in the sixth century B.C.

And if the Jews were settled on the coast at the early period mentioned in their traditions, they would have had no -difficulty in maintaining intercourse with their native land, for in Herodotus' time (B.C. 484-413) the trade with the East was maintained. About 500 B.C. Scylax, a Greek sent by Darius, had voyaged home by sea from the mouth of the Indus. Herodotus mentions that the Red Sea trade in frankincense and myrrh, and cinnamon and cassia (the two latter being Malabar products), was in the hands of the Egyptians and Phoenicians, but these traders do not appear to have proceeded beyond the port in Arabia Felix (Aden probably) where these goods were procurable. Of India proper Herodotus' information is scanty, and, though capable of corroboration in some respects, inclines to the marvellous.

In the e*id of the fourth century B.C. the Greek writer Ktesias probably alluded to cinnamon, a common product of Malabar, as kar - pion, a name which seems to have been derived from the Turn. Mai. word karuppu or karppu.

In this same fourth century B.C. occurred Alexander the Great's expedition into Northern India, and Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador sent by Seleucus' Nicator to the Indian king Chandragupta's (Greek Sandrocottus) court gathered some scanty information about Southern India. It is certain from his account that the Pdndyan kingdom then existed, and the people whom he styles " Charm# " and places correctly next to the " Pawl# " can be no other than the aborigines of Chera, who to the present day probably exist

in the Cherumar or agrestic slaves of Malabar (conf. p. 146).

It is also noteworthy in this connection that Megasthenes alludes to the fact that the southern peoples were ruled by queens. He accounts for it by a mythical story of the Greek hero Heracles having left the kingdom to his daughter. As all the Malayali chieftains' houses are still, theoretically at least, subject to the eldest lady in each, it is probable that in the earliest ages the kingdoms were in fact governed by females.

One of the successors of King Chandragupta in Northern India was the " King beloved of the gods "—King Priyadasi — who reigned in the middle of the third century B.C. This king, better known as Aˆoka, left behind him certain edicts engraven on rocks in different part s of the country, and in one which occurs at Girnar the legend runs as follows : —

" In the whole dominion of King Devanampriya Priyadarsin, as also in the adjacent countries, as Chola, Pdndya , Satyaputra , Kero/aputia, as

far as Tdmraparm , the kingdom of Antiochus the Grecian king, and of his neighbour kings, the system of caring for the sick, both of men and of cattle, followed by King Devanampriya Priyadarsin, has been everywhere brought into practice ; &c., &c."

It is matter of controversy whether King Acoka was Jain by religion or a follower of Buddha ; but the evidence seems to favour the former conclusion. Jain missionaries doubtless at this time spread over the Malabar Coast, and there are still relics of them left in the Jain settlements in Canara, and in the peculiar Jaina style of architecture of religious edifices still prevalent all over the Malayali tracts aud Canara. About this style of architecture Mr. Fergusson's very pertinent remarks have already (ante, p. 185) been quoted. It is a significant fact that nothing like it exists at any point on the continent of India nearer than Nepal, and the coincidences which Mr. Fergusson points out in the circumstances of two countries geographically so distant from each other, makes it more than probable that Aryan civilization was first imported into Malabar by Jain missionaries, and this event probably occurred about the time of King Aˆka in the third century B'.C. If this style of architecture had been peculiar to the later Brahman colonists, and if these latter had, as usually asserted, such commanding influence in the country froih the very first, it is almost certain that the Muhammadans would not have been permitted to adopt it in their mosques, for these too are almost universally constructed in the same style.

In this edict of King Acoka's the country is styled Ketala or Kerala , the name which occurs, as already described, in the Keralolpatti. It is a dialectic

(Canarese) form of the ancient name Keram , or Che ram, or Chera , a name which still survives in the Cherandd or country lying round Tundis , the " village of great note situate by the sea " .already more than once referred to, and in Cherumar 1 (Megasthenes ' Charmce ?), the aboriginal inhabitants, now the agrestic slaves of the community.

On the breaking up of Alexander the Great's Empire, the cities of Phoenicia and their Red Sea trade passed with Egypt into the hands of the Ptolemies. Egypt then became not only the centre of literary cultivation and learning for the Hellenic world, but an emporium of trade and the centre of great commercial enterprises. The Red Sea trade, which had previously crossed the Isthmus of Suez to the Phoenician city of Tyre, was diverted to Alexandria. Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 285-247) founded a city (called Arsinoe after his wife) in the Gulf of Suez, and proceeded to open a canal from that place to the Nile. But owing to the dangers of navigation in the gulf, this project was abandoned and a port (called Berenice after his mother) was opened nearly 500 miles down the Red Sea, and this gradually became an emporium of trade. The merchandise was thence transported overland

1 C«nf. pp. 146-52.

to Coplos on the Nile, whence it descended the river to Alexandria. But Myos Hormos, lying further north than Berenice , was next found to be in some respects even more conveniently situated than the latter for the land transhipment of goods to Coptos, and so the trade with India for a time centred itself at this place. Like their predecessors the Phoenicians, however, the Egyptian Greeks contented themselves with buying Eastern merchandise from the Sabaeans (Arabs), and Aden was probably the port in which the Arabian and Indian merchants met the Greeks and exchanged their goods.

It was not till about 120 B.C. that an attempt was made to go direct from Egypt to India. A Hindu said to have been wrecked in the Red Sea volunteered to take a ship to India. The ship was fitted out and in it sailed Eudoxus of Cyzicus. The voyage was successful ; the ship brought back a valuable cargo, but it was appropriated by the king (Ptolemy Euergetes II). The sanle fate befell a second expedition sent out by Cleopatra. Strabo wrote of Eudoxus' attempt to reach India as something altogether new and exceptional.

These facts explain the barrenness of the Greek writers on the subject of India. Their accounts at this period are derived from Megasthenes and contemporaries of Alexander the Great, not from direct information obtained

from merchants and travellers. Eratosthenes (B.C. 276) thought India lay east and west ; he was familiar with Ceylon (Taprobane), but made it far too large — 8,000 stadia — and extending east and west.

Very little advance on this state of knowledge had been made even so late as the time of Strabo (about B.C. 54 to A.D. 25), but an important change came with the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, for the trade passed directly into their hands and they were not long in tracing it out to its sources.

The first important advance was made by a Greek named Hippalos, who, acting on information received probably from Arab or Hindu informants, boldly stood out to sea from Cape Fartak in Arabia, and sailing with the south-west monsoon trade winds, found a direct route to the pepper-bearing country of Malabar. This event, as already described (ante, p. 33), occurred in the early part of the first century A.D. And about this same time (A D. 24) the first Hindu embassy from King Porus, or, as others say, from the King of Pdndya , proceeded to Europe and followed the Roman Emperor Augustus to Spain. It was on this occasion that an ascetic (probably a Jain) who accompanied the expedition voluntarily sacrificed himself at Athens on a funeral pyre.

With increased trade came increasing knowledge of the countries whence the spices came. The fullest account of the trade about this time is contained in the Periplus Maris Erythrm, from which a passage has already been quoted (ante, pp. 1 8— 80). It is matter of controversy whether this account was written in the first century A.D. or at a later date (third century A.D.), but, however this may be, Roman authors of tbe first century A.D. amply attest the fact that a large trade existed.

•io

Petronius in the Darly part of the first century A.D. reproached the Homan matrons for exposing their charms in Indian muslins, which he called “ woven wind ” or “ a texture of cloud.”

Pliny (A.D. 23—79) raked together without much discrimination a vast amount of information regarding the subjects he wrote about. He countenanced a story of Hindus having sailed round the north of Asia and Europe and having been wrecked on the* coasts of Germany, but he seems to have acquired a very exact idea of the navigation as practised in his day after the discovery by Hippalos of the direct route to the Indian shores.

“ Afterwards ” he wrote, “ it was found the safest course to proceed direct from the promontory of Syagrus in Arabia ” (Cape Fartak) “ to Patale ” (probably Pantalayini 1 or Pantalayini Kollam, see p. 72) “ with the west

wind (Favonius), which they call there the Hippalos, a distance reckoned at 1,435 miles. In Ihe next generation it was judged to be both a safer and nearer course to proceed from the same promontory direct to Sigerivt? a port of India. And this mode of navigation was preserved for a long time until merchants discovered a shorter route, and the profits of India were thus brought nearer to hand. The voyage is now made every year with cohorts of archers on board the ships ; on account of the pirates which infest those seas."

He estimated that India took 55,000,000 s sesterces annually, and the goods purchased brought a hundred times that amount when sold in Eurftpe. He described the journey by the trade route through Egypt and then proceeded as follows : —

" They begin the navigation in the middle of summer before the rising of the Dogstar, or immediately after its appearance, and arrive in about jthirty days at Ocelis in Arabia, or Cane in the frankincense-bearing region. There is also a third port called Muza which is not frequented by those sailing to India, but by the merchants who trade in frankincense and other Arabian perfumes. In the interior is a city, the capital of the kingdom called Sapphar ,i * 3 4 and another called Sane. But for those whose course is directed to India it is most advantageous to start from Ocelis. From thence they sail with the wind called Hippalos in forty days to the first commercial station of India named Muziris " (ante, p. 78), " which is not much to be recommended on aocount of the neighbouring pirates,5 who occupy a place called Nitrias 6 :

i Down to the present day this port is generally the first one touched at by ships from the Arabian coast, and it was to its immediate neighbourhood that the pilots brought Vasco da Gama' 8 ships. Moreover it was in former times and even till quite recently — till steam ships superseded sailing ships — a very favourite port of departure for the Arabian coast and Persian Gulf. Pilgrims to Mecca used to set sail from it in large numbers formerly.

' 2 The Melezigara of the Prripln* Maris Erythrai and the Meleziyyrit of Ptolemy— probably Viziagur, 120 miles south of Bombay.

3 £486,979 sterling.

« This is evidently Zaphar, where Cheraman Perumdl lies buried (ante, p. 196).

i_Conf. pp. 69 and 72.

« Query : Can this be Xittur in Kottayam taluk, adjoining Tellicherry ?

nor does it furnish any abundance of merchandise. Moreover the station of shipping is far from the land, and cargoes have to be loaded and unloaded in barges. The ruler of the country at the time of which I speak was Ctelobothras.1 2 There is another more advantageous port, which is named Barace 2 in the territory of a nation called the Nencyndi. The king of that country was named Pandion ,3 who resided far from the port in a oity of the interior which is called Madura . But the region from which pepper is brought to Barace in barges hewn out of single trees is called Cottonara .4 None of these names of nations or ports or cities are found in any former writer, from which it is evident what changes take place in the state of things in these countries. v They commence the return voyage from India at the beginning of the Egyptian month of Tybis, which answers to our December, or at all events within the sixth day of the Egyptian month Mechir, that is, within our Ides of January. Thus it comes to pass they return home within the year. They make the return voyage from India with the south-east wind (Vulturnus), and, when they have entered the Red Sea, with the south-west or south wind."

Pliny also obtained information from the Ceylon ambassadors to the Emperor Claudius about A.D. 50 regarding Ceylon, and some mention seems to have been made of the Chinese [Seres) having at this time traded to Ceylon.

It is clear from this account that the kingdom of Chei'a did not extend in the first century A D. to the south of South Kollam [Quilon). South Travancore at this time lay in the Bandy an dominions. Moreover this is precisely the account given by the author of the Peripius Maris Erythrm [ante, p. 79), but the latter's account differs from Pliny's in regard to the condition of Mouziris at or about this time, for it is described as " a city at the height of prosperity," frequented by ships from the coasts of Guzerat and by Greek ships from Egypt.

There is no doubt of the fact that Roman gold poured largely into the country at this time. Many such coins have been found, and in the collection of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore there are 9 aurei of the reign of the Emperor Augustus, 28 of Tiberius, 2 of Caligula, 16 of Claudius, and 16 of Nero. These and many other similar coins are

1 In one manuscript it is written Celobotras. It is clearly intended for Keraputran or Cherapiitran = king of Chera.

2 This place was probably situated close to Southern Kollam at the mouth of the Quilon river. It is called Bakare in the Peripius Maris Erythreei {ante,

p. 79).

3 The Pdndya kingdom, with Madura for capital, is here very clearly indicated.

4 Called Kotlonara in the Peripius Maris Erythreei (ante, p. 79). Rome writers have identified this place with Kadattunad in North Malabar, and with Kolattu Nad (North Malabar), but it is unnecessary to go so far afield, and the fact stated that the pepper came in barges hewn out of single logs of timber makes it in the highest degree improbable that these identifications can be correct. The country lying about 16 miles east of Quilon is still called Kottdram (royal residence) or Kottdrakkara (placo of royal residence) • and it is tapped in various directions by the river, and connected backwaters ; and it is here probably that the pepper grew.

understood to have been found in a remote part of North Malabar. 41 Great quantities of specie ” is one of the import items mentioned in the Periplus Maris Erythrcei {ante, p. 79), and from the facts vouched for by Pliny the commerce must have been on a very large scale.

Whether St. Thomas the Apostle visited the Malabar Coast about this time and founded the Christian Church, which certainly from a very early period down to the present day has existed there, is likely ever to remain a subject of controversy. But it will be seen that, had he been bo minded, he would have found in these annual pepper fleets every facility for effecting his journey to Malabar.

The Jews, too, have a tradition that a large number of their nation came and settled in Malabar at this time, after the destruction (A.D. 68) of the temple at Jerusalem.

Ptolemy (A.D. 126 — 61) is the next writer from whose pages some information is to be gleaned. He wrote the title of the Chera king as KSrobothros and stated the fact that the capital of the kingdom was at Karoura , which name has been very generally accepted as identical with that of the modern town of Karur in the Coimbatore district. But this is after all very little more than conjecture, as there are no data such as are to be found in the Periplus Maris Erythrazi in regard to Tundis , Mouziris and Nelkunda for accurately fixing the position of the place. Tradition, however, places the tri junction of the three ancient kingdoms of Chera , Chola and Pandya at a small stream (the Karaipottanar) flowing into the Kaveri river eleven miles east of the modern Karur.

Accepting, then, till some better conclusion is forthcoming, that Ptolemy’s Karoura is identical with the modern Karur , the boundaries of ancient Chera

in the first to the third 1 centuries A.D. may be roughly gathered from the sources already cited. The boundaries seem, to have been : —

North— as far at least as Honore or Honavar (the Naoura of the Periplus , ante , p. 78).

South — as far as the Quilon (Southern Kollam) river.

East — as far as Karur , or perhaps the Kaveri river at that point.

West — the sea.

But it is impossible at present to say if the boundary projected any further in a north-east direction. Some writers have taken the Cheras to be identical with the Gangas or Kongus of Coimbatore and Maisur, and much confusion has in consequence arisen.. Malayalis themselves call the country east of the Palghat gap the Kongundd or country of the Kongus. The Kongu language seems to have been Canarese, and not Tamil or Malayalam, and in fact, as will be seen further on, the Kongus were a distinct dynasty, who seem to have allied themselves with the Western Chaluhyas and Rdshtrakutas against the Cheras. The confusion

i The Periplus Maris Erythrcei is by some writers thought to have been written in the first and by others in the third century A.D.

on this point apparently arose from one or two clericalerrors in the well-known chronicle of the kings of Kongu (Kongudesa Rajakkal). There is no evidence as yet on record to show that the Cheras did at any time extend their rule farther to the east than Kamr or the banks of the Kaveri river east of the Palghat gap, or that they ever held any territory oh the Maisur plateau. And in this negative position the question must for the present rest.

In the Mackenzie MSS. the traditionary boundaries of Chera are recorded in three separate passages : —

Stanza I.

“ 1. To the North, the place (or fane) Palanna 1 — hail ! To the East, Chengodu.2

“2. To the West point, Koli-kudu 3 will be. The seashore of

“ 3. The margin, that will be the South : an 80 Kdtams (leagues)

“ 4. The Cherandd boundary ; speaking, say thou.”

Stanza II.

“1. To the North, the place Palani1— hail ! To the East, the South Kasi2

“ 2-. The West point Koli-kudu 3 will become. The seashore of

“ 3. The margin that will make the South. An 80 Kdtams (leagues)

“ 4. The Cherandd boundary ; speaking, say thou.”

Another version.

“ Chr the North Palani ,l to the East the great town (Perur), on the South the sea, on the West the great mountain, from East to West 40 kdtams (leagues), from South to North 40 kdtams (leagues), making together 80 kdtams.”

It is not easy to reconcile these traditions, but it is clear in the light of the writings of Pliny and Ptolemy and of the Periplus that the Tenkasi eastern boundary, which describes pretty accurately the Mala-yah limits now, is of later date than the first to third centuries A.D. The Malayalis have since those dates encroached considerably to the south on the ancient Pandya dominions. Then, again, Pei’ur may very well be the limits of Chera when it shrunk within the Malayali present limits at the Palghat gap, for there is a well-known town of that name to the west of Coimbatore and almost in the gap. It is much resorted to by Malayalis for sraddha ceremonies (ante, p. 182). As regards the northern boundary, these traditions say that it ended at Palani , a well-

1 The modern Pulney.

a Probably Shencotta, near Tenklai in TinneveUy. * Apparently intended for Calicut.

known temple and place of pilgrimage in the Madura district, just beyond the Palghat gap. The western boundary is variously stated to be either Calicut or “ the great mountain,” both of which lie in one sense to the north of Palani. If the limit on the coast line is taken to be mount Deli {ante, p. 6) — the “ great mountain ” of the pilots who conducted Yasco da Gama’s expedition — then it would he very nearly correct, hut it is clear that on this side too the Malayali limits had in the interval shrunk considerably within the boundary

assigned by the author of the Peri plus.

Intercourse between East and West from this time forward continued to be briskly maintained. After the Ceylon embassy to Claudius in A.D. 44, further embassies from India continued at long intervals to reach the Roman world. Trajan received one in A.D. 107, Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-61) another, Julian received a third in A.D. 361, and even so late as the reign of Justinian (A.D. 540) one was despatched to Constantinople. The trade during this period seems to have been steadily carried on. The Peutiugerian Tables (supposed to have been compiled about A.D. 226) mention that there was a considerable Roman settlement at Mouziris (Cranganore) , that there was there a temple to Augustus, and that two cohorts of soldiers were employed in protecting the trade. But notwithstanding this there is a singular deficiency in the contemporary Latin and Greek authors of any' fresh information regarding the countries of the East, and after the fall of Palmyra in A.D. 274 this deficiency becomes still more marked.

Indeed the first really fresh and authentic piece of information about the Malabar Coast is that contained in the writings of a Byzantine monk by name Cosmas Indicopleustes, who lived in the early part of the sixth century A.D. He wrote : " In the Island Taprobane (* *.«., Ceylon) there is a church of Christians, and clerks, and faithful. Likewise at Male where the pepper grows ; and in the town Kalliena 1 there is also a Bishop consecrated in Persia."

And in further confirmation of the fact that Christianity had meanwhile taken root in Malabar, a letter in Assemani's Bibliotheca , from the Patriarch Jesajabus (died A.D. 660) to Simon, Metropolitan of Persia, blames his neglect of duty, saying that in consequence not only is India, " which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to Colon,2 a distance of 1,200 parasangs , deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is left in darkness." (Colonel Yule in foot-note,

Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar , p. 27.)

It would be out of place here to attempt to trace in detail the influences brought to bear during these centuries of commerce on India and Europe respectively. It is certain that Indian ideas and practices contributed largely to the form which orthodox Christianity in the West

- Near Udipi in South Canara.
- One of the Kollams, probably the southern {Quilon proper).

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

finally adopted. Monasteries and nunneries, tonsures, rosaries, confession, and celibacy all seem to have found their way to Europe from Indian sources. And in return, the West seems to have given to the East arts and sciences, architecture, the art of coining money, and in particular the high ideal of religion contained in Christianity, as St. Chrysostom (who died A.D. 407) wrrote : " The Syrians too, and Egyptians, and

Indians, and Persians, and Ethiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating into their own tongues the doctrines derived from this man, barbarians though they were, learnt to philosophise."

The Malabar Coast with its Christian settlers must have been one of the chief centres whence European influences spread throughout the land, so it is not to be wondered at that Yedantism at the hands of its expounder, the " gracious teacher " — Saniliardcharyar — spread from Malabar over the whole of India; nor that the founder — Madhava-charyar — of the sect which approaches nearest of all to Christianity was born at Udipi, near the place (Kailiena) where, according to Comas Indicop leustes, a Persian Bishop was settled in the sixth century A.D

It was probably not from any neglect or unwillingness that the Patriarch of Persia had failed to maintain regular Christian ministration on the Western Coast, for a new influence had by this time (seventh century) began to be felt. Islam was spreading rapidlj' over the face of the globe, and, with the conquest of Egypt (A.D. 638-40), the trade between India and Europe passed into fresh hands. These hands were, however, for many generations engaged with conquest rather than with trade, so that probably for two centuries at least after this time but little was done to extend commercial enterprise. The Christian settlements, however, were still on the coast, though sadly embarrassed at times for regular ministrations.

As regards Muhammadan progress in Malabar, writing in the middle of the ninth century A.D., a Muhammadan has left on record : — " I know not that there is any one of either nation " (Chinese and Indian) " that has embraced Muhammadanism or speaks Arabic." (Rcnaudofs " Ancient Accounts of India, <$v.," London, 1733.)

It will be necessary to revert here to indigenous sources of information, scanty as these sources are. The true ancient history of Southern India, almost unrecorded by its own people in anything worthy of the name of history, appear* as yet only as a faint outliue on canvas. Thanks to the untiring labours of European scholars and of one or two native scholars these faint outlines are gradually assuming more distinct lines, but it is impossible as yet to offer anything even approaching to a picture in full detail of any

period or of any state, for the sources of information contained in inscriptions and deeds are extremely scanty, and even in genuinely ancient deeds it is frequently found that the facts to be gathered from them are unreliable owing to the deeds themselves having been forged at periods long subsequent to the facts which they pretend to state.

The Malayali country is, further, most peculiarly unfortunate in not having preserved its traditions in inscriptions and deeds after the manner in vogue elsewhere. The eulogies of court poets, as embodied in the inscriptions found in other parts of South India, though generally full of inflated language, relate the names and relationships and reigns of kings and princes from remote antiquity down to the time when the grant or privilege contained in the deed was finally conferred by the then reigning sovereign or chief. When these statements, taken from different inscriptions, agree among themselves, fairly reliable evidence of the facts is obtained. But in Malabar, besides the fact that such inscriptions are, so far as present knowledge goes; extremely rare, it further seems to have been the habit not to record the grant of privileges in this fashion, so that even this meagre source of information is not available.

Then, again, the inscriptions recording alleged grants by the neighbouring dynasty of the Gang as or Kong us, are precisely those with which the greatest liberties seem to have been taken by forgers, and the consequent difficulty of eliciting what is true and of rejecting what is false has resulted tn throwing doubt on information which might have been utilised to some extent in the history of the Malayalis.

It is then only when inscriptions of neighbouring dynasties throw some side-light on the course of events in Malabar, and thus supplement facts and inferences to be drawn from indigenous sources of information, that it is possible to make use of the studies of modern scholars in this direction. How small are the results so far shall now be set forth.

One dynasty, besides those — Cher a, Chola and Pdndya — already mentioned, stands prominently forward in the ancient history of the south. This dynasty is that of the ' Pallavas, as they are usually called, or Pallacas of Kdnchi (Conjeeveram) as they are also sometimes styled. It is proved by inscriptions that the dynasty was in existence in the fourth or fifth century A.D. and at a still earlier period in the second or third century. When and how far they invaded Malabar, and whether, having taken the country, it was the Clierumars or the Kurumbars, or partly the one and partly the other that they displaced, is at present matter of speculation. It is quite possible that the dynasty is still represented in Malabar by the Vallodi or Valluvanddi caste of Ndyars. There is also a servile caste of Valluvar who are labourers, fishers,

ferrymen and sorcerers. Of these two classes, the former inhabit Valluvandd (i>., the country of the Valluvar), which to the present day gives its name to one of the taluks of the district ; while the latter are usually regarded as of superior rank to the huntsmen who abound on the slopes of the Western Ghats and in Wainad. The latter are called Kurmibar , or Kurchiar , or Karavar, and they too have a local habitation in the low country in the name of one of the present taluks called Kurumbvandd or the country of the Rurumbnr. The Karumbar were originally, and are to the present day in districts east of the ghats, shepherds and

herdsmen, and from their having given their name to such an unpastoral portion of the district as Kurumbranad, it is perhaps safe to conclude that it was only occupied by them under compulsion, and that there they made a stand for some considerable time. The Valluvar country, on the other hand, is a fine pastoral country lying close to the southwest slopes of the Nllgiris, just such a country as shepherds and herdsmen would select.

It is not improbable, therefore, if the Cherumar (agrestic slaves) are, as suggested, the real aborigines of the ancient Chera kingdom, that they were displaced to some extent at least by a more independent race of shepherds, who in turn gave way to the Valluvar (? Pallavar). The fact that the Kurumbars preferred a roving life in the jungles to a sedentary one in subjection on the plains, proves them to have been a superior race, and indeed to the present day they very markedly retain this characteristic.

As to when the Tiyar or Islanders (Cingalese) and the Nay an (militia) came into Malabar it is at present hardly possible even to suggest.

These castes constitute by far the largest portion of the Hindu population at the present day. They were certainly both settled in the country at the time when the Jews' and Christians' deeds of privileges were granted (A.D. 700 to 825), but there is very little evidence to show one way or other how long they had at that time been settled in the land.

The Cingalese tradition is that the Cholas invaded Ceylon so early as in the third century B.C., and again in the second century B.C., and for a third time in the second century A.D. ; that the Cingalese retaliated and invaded the mainland, and that after the second century A.D. there were constant wars between the two races. These dates are quite uncertain, but it is perhaps to be inferred that the islanders obtained possession of some portion of the mainland, and were in. turn brought under subjection by an irruption of the Tamil race (Nayars) under Kshatriya leaders from the East Coast. If, as

tradition says, the islanders brought with them the coconut tree — the ** southern tree " as it is still called— then, judging from the facts stated in the footnote to page 79, this must have happened some time after the beginning of the Christian era; and, judging from the fact that the tree was well known to, and fully described by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the islanders

(Tiyar) must have been settled in the country before the middle of the sixth century A.D.

The Nayars again were certainly settled in the country before A.D. 700 and they are consequently not the descendants of the Cholas , who are historically known to have subjected the greater portion of Southern India in the end of the ninth and in the tenth and eleventh centuries It must have been an earlier invasion of Tamils that brought tho Gayars into Malabar. Judging from the fact to be alluded to presently

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that tho whole of South India, inoluding Kerala, was in the seventh century A.D. under the sway (suzerainty) of the Pallavas of Kanchi (Conjeeveram), and from the fact that the Tamil and Malayalam languages were in those days practically identical, it may he inferred that the ruling caste of Nayars were already settled in Malabar in the early centuries A.D., and may possibly have been on the coast at a very much earlier period. Mr. Ellis considered 1 that Malabar was divided into chieftainships (Utayavar) about 389 A.D., and there is a strong tradition in favor of so early a date.

The Pallavas of Kanchi continued in power for many centuries after they first come to notice in the fourth or fifth century A.D. Indeed they did not disappear as a power till the fourteenth century, although for a long period before that time they had subsided into the position of mere feudatories. According to the earlier grants, in the fourth or fifth century A.D. they had pushed their dominions as far north as Badami , for they are styled " crushers of Vatapi ," the ancient name of that place. But their conquests in that region seem to have excited opposition, for an early dynasty of Kadambas comes to notice, and one of that line — Mrigesa—m the fifth century is mentioned as having been " a very fire of destruction to the Pallavas ," and of another of them (Ravi Varma) it is recorded that he " uprooted Chandadanda , the Lord of Kdnchi." The Pallava kingdom probably about this time reached its greatest dimensions, and there is hardly any room for doubt that it was to it that Fall Hian, the Chinese pilgrim (about 400 A.D.), referred when he wrote regarding the great kingdom of the Tha-Thsen (Dak - shin a or south). "

Those who desire to proceed thither ” he wrote, “ should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who will then appoint people to accompany them and show them the w’ay.” This custom clearly refers to the well-known ancient Malayali system of Changdtam (convoy, guard) from which the Nayar chieftains used to derive some revenue.

These are small matters enough to serve as links of connection between the ancient Pallavas and the Nayars, but a deed is still in existence of date about the fifth century A.D., in which the genealogy of some of the ancient Pallava kings is gfVen, and in which one of the Pallava head-quarters is said to be a place called “ Palakkada, which may, as a writer in the Indian Antiquary (V, 154) has suggested, be taken to be Palghat, lying within a few miles of Valluvandd [i.e ., the Valluvar (? Pallava) country].

• It will be seen presently that in the ancient deeds a clear distinction is drawn between the Kerala* and the Pallavas. These names, and likewise those already so often mentioned— Choi a and Pandya were» however, dynastic names rather than names of distinct nations. Tho Tamil race seems to have spread over the whole of the peninsula and to

1 See Dr. Gundcrt’s note to cl. g of Deed No. 1, Appendix XII.

have split up into three kingdoms — Chera , Chola and Pandya corresponding to these very ancient and well-known divisions of the Peninsula. The Pnllava kingdom of Ranchi was probably a fourth dynasty founded when the Tamils thus spread as a conquering race over the

South. .

In A.D. 500-504 it is recorded in Chinese writers that a king of India

sent an ambassador as far as China, taking with -him presents consisting of pepper, ginger, sugar, sandalwood, tortoise-shell, Ac., <fcc., and it was said that this Indian nation traded to the West with the Romans and Parthians, and on the east as far as Siam and Tonquin. Their sovereign was said to wear a small lock of hair dressed spirally on the crown of his head, and to wear the rest of his hair very short. The people, it is also said, wrote on palm leaves and were excellent astronomers. 1 he produce sent as presents, the trade to East and West, and the manner of wearing the hair, are all so essentially Malayaji, that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the ambassador must have been sent from some place on the Malabar Coast.

With the founding about the end of the sixth century A.D. of the dynasty of

the Chalukyas, a most important political influence began to bear on the nations, if they may so be called, of the South. The founder of the dynasty (Pulakesi I) is styled the “Lord of Vdtdpi ” (Bdddmi), “ the best of citier,.” The dynasty was founded by dispossessing the Pallavas of that city, and, in the reign of Pulakesi Vs successor Kirtti Varma, by the breaking up of the “ confederacy of the Kadambas ,” with whom tho Pallavas had already been at war. Kirtti Varma , whose reign terminated in 567-68 A.D., is recorded to have “ broken the Kadamba tree ” and to have subdued the Kadambas of VanavdsL Kirtti Varma s younger brother (Mangalisa) next reigned for some years during the minority of Kirtti Varma’ s son (Pulakesi II or Satydsraya), but, being ambitious of securing the kingdom for his own son, he seems to have lost his life iu the attempt, and the family perhaps in consequence of these dissensions split up about the beginning of the seventh century A.D. into two branches, which are respectively known as the Western and Eastern Chalukyas. It is with the former alone that it is necessary to deal in considering the history of Malabar.

Of the first king of the Western Chalukya branch, Pulakesi II, it is recorded: “ When he prepared himself speedily for the conquest of the Cholas , the river” (Karen) “ which abounds in tho rolling eyes of the carp, abandoned its contact with the ocean, having (the onward flow of) its waters obstructed by the bridge formed by his elephants, from whom rut was flowing. There he caused the great prosperity of the Cholas and the Keralas and the Pandyas , but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar frost which was the army of the Pallavas.” He is also said to have “ caused the Lord of the Pallavas , who had arrived at the eminence of his own power, to hide his prowess within the ramparts of the city of Ranchi This, the first of the Western Chalukya irruptions,, seems to have taken place in the early part of the seventh century A-D-.

Xt is to be inferred from this that Pallam influence had, some time prior to these events, become to some extent paramount in the south overshadowing the other dynasties, to whom it was a relief that mi invader from the north should have been able to drive the Pallma king to take shelter within the ramparts of his own capital

Contemporary grants do not record that Kerala became at this time tributary to the Western Chalukya king, but in a forged grant of about the tenth cen ury it is recorded, not of Pulakm II, the founder of the Western OMukga line, but of Pulakesi I, the founder of the whole

om‘ y,’ ke “ made the kme8 of Chera, and Kerala, and

Simhala (Ceylon), and Kalmga, to pay tribute,” and punished the Pindga

and other chieftains. There is no reason to suppose, however, that such was the fact. The forger of the grant evidently confused the two Pulakesis, amplified the exploits of the later of the two kings and tacked

them on to the earlier of the two, whose authority he wished to have in favour of his grant.

. But tbe fact of a deed (albeit forged) of the tenth century recording that Chera was distinct from Kerala opens up ground for remark. It has already been noticed (page 224) that the traditionary limits of the original Kerala extended from Pulupattanam on the Kotta river to Kannetti in Travancore. If this was Kerala , where then was Chera ?

The answer to this is not easy to suggest. The forger may have referred to the Oanga or Kongu dynasty under the name of Chera , and the confusion as to Gang as and Cher as may have had an origin as ancient as his time. The fact that he would have been historically incorrect in such an allusion would not matter to one who could be so far wrong as to mistake Pulakesi I for Pulakesi II.

In a genuine deed nearer the time of the occurrences it is specifically said that Pulakesi II, in his southern raid, was " closely attended by the Gangas." And it may be noted in passing that this confederation seems to have been brought about first by the conquest of the Gangas by Mrlgesa, the Kadamba already mentioned as having fought the Pallavas, and secondly by the subsequent conquest of the Kadambas by the Chalukyas under Kirtti Varmd. The Gangas, under these circumstances, must have in turn accepted the Chalukyas as their suzerains, and it was quite natural that they should under such circumstances join in Pulakesi IPs raid against the Pallavas.

If the forger did not refer to the Gangas, then it is to be inferred that the reference was to a Chera dynasty as d tinct from the Kerala dynasty. Perhaps the Pallavas still held that part of Malabar where their name still seems to linger — the VaUuvandd. The chieftain of this nad, the Valluva Konattiri , or as he is sometimes called, the Vallabhan ©r Vellattiri Raja, is in the Jews' deed (c . A.D. 700) styled the Arangott Utayavar, meaning the chieftain who held the country on the other side (Angotta) of the river (dr), and as this is a title by which the Valluva KonaUiri is still knoon account of ,his dominions lying to the north

of the Ponndni river, it may perhaps be correct that in the seventh century this part of Cher a was held by the Pallavas (Vallucar) as distinct from the Keralas. It is certain that the Valluva Konattiri after the last Perumal's

departure in A. D. 825 became the proteotor of the Maha Makham feast at Tirana vayi, and this looks as if he had held a distinguished place among the Malayali chiefs before that time — a place so distinguished that he appears to have superseded the last Perumal's lawful heir (Cochin) as protector at this festival.

In the seventh century it is certain that Gokarnam , the traditionary most northerly point of Kerala , was already famous as a place of worship, for Siva is alluded to about this time as the " Lord (svdmi) of Gdkarna."

It is almost certain that the Vedic Brahmans proper had not at this time migrated to the south. " The bones of the dead," so wrote in 605 A.D. one of the numerous Chinese pilgrims whd flocked at this time to India, " are burned and their ash.es placed in a so-tu (stupa) ," a practice which Malayalis certainly observed originally if the evidence of the rude stone monuments of the district signifies anything (conf. pp. 178-82).

" So long as the bones remain undisturbed and undefiled,

" So long does the soul enjoy heaven " — seems, as already said, to have been the original faith.

But with the advent of the Yodic Brahmans came a change in this respect. These posed before the rude chieftains with whom they came in contact' as " God-compellers." Their sonorous mantrams and spells could compel the gods to take the wandering ghosts of even the worst of men direct to heaven. There was no necessity for costly death houses, and for furnishing such with all the deceased's weapons and implements in use by him during life. A few sonorous phrases, a ringing of bells and burning of incense, and the thing was accomplished, and it only remained to scatter the ashes of the deceased over the surface of some holy river to ensure to him a welcome into the heaven of Indra.

In a grant of perhaps the fifth century A.D. and coming from the far north l [Ilichpur), it is recorded by a king that " in order to increase our spiritual merit, life, strength, conquests, and rule, and for the sake of our welfare in this and the next world f he gave some land to certain Brahmans, on the condition, however— a unique fact perhaps, but perhaps necessary before the sacred status of the Brahmans had been established beyond doubt — that they should continue to be loyal and peaceful citizens.

From this time forward grant aftor grant by different dynasties _

Western Chalukya, Kulinga , Gurjara , Mahavali, Pdshtvakuta , Ganga — record that lands were given to Brahmans, with libations of water (the well-

known incident of the Nirattiper tenure in Malabar), in order to increase the religious merit of the grantors and of their deceased relatives .

And so the faith in the necessity for sraddha ceremonies, and in the necessity for the removal of the ashes of the dead to sacred rivers, seems gradually to have worked its way southwards towards Malabar in the wake of the " God-compelling " Vedic Brahmans. There is no reason however, for thinking that such a change in the faith of the Malayans had taken root before the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; indeed it will be seen presently that the great Brahman migration into Malabar did not probably take place till a century later.

Between the years 629-45 A.D. the Chinese traveller Hwen Thsang visited South India, and from the work of his two pupils, translated by M. Stan. Julien, many facts can be gathered regarding the condition of the south at this time. lie visited the Pallava kingdom called Ta-lo-pi-ich a {Dravida), and he described the capital — Kanchi — as being 30 li in circumference. He described the people as brave and eager {ardent), profoundly attached to good faith and justice, and holding science in esteem. He found 100 monasteries with 10,000 Buddhist or perhaps Jain votaries, and 80 temples of the gods frequented by naked heretics, whom Dr. Burnell, for substantial reasons (Ind . Ant. I, 309) has identified as Digambara Jains, followers of the 24th Tirtham-kar. From Dravida he proceeded to Malakuta, which lay in the Kaveri delta of Tanjore. The people there were black, rough (dur) and passionate, having among them partisans both of the truth and of error. They did not care for the cultivation of the arts " et mettent toute leur habilete a poursuivre le lucre." The naked heretics (Digambara Jains) were in great force. II nfortunately he did not visit the Malabar Coast. He, however, noticed the fact that sandalwood and a oamphor-bearing tree (cinnamon) grew on the mountains of Mo-la-ye (Malaya), " dont lea sommcts escarpes dominent des vallees profondes." And he further noticed that a certain island which he described as lying to the south-west of Persia was peopled only by women. Reference is probably here made to the Island of Minicoy, and this subject will again occur in considering Marco Polo's account of the male and female islands. Hwen Thsang's description is here transcribed: " Au sud-ouest du royaume Po-la-sse (Persia) dans une lie, se trouve le royaume des femmes d' Occident ; on n'y voit que des femmes et pas un seul homme. Ce pays abonde en productions tares et pr Releases ; il est sous la dtpendanoe du royaume de Fo-lin, dont le roi leur envoie chaque annee des maris qui s' unis sent avec elles : mats lorsqu'elles mettent an monde des garyons les lois du pays difendent de les Clever."

About the time of Hwen Thsang's visit the Pallavas seem to have made an effort and to have recovered temporarily from the Western Chalukyas the

town of Vatapi (Badami), and in this they were apparently assisted as feudatories by the three rulers of Chola , Pandya and Kerala.

The Chalukya king Pulakesi II at his death seems to have left threo infant sons. During their minority their mother Vijaya bhattarika assumed the reins of government. The eldost son died and made way

for Vikramdditya I. The southern powers apparently saw, while this interregnum lasted, a chance of suppressing the rising dynasty and

accordingly combined against it. . .

That the combination was successful at the time is borne out by more than one Chalukya grant. The Pallava king is referred to in one of these as the leader " who had been the cause of the discomfiture and the destruction of that family which was as pure as the rays of the

moon." 1 . .

But retribution speedily came, for it is recorded of Vinaydditya

that during the lifetime of his father Vikramdditya I (about 670-80 A.D.), and by his command, he " arrested the extremely exalted power of the Pallavas , whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions." This last phrase, though it occurs more than once and in different deeds, is not explained therein.

In regard to it Mr. Fleet thus expresses his views : " The expres

sion points distinctly to there being three well-defined and recognised divisions of the Pallava dominions. They may have been each ruled by a separate king of a separate branch of the dynasty ; or they may have been under one monarch with a viceroy in each of the three provinces."

There is little room for doubt that the expression refers to the " Chola, Pandya and Kerala " rulers, who, in another grant of Vinaydditya' s, are specifically referred to as " the proud summits of three mountains which he " rent open (like Indra) with the thunderbolt which was his prowess."

How much Vinaydditya and his father Vikramdditya T accomplished in this raid into the South it is not easy to suggest. Vikramdditya I is 6aid to have " had the water-lilies which were his feet kissed by the diadem of the Lord of Kanchi, who had bowed down before no other," and of Vinaydditya it is

recorded that he " caused the rulers of Kamera and Parasika and Simhala and other islands to pay tribute to him." The name Kamera occurs in two grants ; in another it occurs {is Kavera (perhaps Kaveri), and in a fourth the word used is Kerala. Parasika is the modern Halsi in Belgaum, the capital of the early Kadamba dynasty, and Simhala is Ceylon.

It is not improbable that the Chalukyas entered into separate tributary relations with the Kerala ruler at this time. Their policy would certainly be to break up the southern confederacy which had nearly proved fatal to them. And the isolated position of the Keralas behind their mountains would render it easier to detach them than any of the other combined powers.

It is not improbable also that it was at this time that the Kerala territory lying to the east of the Pdlghat gap (vide page 252), which to this day Malayalis call the Kongunady was lopped off from their posses-

The Chalukyas claimed to belong to the Sdmavamfa or Lunar Race.

sions. For in more than one grant of Vinaydditya's allusion is made to him as the king " bj whom the Pallavas, the Kalambras , the Keralas the Haihayas , the Vilas , the Malavas, the Cholas, the Pdndyas and others were brought into a similar state of servitude, with the Almas and Oangas and others who were hereditarily (subject to him)." The Gangas or Kongus (as Malayans call them) must have followed their suzerain in his southern raid, and not improbably drove the Keralas inside their mountain limits at this time (c. A.D. 680-96).

Of Vinaydditya's successor in the early part of the eighth century A.D. nothing farther is related regarding measures affecting the southern powers than that he is said to have " uprooted the clumps of thorns among the kings of the south."

But the next of the Western Chalukya kings— Vikramdditya II (A.D. 732-47) — seems to have directed all his energies to the subjugation of the Pallavas of Kanchi. It is said he slew the Pallava king, whose name Nandi Potavarmd is given, and took a big drum belonging to him called " Roar of the Sea." He directed three expeditions apparently against Kanchi , and* his successor Kirtti Varma II, whilst heir apparent, seems to have commanded in one of them. As regards the .other powers of the south nothing more is recorded than that Vikramdditya II " withered up Pandya , Chola, Kerala , Kalabra, and other kings."

These expeditions, however, which were probably in great measure unsuccessful as permanent conquests, seem to have exhausted the Western Chalukya resources, and the natural reaction set in. In the reign of Kirtti Varma II (A.D. 747-5?) the Rdshtrakiita dynasty rose to power and effaced

for a time the glories of the Chalukyas. “The Rdshtrakiita king Dantidurga, coming from the north, subdued the victorious army of Karnata {Chalukya), and of Kirtti Varma II it is recorded that “ through him the regal fortune of the Chalukyas became impeded on the earth.”

Dantidurga the Rdshtrakiita king’s date has been fixed by means of grants as A.D. 725-55, and with his conquest of the Western Chalukyas a fresh political influence began to bear on the kingdoms of the south. That he came into collision with the southern powers is not stated. It is merely recorded of him that he conquered the army of Karnata (Western Chalukya), “ which had been expert in defeating the Lords of Kanchi and Kerala , the Chola, the Pandya, Sriharsha and Vajrata” But after this the dynasty rapidly acquired great and extensive influence. It extended its rule not only over the Dekhan proper, but over the Konkana , a portion of Gujarat and Central India, up to the Vindhya mountains, and its influence made itself felt much further to the north.

It was Krishna I, the successor of Dantidurga , who built the temple of Elliira , and the second king after Krishna I, by name Dhruva (about 770-79 A.D.), seems to have set himself in earnest to conquer the south. The Pallavas of Kanchi had probably, in the Western Chalukya wars, lost much of their influence in the south. Dhruva, it is recorded, managed to hem in the army of the Pallavas between his army on the one side and

the ocean on the other, and despoiled the conquered of their fighting elephants, which were much prized in the armaments of Indian kings. The Pallava king seems to have had but little choice left to him than « to bow down before him ” as another grant records.

With the conquest of the Western Chalukyas the tributary lien on Kerala and the suzerainty over the Gangas must also have passed to the Rashtrakutas. The Ganga king seems to have rebelled against the yoke, for Dhruva , it is recorded, conquered and imprisoned him, and from this time forward down at least to the beginning of the tenth century the Gangas continued to follow their Rashtrakuta suzerains in their battles.

In the reign of Govinda III , his successor (A.D. 803-814-15), they were in particular used in the wars dgaiDs’ the Eastern Chalukya dynasty, one of whose kings (Pijayaditya or Narendra Mriga Raja) fought, it is recorded, a hundred and eight battles against the combined Rashtrakutas and Gangas in the short space of twelve and a half years. It was perhaps on account of this good service that Govinda III released the captive Ganga king (imprisoned by

Dhruva), but his lenient policy failed, for he had again shortly to retake and reimprison him.

Whether it was at this time, or shortly before or after it, is uncertain, but the Keralas also began to give trouble. Of Govinda III one grant records that " (Having conquered) the K&ralas , the Malavas (and) the Santasy together with the Gurjaras (and) …. who dwelt at the hill fort of Chitrakiifay then he (became) a very Narayana* on the earth in respect of fame.". And again in another grant belonging to the allied dynasty (liathor) of Gujarat it is recorded, " . . . . and the array of the Mahasa-tnantas 1 of the region of the south, terrified, and not holding together, and having their possessions in the course of being taken away from thenl by Srivallabha" (*.«., Govinda III), "through (showing) respect, obtained protection from him " (i.e., Indra Illy the Rdthor king of Gujarat).

It may be doubted whether, as alleged, the victory over the Keralas was very complete. But the fact that expeditions into Malabar did about this time occur is in consonance with local tradition.* 2 Local tradition, however, says that they were repulsed, and that the Eradi chiefs of the Zamorin's house were, with the aid of the Ten Thousand Nayars of Polanady the chief instruments of the discomfiture of the invasion vid the Palghat gap, while the Northern Kolattiri seems to have arrested that which came by way of the coast.

It is doubtful whether after this time (early part of the ninth century A.D.) the Rashtrakuta dynasty had any dealings directly with Kerala. 'l'he invaders were probably driven back, as Malayali tradition indeed asserts. At any rate there is apparently nothing yet on record to

■ The Malayali chieftains all claim to be of the Samantha caste, with the exception of one or two who claim Kshatnya rank.

2 Tagcs 236-37.

prove that the Rashtrakutas conquered Malabar ; whereas, on the contrary, the fighting with the Pallavas and with the Eastern Chalukyas continued from this time down to about the beginning of the tenth century A.D., and this probably occupied most of their attention.

It was about this latter time that the great irruption from the south into the Dekhan took place. The Cholas had probably during all these years been husbanding their strength, and when the other dynasties had exhausted themselves in barren conflicts, the greater part of their dominions fell an easy prey to the southern dynasty. The final blow to the Rashtrakuta supremacy was dealt by Tailapa or Taila, who revived the dynasty of the Western

Chalukyas in the latter half of this same tenth century A.D.

But it will be necessary to revert here to matters more immediately concerning Malabar, and the epoch is a convenient one for the purpose, because, on the 25th August 825 A.D., there dawned, as already explained (pp. 157-60), the Kollarn Era of the Malayalis.

There are three ancient Malayali deeds which have excited much interest, not only because of their antiquity, but because of the interesting fact that by them the ancient kings of Kerala conferred on the Jewish and Christian colonies certain privileges which those colonies, to a certain extent, do still possess. These deeds have been more than once translated, and in Appendix XII will be found translations of them by the most erudite of Malayalam scholars, Dr. H. Gundert.

The dates to be assigned to these deeds have been much discussed, but there is a general agreement among those best capable of judging that the Jews' deed (No. 1) is of date about the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century A.D. Dr. Burnell says of No. 2, the Settlement deed of the main colony of Christians, that " the only possible date is A.D. 774." And as regards No. 3, the settlement deed of the southern Christian cdlony, it is on general grounds placed about 50 years later than No. 2, or about A.D. 824, and in corroboration of the correctness of this conclusion it may be pointed out that two Nestorian priests, by name Mar Sapor, and Mar Peroz, or Peroses, or Parges,1 are known to have proceeded about 822 A;D. from Babylon to Quilon, and to have founded a Christian colony there, and the name of the grantee of the privileges oonveyed by No. 3, namely Maruvan Saplr Iso is evidently identical with the name of the first-mentioned of these priests.

These three deeds, when read together 2 and along with No. 4, the date of which has not yet been authoritatively fixed, afford evidence of the following facts : —

Chera, or to use its better known Canarese equivalent Kerala, was at this time (end of seventh to first quarter of ninth century) a petty empire

1 Forster's " Fra Bartolomeo," London, 1800, foot-note to p. 91.

- See the foot-notes in the Appendix.

extending in a southerly direction at least as far as Quilon, and in a northerly direction at least as far as Calicut.

The petty suzerains who ruled this tract of country were —

At the time of No. 1 (c . A.D. 700) — Bhaskara Ravi Varma.

At the time of No. 2 (A.D. 774) — Vira Raghava Chacravarti , and At the time of No. 3 (c . A.D. 824) — Sthdnu Ravi Gupta.

These three names are, so far as investigations have yet proceeded, the only really authentic names known of the kings or Perumals of ancient Chora or Kerala. And the last named of them is probably identical with the Oheraman Perumal (a title meaning literally the big man of the Cher as), whose name is in the mouth of every child on the coast. His title of Gupta seems to point to the family having been of Mauryan descent and it very possibly came from the Konkana.

Below the suzerain were a number of chieftains or princes (Utayavor = literally owners) of nads (counties), including among them the 'well-known families of Venad (Travancore), Eralandd (Zamorin), Vallucanad, and Nedumpuraiyurndd (Palghat).

The ndd (county) was the territorial organization of the ruling caste (Nayars), and, in two instances at least (Venad and Cheranad), it was the territory of the " Six hundred."

These " Six hundred " were the supervisors (Kanakkar) and protectors of t lie ndd.

The importance to the country of this Nayar organization has already 1 been dwelt upon. It was, as the Keralolpatti expressly says, their duty " to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." They were, in short, the custodians of ancient rights and customs ; they chastised the chieftains' ministers when they committed " unwarrantable acts," and were the " Parliament " 2 of the land.

Under such circumstances it becomes easy to understand how institutions existed unchanged for centuries, and how some of the influential families (continued when/ necessary by adoptions from allied families) who ruled the nads in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. still continued to rule them when the British acquired the country in 1792.

Custom was the law of the land, and it did not escape the attention of some of the early British administrators that this was so. Lord William Bentinck wrote in 1804 that there was one point in regard to the character of the inhabitants of Malabar, on which all authorities, however diametrically opposed to each other on other points, agreed, and that was with regard to

the “ independence of mind ” of the inhabitants. This “ independence of mind” was “ generally diffused • through the minds of the people. They are described as being extremely sensible of good treatment, and impatient of oppression ; to entertain a high respect for courts of judicature, and to be extremely attached to their customs. Agriculture is considered as an honorable occupation, and the

1 Con/. pp. S8, 89, 132, 133.

• Con f. p. 89.

rights of landed property and the division of the produce of the soil between the landlord and tenant are perfectly defined and confirmed by immemorial usage.” The “ independence of mind ” which is here referred to by Lord William Bentinck, and which has been noticed by every district officer then and since, oould only have been the slow growth of a steady political system, and there can be no doubt that this territorial organization of the Nayars into supervising and protecting agencies was the system which produced such (for India) unexpected results.

To the Jews and Christians organizations were given similar to that of the Nayars. Their headmen (J oseph Rabban and Iravi Corttan respectively) were raised with hereditary rank to (at least a nominal) equality of rank with the chieftains (Utayavar = Woddear of Maisur and Coorg) of the nads. The privileges conferred on them along with their rank as Utayavar are very curious, viz. : —

1. The seventy-two Viduper, attachingto lordship over the land. — What these were cannot now he fully stated, as the only information regarding them is contained in clause (b) of No. 1 and in clause (/»•) of deed No. 3 (Appendix XII). From the instances there given they appear to have been generally of a sumptuary character, such as the use of elephants carrying earth and water in marriage or other processions ; tribute f mm subordinate landholders — the revenues of the land granted ; the light by day , a well-known privilege still highly prized by the ruling houses of Travancore and Cochin and other chieftains ; the spreading cloth to walk upon ; the litter or palanquin still in common use ; the umbrella , another privilege still highly prized by Malayali chieftains ; the Vaduca drum ; the trumpet , that is, the conch shell, which still figures in the emblazonments of the Travancore and Cochin rulers ; the gateway with seats, that is, probably the power of administering justice ; ornamental arches and similar awnings and garlands , still thrown across the paths taken by members of the ruling houses — “ and the rest .”

(fi) Remission of tribute to the Supreme Government.

1. Remission of taxes to the king's house due from townspeople.

2. The privilege of receiving presents when townspeople receive

them.

1. Feast cloth .

(/) House pillars or pictured rooms.

(</) The curved sword or dagger, that is, probably, the right to make war armed with the distinctive Nayar 1 weapon, the ayudha katti (war-knife), or, as it is sometimes called, the hodunga katti (curved knife).

1 The use of this knife was proscribed by Act XXIV of 1854 in consequence of the deadly use made of it by fanatical Mftppil}as.

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

1. Sovereign merchantship over the four classes (chert), who were probably all foreigners; Jews &nd Christians were certainly two of the classes ; another of them may have been the Islanders or Cingalese (Dvipar , Divar, Tiyar, and Simhalar, Sihalar, llavur) ; the fourth were Chettis (East Coast merchants) or Arabs, or perhaps Chinese.

(*) Right of proclamation.

1. Forerunners in processions.

(&) The Jive musical instruments.

(/) Lordship over the oil-makers and the jive kinds of artificers, that is, the carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, brazier, and tanner. (m) Brokerage and customs of all general classes of goods. — The phrases used (Deed No. 2, Appendix XII) in describing the articles to which this privilege extended are noteworthy : " all that may be measured by the para (bushel), weighed by the balance, stretched by the line, of all that may be counted or carried." This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Boman j urists : Quce pondere , numero, mensurdve constant, and it has been suggested in a foot-note to the deed that perhaps the currency of the phrase at Kodungallur (Crc.nganore, alias Mouziris) is traceable back to the time of the Boman trade with that city.

But the interest in the deeds does not end here ; and deed No. 3 1 in

particular is replete with allusions to the state of society then prevailing.

Put into few words the transaction therein recorded seems to have been this : Maruvan Sapir Iso had obtained a " water " grant of some land over which one or more headmen of the Christian coikmunity (P alii gar) already had some (inferior) claims. He bought up their existing privileges, and transferred to certain persons, with the sanction of the authorities, the superior title he himself had acquired. It is in regard to the notice of the various rights and privileges thus bought up and conveyed that the interest in the deed seems to culminate.

A good deal has already been said (pp. 109 to 113) about the light which this deed (No. 3) seems to throw on the origin of the Hindu caste system, and it is unnecessary to repeat it here.

The deed itself was executed with the " concurrence " of

(a) The local chieftain (Travancore) .

(б) His next heir*

1. His officers.

2. His ministers.

(e) The " Six hundred."

1. The neighbouring lords ; and with the " sanction " of

2. The Perumal or suzerain.

1 Appendix XII.

Moreover the " Six hundred," that is, the Nayar congregation of the nad, were associated, with the J ewish and Christian communities (Anjuvannam and Manigramam) in the protection of the subordinate community of Christians founded by this deed. The reason of this seems to have been that the " Six hundred " were always on the spot, while Anjuvannam and Manigramam were a long way off. The church in question is understood to have been situated at Southern Kollam (Quilon), or somewhere in South Travancore territory, while Anjuvannam and Manigramam lay at Cranganore some miles north of Cochin.

It will be noted further that in addition to the " sanction " of the Perumal, the " concurrence " of the various persons detailed above was considered necessary to complete the formality of the grant. Why was this ? The answer

seems to be plain enough. The local chieftain (Travancore) was evidently the headman of the local " Six hundred." Until Maruvan Sapir Iso obtained from the Perumal this " water " grant the local chief and the local " Six hundred " were the protectors of this as well as of the other territory of their nad, and, most probably, entitled as such to the Pati's share of the produce. If this was so, it will be seen that the Perumal was bound in justice to make this grant only after he b ad ascertained that such proposals — transfer to the J ewish and Christian corporate bodies of the protection trust, and along with it the Pati's share of the produce — would be agreeable to the authorities of the nad. The neighbouring lords were probably individuals who had already received similar " water " grants of other bits of the nad.

The following is a list of the rights and privileges noticed in this deed. Some of these are obscure in meaning, and possibly further research may show that some of the terms have been misunderstood.

(a) Yarakol (share1 staff) of certain Iluvar

and other families.

1. Foot-rope right.) ,

; (T ,, . •,? i For mounting trees.

1. Ladder right.)

(d) Tax on elephant feeder.

(<?) Wash gold (tax on washerman). j

1. Harvest gold.

(g) Nightly meal of rice.

(h) Pot-measure.

(i) Cavvan (? tribute) .

1. Kdranmei (Karayma* * modern) of land.ˆ

1. Power to seize and possess with the 1 Superior right, ceremony of water* drops. j (d)<

Inferior rights and privileges. Clauses (&) and (c).

Clause

1 It would seem that a share of the earnings of all classes formed part of the Perumal s revenue, and this is in accordance with the usage in some Hindu States down to the

present day.

1 Con/, pp. 109-13 and Chapter IV, Section («).

- Con/, p. 221.

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

1. Power to punish offences.

2. Levy of fines.

(») Levy of expenses.

(Prices of males and females sold into (p) Breasts price. j slavery for caste

offences.

1. Protection.

2. Power to enforce the grant.

{«) Limitation of citizenship to sixty-one" in number.

(t) Liability to pay poll-tax.

1. Limitation of hire for conveyances.

(e>) Do. do. animals.

1. Limitation of mode of disposal of merchandise. ˆ

2. Liability to control by the Pati (overlord) in carrying on the business of a lord (8vdmi).

3. Liability to pay Rd-patta-vdram (king's

share of produce) and Pati-pdtta-vdfam (over-lord's share of produce). J

1. The seventy-two Vtduper, or privileges

attaching to the "water" grant of a piece of land (see above).

(aa) Right to withhold tribute due to the”| Eon (king) if injustice were done.

(bb) Investigation of offences by members)-

of their own body.

(cc) Ear dnmei (modern Earayma) of the town. ˆ

Special privileges given to the holders of the “water-contact birthright ” in this instance. Clause (e).

Privileges of the Pati (over-lord). Clauses if) and (g).

Limitation of the privileges conferred on the “water” grantees. Clause (»).

Ordinary privileges of the “ water” grantees. Clause (k).

Privileges of the Pati (over-lord). Clauses (/) and (m).

The light thrown by these deeds on the state of society as it existed in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. exhibits a community in a very advanced state of organization. At the head of all was the Ron or King or Perumal — drawing from the land a share of the produce of the soil •called the Ko-pad’s share (varam). Another share of the produce went to the Pati (over-lord) intermediary between the Ron and the actual landholder. The Pati , it seems, was not any particular person, out a body corporate of the Jews in their municipal township of Anjuvannam and of the Christians in their’s of Manigramam, and (inferentially) of the Nayars in their corporation called the “ Six hundred.” But each body corporate had a hereditary headman or chieftain.

These bodies corporate seem to have constituted the political backbone of the oountry, and their particular functions in the State were those of protecting and of supervising to which several allusions have already1 been made*

1 Pagea 87 to 90, 111-12, 131 to 133, 168.

But whom did they “protect,” and whom did they “ supervise ”P Ihe Keralolpatti expressly says their duty was “to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse,” and what has already been said about the organization of the caste system seems to make it certain that their function in the body politic was to keep every one in the place allotted to him by hereditary descent, i.e., by caste, and to see that he fulfillet} bis hereditary functions. And, more than this their duty as supervisors

(Kanakkar) — the men of the " eye" the " hand " and the "order" as the Keralolpatti caHs them— entitled them to' a share1 in the produce of the land while collecting the Kon'a (king's) share, the public land revenue in faot.

It is easy to understand, then, how this "protecting" and "supervising " caste of Nayars spread themselves over the face of the land in the positions in which they are still to be found.

And it is further easy to understand how society, organized on such lines as these, was capable of enduring almost unchanged through the long centuries which elapsed before their country finally fell under the sway of foreign rulers.

There is one other point which requires more than a passing notice here. In deed No. 2 the witnesses are thus cited : — " With the knowledge of the two Brahman divisions of Panniyur and Chowaram village have we given it, &c." There is no such attesting clause to deed No. 1, nor is there any such to deeds Nos. 3 and 4.

Now these two Brahman divisions or villages, as they are called, are the two well-known Nambutiri Brahman factions of the Panniyur (literally, pig village) and Chovur (literally, Siva village) already alluded to (pp. 119-20).

These facts seem to throw some light on the much-disputed point as to when the Vedic Brahman irruption into Malabar occurred, and such facts as are available on this point may conveniently be here brought together.

It is certain that when Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited Southern India east of the ghats in A.D. 629-45, he either found no Vedic Brahmans at all, or they were in such numbers and influence as not to deserve mention. The " sectaires nus " whom he met in large numbers were, as Dr. Burnell was the first to point out, Digambara Jains, i.e., adherents of the 24th Tirthamkar.

In deed No. 1 — the Jews' deed — the Brahman factions were not cited as witnesses. This happened about the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

In A.D. 774 they attested the deed No. 2.

They were not cited as witnesses to deed No. 3 of date about 822-24 A.D.

1 The Kdfia~pdttam (Kanampdf-varam = the share of the man who had Kdnam authority, i.e., the share of the supervising caste of Nayars). The bearing of this on the question of land tenures is most important, and will be

stated in its proper place.

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

Now the communities founded by deeds Nos. 1 and 2 were located at the Perumal's head-quarters at Kodungallur (Cranganore), while by No. 3 was founded a Christian community located somewhere in South Travancore. Down to the present day no Nambutiri family of pure birth has settled to the south of the Quilon river in South Travancore. The Travancore Rajas have " in vain tried by every means in their power to induce them to reside there." (Day's Land of the Perumauls, p. 23 ; Mateer's " Land of Charity," p. 29.) The table given at page 119 shows t hat they congregate most largely in the Calicut, Era ad, Walluvanad and Ponnani taluks of Malabar, and in the Cochin territory and in North Travancore they are also to be found in large numbers. These tracts constituted very nearly the whole of the portion of the Malabar coast first named 1 as Keralam in the Keralolpatti, and the chief seat of the Kerala Perumal was at Kodungallur (Cranganore), where were located the headquarters of the J ewish and Christian communities.

But reasons have already been assigned (p. 224) for thinking that the territory over which the Kerala Perumal finally ruled was this very tract styled Keralam (Putupattanam to Kannetti), in which the Brahmans settled most thickly.

It is not an unnatural inference consequently that the Brahmans arrived in the declining days of the Perumals, and as they were powerful enough to be cited with Travancore and other chieftains as witnesses to deed No. 2, and do not appear along with the same chieftains as witnesses to deed No. 1, it may also be inferred that they became a power in the land somewhere between the early years of the eighth century and the year A.D. 774.

Moreover in North Malabar, where they have settled very sparsely, one of their villages (Peiyannur) has adopted the law 2 of inheritance customary among Hindus on the coast. And it is noteworthy that the Muhammadans settled there (Mappillas) have done the same thing. The Peiyannur village is near the extreme north of the Northern Kolattiri's ancient domain. This looks as if the Brahman immigrants coming from the north along the coast had only been permitted to settle down in those parts after adopting the laws peculiar to it. Very probably this demand to conform to the customs of the country did not suit them. Llieir non-settlement in the country of the Southern Kolattiri (Travancore) is also noteworthy in this connection. One of the last acts of Cheraman Perumal was (according to the Keralolpatti) to confer separate dominions on the Northern and Southern Kolattiris. The Northern Kolattin was employed apparently in driving back invaders coming

by the way of the coast, and the Southern Kolattiri had evidently guarded e southern passes for some generations. If the Northern Kolattiri, after driving back the invaders, allowed Brahman immigrants to settle

‘ Pape ‘224.

= .VaramaHˆam or descent in the fcmnlc line to the esrh.sinn of the tn»Ie.

down in his dominions only on condition that they changed their habits of life and conformed to the custom of the country, it is not difficult to understand how the Brahmans refrained altogether from settling down in the Southern Kdlattiri (Travancore) domains.

This, too, points in the same direction, namely, to the settlement of the Nambutiri Brahmans on the coast somewhere about the time of the last of the Perumals.

Turning next to native traditions other than Malayali , there are in the Mackenzie MSS. two separate accounts current in the early years of the present century among the Canarese and among the Mahrattas.

The Canarese account, taken from the St’hala Mahatmyam of Baua-vasi, relates hev/ one Mayura Varmma, a Kadamba king of Banavasi, impressed with reverence for a Brahman who refused to eat in a country where no Brahmans were settled, established this man in his capital. Mayura Varmma’s son, called Chandraugatan, it is said, called in a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Kerala, in Tuluva, Haigiri, Concana, and Corada. The Kerala Brahmans are said to use Malayalam. It was after this , so it is further said, that Parasu Raman came 1 to the country, bringing with him sixty-four families, among whom he established his own Yaidlka (ascetical) system.

The Mahratta account states that Parasu Raman turned the Boyi-jati (fisherman 2 caste) into Brahmans in order to people Keralam. They were to summon him from Gokarnam, whither he had retired, if they had any cause of sorrow or regret. They summoned him unnecessarily and he cursed them and “ condemned them to lose the power of assembling together in council, and to become servile. They accordingly mingled with Sudra females and became a degraded race.” “ About this time one Mayura Varmma, considering these Brahmans to be contemptible, sent for others from Hal-Kshetram and located them at different places in his dominions.” Mayura Yarmma was a Kadamba king, and was “ selected,” so the tradition runs, to rule over “ Kerala and Caurashtaka Desam.”

Both traditions, 3 it will be seen, credit the Kadamba king Mayura Varmma with having been mainly instrumental in introducing Yedic Brahman 8 into

Keralam, and it is known from other reliable sources that Mayura 4 Yarmma was the first of a resuscitated dynasty of Kadamba kings, one of whom (Tailapa) reigned from A.D. 107/ to 1108. Calculating back from these dates through the sixteen genera-

1 Conf. pp. 221, 222.

2 Probably intended as a slur on the origin of the Nambutiris. In Malabar also there are indications of some such tradition having been at one time current.

3 For further notices of the tradition as current among the Canarese, both Jains and Brahmans, see Buchanan's Mysore , Canara and Malabar , Volume II, pp. 225, 259, 269, 2/0, 279, Madras edition, 1870.

‘ There was a second of the name, but his date is much later, long after the time when, from deed No. 2, it is known for certain that the Vcdic Brahmans were firmly settled in Malabar.

tions which had elapsed between Mayura Varmma's time and Tailapa's, and allowing twenty-four years as an average,1 Mayura Varmma's accession may be placed in the last years of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century A.D.

This again points to the Vedic Brahman immigration having been in the early years of the eighth century A.D., and to their having come into Malabar by way of the coast from the Tulu country (South Canara).

Until better evidence is forthcoming, therefore, it may be concluded from the above facts and traditions that the " God-compelling" Vedic Brahmans, with their mantrams, and spells, and doctrine of salvation for deceased persons through the efficacy of their sacrifices, came in the wake of the conquering Western Chalukyas and Rashtrakutas and their allies. The former were Vaishnavites and their emblem was a boar, and the Panniyur (pig village) faction of the Nambutiris no doubt was at first in a position of equality with the Saivite faction, but the Rashtrakutas were chiefly Saivites, and the Chovur faction of the Nambutiris managed in the end to get the ascendency. To this day the latter party assert that the Panniyur faction is, as already stated (p. 119), excluded from the Vedas altogether. At the time of deed No. 2 (A.D. 774) both factions seem to have been in power in Malabar.

There is only one other matter to be pointed out in connection with these deeds. The privileges granted thereby were princely privileges, and that such favours were conferred on foreigners engaged in trade like the Jews and

Christians is matter for remark.

Such privileges are not usually to be had for the asking, and the facts set forth in this section seem to point to their having been granted — in the case of the Jews' deed (No. 1), at or very near the time2 when the Western Chalukya raids into Southern India resulted in the dismemberment of the Pallava kingdom, and its three confederate and apparently subordinate dynasties of which Kerala was one ; and in the case of the Christians' deed (No. 2), at or very near the time 3 when the Rashtra-kuta invasions of Southern India had resulted in the final subjugation of the Pallava dynasty of Kanchi (Conjeeveram). Indeed in the latter case the date of the deed (A.D. 774) falls in the reign of Dhruva, the Rashtrakuta who hemmed in the Pallava host between his own army and the sea, and who, after despoiling them of their fighting elephants, seems to have let the opposing host go free in shame and contumely after making their sovereign " bow down before him." At such times money would be required in large sums to buy off opposing hosts, and it is not therefore an improper inference to draw from the facts that, in offering assistance in this shape, the trading foreigners met the Perumal's wishes, and naturally enough secured at the same time for themselves a higher standing in the land in which they traded.

1 This is a fair average for Indian kings of this class.

CunJ . p. '■> Com/, pp. 2G4-0.

A few years 1 later it may be further noted— about the time of deed No. 3— fresh invasions of Kerala took place. It was, as the Keralolpatti tradition indicates, threatened from two sides at once. The Northern Kolattiri chief was appointed by the Perumal to stop the invaders— probably Kadambas or some other feudatory of the Rashtrakutas— ooming along the coast from the north, while the raid from the east vid the Palghat gap, probably by the Gangas or other feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, seems to have been defeated by the Erddi chiefs of the Zamorin's house.

How this last exploit led to the exaltation of the latter family, to the last Perumal s flight to Arabia, and to the sinking into humble rank of his family the present Cochin 2 Raja's dynasty — has already been set forth in the preceding section.

There can be little doubt that it was at this time (first half of the ninth century A.D.) that the Malayitlam-speaking races became consolidated within the limits which they occupy down to the present day. At the time mentioned, as these deeds show, Malay alam and Tamil were practically one language, at least in their written form. From that time forward Malayalam

and the Malayalam races began to draw apart from Tamil and the races east of the ghats. Shut in by their mountain walls except at the Palghat gap, the Malay&lis became in time a distinct race, and, owing to their excellent political constitution, which on the one hand kept them free from the aggressions of their neighbours, and on the other hand maintained steadfastly among themselves the ancient order of things, there is little wonder that they presented through many succeeding centuries the example of a Hindu community of the purest and most characteristic type.

Section C. — 8.25 to 1498 A.D.

The Keralolpatti, after describing the partition of his dominions by Cheraman Perumal, and after describing how the original settlement of Muhammadans was effected in the way3 already described, proceeds to give some account of the changes which followed the retirement of Cheraman Perumal among the petty Rajas whom he left behind. The details given, however, do not admit of anything but the most cursory treatment.

It relates how the Zamorin became the most famous of the Malayali Rajas. He seems to have adopted the high sounding title of Kunnalak-kon , or king of the hills (kunnu) and waves {ala). The Sanskrit form of this title Samudri , or as it is pronounced by Malayalis Samutiri or

1 Conf. p. 265.

- The Jews, it will be noted — Dr. Gundert's note to deed No. 1 — have preserved the tradition that the Cochin Raja was the last Perumal's lawful heir.

5 Pages 192-95.

Tamutiri (or vulgarly Samuri or Tamiiri), is that by which the chief Kaja of this house became known to Europeans as the Zamorin of

Calicut.

The Zamorins in the eighth century had been Utayavar 1 of Eralinad or Ernad, the Bullock country. Down to the present day the second eldest male of the family bears the title of Eralpad. And the family is sometimes called the Eradi dynasty, and sometimes the Netiyiruppu dynasty from the locality (in Ernad) where probably was located the original family residence. Another

tradition has it that the original family residence was at Puntura, whence the title also sometimes applied of Punturakkon or king of Puntura. Where this last named place was situated n not definitely known, but one tradition has it that the family came originally from a place of that name situated somewhere in the valley of the Kaveri River.

The Zamorin was also sometimes called the " Lord of Men," and a distinction was drawn between him and the North and South Kolattiri chiefs who were respectively styled the "Lord of Horses" and the " Lord of Elephants." Cannanore, the capital of the former chief, was in former days a great emporium of the trade in horses between Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and Southern India.

The Zamorin's first act of aggression after the departure of the Perumal was to dispossess the chieftain of Polanad — the country round about Calicut — the country in fact of the Ten Thousand with whose assistance it is said he won the victory 2 over the invaders coming by the Palghat gap. One tradition says that for forty-eight years he warred with the chief of Pdlanad, the Porlattiri Raja, and in the end succeeded by winning over his opponent's troops, the Ten Thousand, and by bribing his opponent's minister and mistress. The Zamorin's troops having been admitted by treachery into his fort, the Porlattiri chief fled to the protection of the North Kolattiri, and from one of the females of this family the present Kadattunad Raja of North Malabar is descended.

The treacherous minister and mistress of Porlattiri were rewarded with territory and honors — the former received the rank of Ernad Menon and the latter that of Talachennor of Calicut. Sometime afterwards however misunderstandings arose, and half of the Ten Thousand (the Vadakkampuram faction) marched to the Zamorin's palace to oppose the other half of the Ten Thousand (the Kilakkampuram faction) . But peaceable councils prevailed, and by timely concessions and liberal allowances the Zamorin and his ministers finally won over the Ten Thousand and their country (Polanad) round Calicut.

The tradition preserved in the Keralolpatti as to the founding of Calicut and its rapid rise as a trading centre are very probably founded

1 Conf. Deeds Nos. 1 and 2, App. XII.

2 Conf. pp. 237, 239, 242, 243.

on ftiet. The Zamorin had apparently built a fort at a place called Velapuram in Caliout probably in order to have a firmer 'hold of I olanad. A merchant (Chetti) from the East Coast, who had been on a trading voyage to Mecca

reached Calicut with a ship overloaded (it is said) with gold. The ship was about to sink in consequence, and the merchant brought it close in shore at Calicut, took out a box of treasure, laid it before the Zamorin, and told his story. The Zamorin directed him to bring the treasure ashore and to store it in his palace. The merchant accordingly built (it is said) a granite cellar in the king's house and deposited therein as much of the treasure as could not be conveniently taken away in his ship. He then sailed for his own country, and after a time returned to Calicut, opened the celKr in the presence of the Zamorin, counted out the treasure, and finding it correct divided it into two portions and offered the Zamorin one-half of it. But the Zamorin replied, " I do not want your treasure, you may take away the whole." The Chetti being " convinced that this was the most truthful of all kings and Svainipams (dynasties) " then asked and obtained permission to trade at Calicut. In this way the bazaar was founded. The Chetti's name was Ambaresan, and, so the Keralolpatti runs, the cellar erected by him in the Kovilagam (king's house) bears even to this day 1 the name of Ambaresan kett (Ambaresan built)."

After this, it is said, " the men of the port began to make voyages to Mecca in ships, and Calicut became the most famous (port) in the world for its extensive commerce, wealth, country, town, and king."

Yet another tradition is also preserved in the Keralolpatti, somewhat to the same purport as that last above related. It runs, that in the town of Muscat two sons were born to a Muhammadan ; after they had grown up, the father addressed the elder of the two sons saying : — " After my death you two will fight with each other. The other will kill you. Both of you should not be in this same place. You had better go to some land and pass your days. I shall give you enough of gold for that." Thus the father sent away the elder son in a ship. He visited various countries and laid presents before their respective sovereigns. The presents consisted of pickle-boxes full of gold, and he used to represent to each king whose honesty he wished to test that the box contained only pickles. All the kings he visited on discovering what the boxes really contained concealed the fact and appropriated the gold, but at last the experiment was tried on the Zamorin, and the Zamorin at once called him up and said : — " You mistook one thing for another. This is not pickles but gold." The traveller thereupon concluded that here at last was a trustworthy king, and so he settled down at Calicut and became the Koya (Muhammadan priest) of Calicut.

1 The tradition has been lost since the Kfirulolpatti wus written (seventeenth century

A.D.).

Both traditions it will be seen rely on the fact that property was made secure in Calicut, and that in consequence of this the trade of the place and the trading settlers increased largely.

Among the latter the Arab and Muhammadan element became in time predominant. And the Keralolpatti tradition asserts, that it was through the aid rendered by the Muhammadan settlers at Calicut that the Zamorins made their next great encroachment on the neighbouring chiefs.

Up to this time 1 the Valluva k6n or king of the Yalluvar (? Pallavas) had been the presiding chief at the great Kuttam or Assembly of Keralam which took place every twelfth year at the Maha Makham 3 festival at Tirunavayi. The Koya of Calicut was desirous of seeing the ceremonies, and accordingly went to one of the festivals. On his return to Calicut he told the Zamorin that, if he wanted it, he would conquer the country for him and instal him as presiding chief at the festival. To this the Zamorin agreed, and the celebration of the festival under the auspices of the Zamorins dates from the time when this Muhammadan took up arms on behalf of the Zamorin. It is unlikely that.it was only with the Yalluva kon that hostilities ensued, for the Cochin Rajas seem to have been despoiled by the Zamorins about the same time of the Kutnad and Chavakkad portions of the Ponnani taluk.

It is impossible to say exactly when these events happened. Other traditions previously related 3 seem to show that, when the line of Kerala princes ended with Cheraman Perumal in 825 A.D., the Cholas acquired the suzerainty of Kerala. Moreover, the Keralolpatti has preserved the name of one of the Chola kings Adityavarmman, who is generally supposed to have overrun a large part of South India about A.D. 894. And the tradition also exists that invasions became frequent about this time. Both Pandyans and Cholas apparently struggled for the mastery, and the latter appear to have driven back the Kongus or Gan gas and so freed Kerala, for a time at least, from attaok vid the Palghat gap. The Zamorins about this time — the first century after 825 A.D. — were probably busy consolidating their hold on the country round Calicut, and it was not till some considerable time later that their preponderance among the Malayali chieftains began to be recognised.

The Cochin Rajas as Cheraman PerumaTs direct heirs, shorn however of the territories transferred to the Kolattiris (North and South), and of other territory, besides by e defection of the Zamorins, seem to have been the principal power in central Kerala, and it is in accordance with this that in the Kollam year 93 (A.D. 917-18) an expedition (probably of Kongus 4 or Gangas) from Maisur was driven back when attempting an invasion of Kerala

vid the P&lgh&t gap. Local tradition

- Conf. p. 240. 2 Con/, pp. 162-69.
- Still allied to the RlBhtrakuta dynasty.

3 Con f. pp. 225-26.

assigns this as the date on which the Cochin Rajas acquired the small district of Chittur still held by them and lying to the east of Palghat in the very centre of the gap. And the Palghat Rajas assert that the territory was assigned by them to the Cochin Rajas to enable the latter the better to protect the country from invasions at that point.

About 973-90 the Rashtrakuta dynasty succumbed to the Western Chalukya king Taila II, " who lifted up the royal fortunes of the kingly favourites of the Chalukya family which had been made to sink down by the deceitful practices of the Rashtrakutas." Kerala, after this time probably, had peace on its Kongu or Ganga frontier, for the resuscitated dynasty of Western Chalukyas does net appear to have extended its power to its old limits in the South, and about a century later (1080 A.D.) the Gangas or Kongus gave place finally to the Hoysala Ballalas. After the overthrow of the Rashtrakutas the Gangas or Kongus were probably a decaying power.

It was about this time, or more exactly A.D. 970-1039, that A1 Blrunl wrote his account of the coast— " Beyond Guzarat are Konkan and Tana ; beyond them the country of M allbar,1 which, from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam,2 is 300 parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pan, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth on that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other place. Part of the territory is inland and part on the sea-shore. They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabhalik in the direction of Rum, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all Samutils (Buddhists) and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore the first is Sindabur, then Faknur,3 then the oountry of Manjarur,4 then the country of Hlli,5 then the country of Sadarsa,0 then Jangli,6 then Kulam.7 The men of all these countries are Samams. After thesecomes the country of Sawalak 8 which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Malwala, which means 1,893,000 in number. About forty years ago the king of Malwala died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose, and after several battles they ended with dividing the territory between

1 Con f. p. 203. — " Male, where the pepper grows," has now developed into Malibar. And this last form of tho name has to be distinguished from M'abar,

which name A 1 Blrunl assigns to the country extending from ‘ Kulam to the country of Siiawar 300 parasangs along the shore.”

2 Quilon (South Kollam). 3 Baj-kur in South Canara.

4 Mangalore in South Canara.

- This evidently refers to the North KOlattiri dynasty whose second most ancient family seat was in the immediate neighbourhood of Mount Deli, the 11 ill of Al Liruni.

- These names have probably not been accurately handed down.

2 Kolam is evidently Quilon (South Kollam), the country of the South kolaltms

Thenamcs being derived from numerals, the Laccadive and Maidive Islands am probably here rofcrrqd to. The Laccadive Islands have always been the pw oi sea-

robbers.

EARLY HISTORY FROM OTHER SOURCES.

them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off goods and viands, sugar, wine, cotton cloths, captives and great booty. But through the great wealth of that country no serious injury is done.”

By the eleventh century A.D., the time when the above account was written, the Pallavas had sunk into the position of mere feudatories of the Cholas, and the Cholas seem to have become the great suzerain power of South India. The Mala-md (hill country, West Coast, Malabar) was more than once invaded by the Cholas at this time, and they doubtless drew tribute from one or more of the Malayali chiefs. These invasions, however, do not seem to have left any permanent impression on the country or to have given rise to any changes among the ruling families.

The Viknhndnka dSra charita of Bilhana affects to give an account of a brilliant Western Chalukyan expedition made into Southern India in the last quarter of the eleventh century A.D. or in the first quarter of the twelfth by Vikramfulitya VI styled The Great. And in this expedition the poet relates that the king of Kerala was slain. That Vikramfulitya the Great ever came so far south as Malabar is not to be credited for various reasons, but it would appear that some of his feudatories (Sindas of Erambarage) made an

incursion to the West Coast, in the course of which thˆy are said to have burnt Uppinakatti (? Uppinangadi in South Canara) and Goa and to have seized the Konkan. This was probably exploit enough for the court poet to magnify into a magnificent royal procession throughout South India.

The Chola supremacy in South India continued throughout the twelfth century A.D. ; it attained its widest bounds probably in the reign of Kulottunga Chola (about 1064-1113 A.D.), and in 1170 Madura, the Pandyan capital city, had become incorporated in the Chola dominions.

“ Five miles by sea (from Kulam Mall) lies the Island of Mall, which is large and pretty. It is an elevated plateau but not very hilly, and is covered with vegetation. The pepper vine grows in this island, as in Kandarina 1 and Jirbatan,2 but it is found nowhere else but in these places ” — so wrote At Idrhl, a Muhammadan geographer settled at the court of Roger II of Sicily in the end of the eleventh century A.D. He then described the pepper vines, and explained how white pepper ia obtained from pepper “ beginning to ripen or even before ” and finally he asserted that the pepper-vine leaves curl over the bunches of grapes to protect them from rain and return to their natural position afterwards “ a surprising fact ” ! ! Al Idrisi obtained his information chiefly from books and from travellers ; he had no personal knowledge

1 Afterwards written as Fandarina by the author. Conf. pp. 72, 192, 194, 19S.

- CW/. pp. 10, 194, W.-note 235

of the countries in India about which he wrote, and his account is much confused. The following is his description of the places named above : “From Bana (Tanna) to Fandarlna is 4 days’ journey. Fandarina is a town built at the mouth 1 of a river which comes from Manibar 2 where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets wTell supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain 3 covered with trees, villages and flocks. The cardamom 3 grows here and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods.” “ From Fandarina to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river,4 is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains.”

At this time the rising power in the south were the Hoysala Ballalas of Halabid ; the}r had in Al IdrisVs time apparently already obtained a footing on the West Coast, for among the places he mentions is Saimur which “belongs to a country whose king is called Balhara,” and Nahrwara (? Honore) seems to have been at this time also in their possession.

In the first half of the twelfth century the Ballala king Vishnuvar-dhana took Talakad, the Ganga or Kongu capital, and brought that dynasty to a close, and a few years later (A.D. 1182 or 1189) the suzerains of the Gangas or Kongus — the Western Chalukya dynasty— came to an end in the reign of Someavara Deva, the last king of that branch of the family, their territory being swallowed up by the Yadavas of Devagiri coming from the North, and by Bijjala of the Kulabhu-riya Kula who was in turn supplanted by the Ballalas advancing from the South.

About this time and a little later the Oholas were kept busy by invasions from Ceylon, apparently in aid of the Pandyas, and by attacks of the Orungal dynasty in the North, and although the Ballalas took Canara which they called Kerala it does not yet appear that they had anything to do with Kerala proper, that is, Malabar.

In 1263-75 Al Kazwinl, another Muhammadan geographer, compiled his account of India from the works of others, and among other places he mentions " Kulam,5 a large city in India. Mis'ar bin Muhalhil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies the people of the place choose another from China.6 There is no physician in India except in this city.

l Query _ Did the Kotta River at this period flow into the Agalapula and find an outlet

into the sea at Pantal&yini Kollam ? It is not improbable. Conf. p. 12.

- Malabar— Conf. p. 280, foot-note 1. „ _ „ . , .

s The portion of the Wynftd plateau lying north-east of P. Kollam has always been

and is still celebrated for the excellence of its cardamoms. .

« This description fits Srlkandapuram — Conf. p. 194. But in another place the author

apparently places Jirbatan od the sea-coast.

5 ? Quilon.

« Was Quilon at this time a Chinese Factory?

The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from the

backs of fishes. The inhabitants do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter 1 animals, but they eat carrion," and he goes on to describe the pottery made there and contrasts it with China ware. " There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height, exceeding even 100 cubits."

A more trustworthy account of the coast than A l KazwlnVs is to be found in the Book of Travels containing the adventures of Messer Marco Polo and his companions in the East. Marco Polo's first visit to India on a mission from Kublai Khan was about 1290 A.D., and on his return journey in the suite of the Princess Kokachin he passed up the coast in 1292 or in 1293, the probabilities being in favor of the latter year. " When you leave the Island of Seilan and sail westward about sixty miles you come to the great province of Maabar,2 which is styled India the Greater ; it is the best of all the Indies and is on the main land.' After giving an interesting account of the countries east of the Ghauts, and after describing the "kingdom of Coilum3" and the "country called Comari,"4 a short chapter5 is devoted to the " kingdom of Eli.6"

' Eli is a kingdom towards the west, about 300 miles from Comari. The people are idolaters, and have a king, and are tributary 7 to nobody ; and have a peculiar language. We will tell you particulars about their manners and their products, and you will better understand things now because we are drawing near to places that are not so outlandish.

There is no proper harbour in the country, but there are many great rivers with good estuaries,8 wide and deep. Pepper and ginger grow there, and other spices in quantities. The king is rich in treasure but not very strong in forces. The approach to his kingdom, however, is so strong by nature that no one can attack him, so he is afraid of nobody.

And you must know that if any ship enters their estuary and anchors there, having been bound for some other port, they seize 9 her and plunder the cargo. For they say, ' you were bound for somewhere else, and tis God has sent you hither to us, so we have a right to all your goods.' And they think it no sin to act thus. And this naughty custom prevails all over these provinces of India, to wit, that if a ship be driven by stress of weather into some other port than that to which

1 This looks as if the people had been Jains or Buddhists.

2 This name is applied by Marco Polo to the country east of the Ghauts comprising

the ancient territories of the Palkvas of Kanchi, of the ChPlas, and of the Pandvas Conf. foot-note, p. 280. '

3 Quilon (South Kollam). t Cape Comorin.

6 Colonel Yule's Marco Polo, 2nd edition, V01. II, p. 374

6 Mount Deli — Conf. pp. 6, 229.

to d ™th Kˆ“pZfirrmS thC “Krtk“ madC in lhc th“l •»« IWW» tad nothing

malAbar district.

it was bound, it is sure to be plundered. But if a ship comes bound originally to the place, they receive it with all honour and give it due protection. The ships of Manzi 1 and other countries that come hither in summer lay in their cargoes in six or eight days and depart as fast as possible, because there is no harbour other than the river 2 * * 5 mouth, a mere roadstead and sandbanks, so that it is perilous to tarry there. ' The ships of Manzi indeed are not so much afraid of these roadsteads as others are, because they have such huge wooden anchors

which hold in all weather. ,

“ There are many lions and other wild beasts here, and plenty ot

game, both beast and bird.”

There can be no reasonable doubt that the “ kingdom of Eli here referred to is identical with the kingdom of the Northern Kolattins, whose original settlement was at Karippatt' in Kurummattur amsam in Chirakkal taluk. The second most ancient seat of the family was at the foot of Mount Deli (Eli mala), and the site of one at least of their residences at the time of Marco Polo's visit is probably still marked by a small but very ancient temple-with a stone inscription in a«eJuttu characters— not very far from the big Ramantalli temple on e banks of the river near Kavvayi, and lying close in under the mount oil its western or sea face. While residing at this EJi Kovilagam or king s honse, the family seems to have split up-after the fashion of Malayali tarawidx — into two branches, one of which (Odeamanga am) settled at Aduthila in the Madayi amsam, while the other (Pal h) had various residences. The head of both branches (that is, the eldest male) was the Kolattiri for the time being. He, as ruling : prince, ˆ lived apart from the rest of the family and had residences at Madayi, Valarpatlan , and olr places. mW was probably, as the Keralolpatti seems o indicate the more ancient of the two seats of the ruling piiuce, down to the present day the Madayi Kava is looked “ ˆ ˆ temple of the Kolattiri household goddess Bhagavati, and he next ZI important temple of the goddess is at the KallarMl (Fencing

**■ ” •“!“?”

e, r-’«f ‘

lying towards the West. The people are idolaters , they have

1 China, south of the

possible that the Chinese had at this time on

1 2 This refers no donbt to the rivers iˆSuAood, at a place called

the sea immediately north of Mou”t foreignors who, with the Jews of

Caohchilpattanam, there was a settlem ˆ ˆ thc four settlements {rher,)

Anjuvannam and Christians o _s(.e full details in the notico of

of foreigners referred to in Deed No 2 Appendix > .

Chirakkal taluk regarding this settlement in ThoL g ˆ

5 Couf. p. W>. « Qmtf. PP- -80282- 2M*

s Covf . p. 230.

guage of their own, and a king of their own, and pay tribute to nobody.” He then proceeds to describe the pirates of Melibar and of Gozurat, and their tactics in forming sea cordons with a large number of vessels each five or six miles apart, communicating news to each other by means of fire or smoke, thereby enabling all the oorsairs to concentrate on the point where a prize was to be found. Then he goes on to describe the commerce : — “ There is in this kingdom a great quantity ˚f pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India. They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold and sendels ; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard, and other fine spices, for which there is a demand here, and exchange them for the products of these countries.

“ Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi.1 Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the West, and that which is carried by the merchants to Aden goes “on to Alexandria, but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one 2 to ten of those that go to the eastward ; a very notable fact that I have mentioned

before.”

After giving short accounts of “ Gozurat,” “ Tana,” “ Cambaet,” “ Semenat,” and “ Kesmakoran ” Marco Polo proceeds : — “ And so now let us proceed, and I will tell you of some of the Indian islands. And I will begin by two islands which are called Male3 and Female.” “ When you leave this kingdom of Kesmakoran, which is on the mainland, you go by sea some 500 miles towards the south, and then you find the two islands, Male and Female, lying about thirty miles distant from each other. The people are all baptised Christians, but maintain the ordinances of the Old Testament4 ; thus when their wives are with child they never go near them till their confinement, or for forty days thereafter.

“ In the island, however, which is called Male, dwell the men alone, without their wives or any other women. Every year when the month of March arrives the men all set out for the other island, and tarry there for three months, to wit, March, April, May, dwelling with their wives for that space. At the end of those three months they return to

1 Conf. foot-note, p. 284.

2 The preponderance of the Malabar trade towards China and the East at this time is, as Marco Polo states, “ a very notable fact.” The Red Sea trade had suffered by the rise of the Muhammadan powers.

3 Conf. p. 262, where Hwen Thsang’s parallel tradition is given.

4 “ The islanders have, from time immemorial, adopted the precaution of separating lepers from among them. On the appearance of the disease the sufferer is called before the Kazi (Priest) and, if the leprosy is pronounced to be contagious, he is expelled to the north end of the island where a place is set apart for the purpose. A hut is built for him, and he subsists on supplies of food and water which his relatives bring at intervals and leave on the ground at a safe distance. — “ Mr. Winterbotham’ a official report on Minieoy, dated 31»< May 1876. Conf. Leviticus, Chapters XIII and XIV.

their own island, and pursue their husbandry and trade1 for the other nine months.

“ They find on this island very fine ambergris.2 They live on flesh, milk and rice. They are capital fishermen,3 and catch a great quantity of fine large sea-fish, and them they dry, so that all the year they have plenty of food, and also enough to sell to the traders who go thither. They have no chief except a

:Bishop, who is subject to the Archbishop of another island, of which we shall presently speak, called Socotra. They have also a peculiar language.

" As for the children which their wives bear to them, if they he girls they abidewith the mothers ; but if they be boys the mothers bring them up till they are fourteen, and then send them to the fathers. Such is the custom of these two islands. The wives do nothing but nurse their children and gather 4 such fruits as their island produces : for their husbands do furnish 5 * * 8 them with all necessaries."

There has been much debate whether such islands have ever existed anywhere, for similar stories have a wide currency, and no small amount of speculation has been bestowed on the question as to what islands are specifically referred to by Marco Polo ; for as Colonel Yule observes,0 " Marco's statement that they had a Bishop subject to the Metropolitan

1 "383 men were absent on voyages to Bengal and other places." — Mr. TFintcrbotham's report on Minicoy of 2bth May 1876.

2 Found on the Laccadives and Minicoy and considered a royalty.

3 " The pursuit of the mass-fish is the most lucrative (industry). The boats used in mass-fishing are built on the island. * * They are the finest boats I have seen in the East, and are managed most skilfully by the men of the island." — Mr. Logan' s official report on Minicoy , dated 28 th February 1870. The mass-fish comprise two kinds of bonito ; the boats under full sail pass and repass through the shoals of these fish when they visit the neighbourhood of the island. Two men, provided with stout rods and short lines, trail long unbarbed hooks of white metal at the stem of each boat, and as the fish, mistaking these trailing hooks for fish-fry, dash at them and are hooked, the point of the rod is raised, and the fish without further ado is swung round into the boat, "and, disengaging itself readily from the unbarbed hook, is left to flounder about in the bottom of the boat while the fisherman proceeds to capture another. While this is going on a third fisherman is busy in the bottom of the boat ladling out fish -fry of which a supply is kept ready to hand in a well in the centre of the boat. The catch is occasionally enormous and the dried fish is exported largely to Ceylon and other places.

4 The gathering of coconuts is one of the chief occupations of the women of Minicoy. The collection is made monthly, and " each woman engaged in collecting nuts receives eight nuts a day and 4 per cent, of the number she collects." — Mr. Winterbot ham's report on Minicoy ,dated*lbth May 1876.

5 " Every woman in the island is dressed in silk. The gowns fit closely round

the neck

and reach to the ankles. The upper classes wear red silk and earrings of peculiar fashion. The Molacheri women are restricted to the use of a dark striped silk of a coarser quality. Every husband must allow his wife at least one candy of rice, two silk gowns, and two under-cloths a year. He also presents her on marriage with a fine betel-pouch (brought from Galle) and a silver ornament containing receptacles for lime and tobacco, and instruments of strange forms intended for cleaning tho ears and teeth."— Mr. ll'iutcrbot/ iajn's

report on Minicoy, dated 'lbtli May 1876.

8 Marco Polo, II, p. 397.

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of Socotra certainly looks as if certain concrete islands had been associated with the tale."

The following facts, and the foot-notes appended to the text, make it not improbable that the Female Island referred to may have been Minicoy.

The following are extracts from an official report regarding this island, written in 1876 by a District Officer (Mr. H. M. Winterbotham) who visited the island in the early part of that year : — " One (custom) which, so far as I know, is without parallel amongst any society of Mussulmans is that the men are monogamous.1 I was assured that it was an established custom that no man could have more than one wife at one time. When I took the census there were 1, 179 women on the island and only 351 men. The other men were absent on their voyages. But when all are present on the island the women exceed the men by 2G per cent." " The women appear in public freely with their heads uncovered, and take the lead in almost everything except navigation. The census was made through them in a manner peculiar to the island. Ordess were issued by Ali Malikhan to certain women in authority, and they called together an adult female from every house. About four hundred females assembled and told off the numbers of their households with much readiness and propriety." •* After marriage the wife remains in her father's house,2 a very convenient custom when the men are mostly sailors, absent from the island a great part of the year. Three or four couples find accommodation in the same chamber, each enveloped in long-cloth mosquito curtains. If the daughters are numerous, they leave the parental roof in order of seniority, and the houses erected for them become their property. The men, I was told repeatedly, have no right of ownership over the houses."

From the facts as they exist even down to the present day, it is easy to understand how mariners casually visiting the island would be astounded to find none but women to receive them and everything arranged and managed by the women. The men who remained on the island would probably keep out of the way until the strangers cleared out. These islands (Laccadives and Minicoy) were notoriously the prey of sea-robbers in former days, and it would have fared badly with the remaining men if they had offered resistance. In the Lusiad there is a vivid description of a company of Portuguese mariners running not m an island of this description.

Again, seeing that the islands described by Marco Polo are " Indian islands and not either Arabian or African, it follows that the locality to be sought lay on the Indian side of the Arabian Sea, and the Island

of thIf* ihe ,Mir"Crt/8 wcre at one tim* " baptised Christians " (see Marco Polo's account J W0Uld U KM- '«• "" "< » ˆ –cd fl-b conver-

- Or rather her mother's— see what immediately follows.

of Miniooy consequently better fulfils the description given than either the Kuria Muria Islands lying off the Arabian coast or any others lying nearer Africa.

Shortly after Marco Polo's visit, Southern India was convulsed by a Muhammadan irruption from the North under Malik Kafur (A.D. 1310). It has sometimes been supposed that the Malabar coast fell in common with the rest of the peninsula before the Muhammadans at this time, but there is nothing to show that this was the case, and the name applied at this time by Marco Polo (1293 A.D.) and by Ibn Batata (1342-47 A.D.) to the eastern portion of the peninsula — namely, Maabar — probably gave rise to the idea. Chola and Pandya both however suocombed to the Muhammadans, and Kerala probably owed its immunity from attack to its ramparts of mountains and forests.

With the founding, however, of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1336-50 a new political influence began to bear on the South, and it was about this time (1342-47 A.D.) that Sheikh Ibn Batuta of Tangiers came to Malabar. The following interesting sketches of the coast at this period have been taken from an abridged account 1 of his travels : —

" We next came into the country of Malabar whioh is the country of blaok pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabur to Kawlam.2 The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees,3 and at the distance of every half mile there is a house 4 made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of oomers and goers,

whether they be Moslems or infidels. To each of these there is a well, out of which they drink ; and over each is an infidel appointed to give drink. To the infidels he supplies this in vessels ; to the Moslems he pours 5 it in their hands. They do not allow the Moslems to touch their vessels, or to enter into their apartments ; but if any one should happen to eat out of one of their vessels, they break it to pieces. But in most of their districts the Mussulman merchants have houses, and are greatly respected. So that Moslems who are strangers, whether they are merchants or poor, may lodge among them. But at any town in whioh no Moslem resides, upon any one's arriving they cook, and pour out drink for him, upon the leaf of the banana ; and, whatever he happens to leave, is given to the dogs. And in all this space of two months' journey, there is not a span6 free

i . < The Travels of Ibn Batata, &c.," by the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D., London, Oriental

Translation Committee, 1829.

3 South Kollam— Quilon. , ..

3 The country must have been thickly planted (as now) with coconut and other

From the description which follows, the waterpandals, still so common on all

frequented roads in the hot season, seem to be here alluded to

» This practice is still followed. For certain low castes a long spout is provided, made from bamboo or from the midrib of the sago palm leaf. The low caste man stands at the end of the spout and receives the water in his hands, and thus the high caste dispenser the drink is kept free from pollution by the too near approach of the dnnker

s Ibn Batata probably exaggerates a little, but the land was evidently highly cultivated

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from cultivation. For everybody 1 has here a garden, and his house is placed in the middle of it ; and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood, up to which the ground of each inhabitant comes. No one travels in these parts upon beasts of burden ; nor is there any horse 2 found, except with the king, who is therefore the only person who rides. When, however, any merchant has to sell or buy goods, they are carried upon the backs 3 of men, who are always ready to do so (for hire).

“ Every one of these men has a long staff,4 * which is shod with iron at its extremity and at the top has a hook. When, therefore, he is tired with his burden, he sets up his staff in the earth like a pillar and places the burden upon it ; and when he has rested, he again takes up his burden without the assistance of another. With one merchant you will see one or two hundred of these carriers, the merchant himself walking. But when the nobles pass from place to place, they ride in a diila 5 made of wood, something like a box, and which is carried upon the shoulders of slaves and hirelings. They put a thief 6 to death for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit, hence thieves are unknown among them ; and should anything fall from a tree, none, except its proper owner, would attempt to touch it.

“ In the country of Malabar are twelve kings, the greatest of whom has fifty thousand troops at his command ; the least five thousand or thereabouts. That which separates the district of one king from that of another is a wooden gate upon which is written : “ The gate of safety of such an one.” For when any criminal escapes from the district of one king and gets safely into that of another, he is quite safe ; so that no one has the least desire to take him so long as he remains there.

“ Each of their kings succeeds to ride, as being sister’s 7 .son, not the son to the last. Their country is that from which black pepper is brought ; and this is the far greater part of their produce and culture. The pepper tree resembles that of the dark grape. They plant it near that of the coconut, and make framework 8 for it, just as they do for the grape tree. It has, however, no tendrils, and the tree itself resembles a bunch of grapes. The leaves are like the ears of a horse ; but some of them resemble the leaves of a bramble. When the autumn arrives, it is ripe ; they then cut it, and spread it just as they do grapes, and

1 This description might be literally written of the Malabar of to-day.

- Horses and ponies are still very few in numbers, notwithstanding the improvement in the roads of recent years.

3 Still largely true of the district.

4 Still occasionally to be seen.

Palanquin. The Afanchal, a long and broad strip of canvass suspended at each end

to a stout pole is more frequently seen now a-days.

4 Conf. p. 173 and p. 294. » Conf. pp. 152, 153 and 154.

8 The practice is different now, the vine is planted at the foot of jack, mango, and Ifunkku trees (Erylhrma Jndiea) which serve as standards for the vine.

thus it is dried by the sun. As to what some have said that they boil 1 it in order to dry it, it is without foundation.

“ I also saw in their country and on the seashores aloes, like the seed-aloe, sold by measure, just as meal and millet is.

“We next came to the town of Hill,2 which is large and situated upon an estuary of the sea. As far as this place come the ships of China,3 but they do not go beyond it ; nor do they enter any harbour, except that of this place, of Kalikut and Kawlam.

“ The city of Hill is much revered both by the Muhammadans and infidels on acoount of a mosque,4 the source of light and blessings, which is found in it. To this sea-faring persons make and pay their vows, whence its treasury is derived, which is placed under the control of the principal Moslem. The mosque maintains a preacher, and has within it several students, as well as readers of the Koran, and persons who teach writing.

“We next arrived at the city of Jarkannan,5 the king of which is one of the greatest on these coasts. We next came to DadkaDnan,6 which is a large city abounding with gardens, and situated upon a mouth of the sea. In this are found the betel-leaf and nut, the coconut and oolocassia. Without the city is a large pond 7 for retaining water ; about which are gardens. The king is an infidel. His grandfather, who had become Muhammadan, built its mosque8 and made the pond. The cause of the grandfather’s receiving Islamism was a tree, over which he had built the mosque. This tree is a very great wonder ; its leaves are green, and like those of the fig, except only that they are soft. The tree is called Darakhti Shahadet (the tree of testimony), darakht meaning tree. I was told in these parts that this tree does not generally drop its leaves ; but at the season of autumn in every year, one of them changes its colour, first to yellow, then to red ; and that upon this is written with the pen of power, “ There is no God but God ; Muhammad is the Prophet of God and that this leaf alone falls. Very many Muhammadans, who were worthy of belief, told me this ; and said that they had witnessed its fall, and had read the writing ; and further, that every year, at the time of the fall, credible persons among the Muhammadans, as well as other* of the infidels, sat beneath the tree waiting for

1 To make white pepper probably.

- £li or Mount Deli — Con/, pp. 6, 9, Ac. 3 Conf. p. 284.

4 Conf. p. 194. The city referred to was probably Palayang&di {lit— old Bazaar).

- Afterwards written Jarafattan — Conf. pp. 194, Ac.

4 Afterwards written Badafattan. This no doubt refers to Valarpattanam.— Conf.

pp. 1C and 11. , _ .

7 This probably refers to the magnificent tank at the CMrakkal KOnlagam of the

KOlattiri family where the Chirakkal Raja now usually resides.

- This fact strengthens the conclusion stated at p. 194, that the fourth of the ongma

mosques was not placed at Valarpattanam.

the fall of the leaf ; and when this took place, that the one-half was taken by the Muhammadans, as a blessing, and for the purpose of curing their diseases ; and the other by the king of the infidel city, and laid up in his treasury as a blessing ; and that this is constantly received among them. Now the grandfather of the present king could read the Arabic ; he witnessed, therefore, the fall of the leaf, read the inscription, and, understanding its import, became a Muhammadan accordingly. At the time of his death he appointed his son, who was a violent infidel, to succeed him. This man adhered to his own religion, cut down the tree, tore up its roots, and effaced every vestige of it. After two years the tree grew, and regained its original state, and in this it now is. This king died suddenly ; and none of his infidel descendants, since his time, has done anything to the tree.

“ We next came to the city of Fattan 1 (Pattan), the greater part of the inhabitants of which are Brahmins, who are held in great estimation among the Hindoos. In this place there was not one Muhammadan. Without P was a mosque, to which the Muhammadan strangers resort. It is said to have been built by certain merchants, and afterwards to have been destroyed by one of the Brahmins, who had removed the roof of it to his own house. On the following night, however, this house was entirely burnt, and in it the Brahmin, his followers, and all his children. They then restored the mosque, and in future abstained from injuring it; whence it became the resort of the Muhammadan strangers.

“ After this we came to the city of Fandaraina,2 a beautiful and large place, abounding with gardens and markets. In this the Muhammadans have three districts, in each of which is a mosque, with a judge and preacher. We next came to Kalikut,3 one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, and in which merchants from all parts are found. The king of this place is an infidel, who shaves his chin just as the Haidarl Fakeers of Room do. When we approached this place, the people came out to meet us, and with a large concourse brought us into the port. The greatest part of the Muhammadan merchants of this place are so wealthy, that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here, and fit out others like them. Here we waited three months for the season to set sail for China ; for there is only one season in the year in which the sea of China is navigable. Nor then is the voyage undertaken, except in vessels of the three descriptions following : the greatest is called a junk, the middling size a zaw, the least a kakam. The sails of these vessels are made of cane-reeds, woven together like a mat ; which, when they put into port, they leave standing in the wind. In some of these vessels there will be employed

1 This referred probably to Darmapattanam — Conf. p. 194.

- Pantal&vini or Pantalftvim Kollam, North Kollam. — Conf. pp. 72-194.

3 The modern Calicut.

a thousand men, six hundred of these sailors, and four hundred soldiers. Each of the larger ships is followed by three others, a middle sized, a third, and a fourth sized. These vessels are nowhere made except in the city of Elzaitun in China, or in Sin Kllan, which is Sin Elsin. They row in these ships with large oars, which may be compared to great masts, over some of which five and twenty men will be stationed, who work standing. The commander of each vessel is a great Emir. In the large ships too they sow garden herbs and ginger, which they cultivate in cisterns (made for that purpose), and placed on the sides of them. In these also are houses constructed of wood, in which the higher officers reside with their wives ; but these they do not hire out to the merchants. Every vessel, therefore, is like an independent city. Of such ships as these, Chinese individuals will sometimes have large numbers ; and, generally, the Chinese are the richest people in the world.

“ Now when the season for setting out had arrived, the Emperor of Hindustan appointed one of the junks of the thirteen that were in the port for our voyage. El Malik Sambul therefore, who had been commissioned to present the gift, and Zahir Oddln, went on board, and to the former was the present carried. I also sent my baggage, servants, and slave-girls on board, but was told by one of them, before I could leave the shore, that the cabin which had

been assigned to me was so small, that it would not take the baggage and slave-girls. I went, therefore, to the commander, who said, ‘ Theie is no remedy for this ; if you wish to have a larger, you had better get into one of the kakams (third-sized vessels) ; there you will find larger cabins, and such as you want.’ I accordingly ordered my property to be put into the kakam. This was in the afternoon of Thursday, and I myself remained on shore for the purpose of attending divine service on the Friday. During the night, however, the sea arose, when some of the junks struck upon the shore, and the greatest part of those on board were drowned ; and the rest were saved by swimming. Some of the junks, too, sailed off, and what became of them I know not. The vessel in which the present was stowed, kept on the sea till morning, when it struck on the shore, and all on board perished, and the wealth was lost. I had indeed seen from the shore the Emperor’s servants, with Eil Malik Sambul and Zahir Oddln, prostrating themselves almost distracted ; for the terror of the sea was such as not to be got rid of. I myself had remained on shore having with mo my prostration carpet and ten dinars, which had been given me by some holy men. These I kept as a blessing, for the kakam had sailed off with my property and followers. The missionaries of the king of China were on board another junk, which struck upon the shore also. Some of them were saved and brought to land, and afterwards clothed by the Chinese merchants.

“ I was told that the kakam, in which my property was, must have put into Kawlam.1 I proceeded therefore to that place by the river.

1 Southern Kollam— Quilon.

EARLY HISTORY PROM OTHER SOURCES.

It is situated at the distance of ten days from Kalikut. After five days I came to Kanjarkara, which stands on the top of a hill, is inhabited by Jews, and governed by an Emir who pays tribute to the king of Kawlam. All the trees (we saw) upon thi banks of this river, as well as upon the sea-shores, were those of the cinnamon and bakam,1 which constitute the fuel of the inhabitants; and with this we cooked our food. Upon the tenth day we arrived at Kawlam, which is the last city on the Malabar coast. In this place is a large number of Muhammadan merchants ; but the king is an infidel. In this place I remained a considerable time, but heard nothing of the kakam and my property. I was afraid to return to the Emperor, who would have said, ‘ How came you to leave the present and stay upon the shore ? for I knew what sort of a man he was in cases of this kind. I also advised with some of the Muhammadans who dissuaded me from returning and said : ‘ He will condemn you because you left the present : you had better, therefore, return by the river to Kalikut.’

“I then left him for Hinaur2 and then proceeded to Fakanaur,8 and thence to Manjarur,* 4 5 * thence to Hlli, Jarafattan, Badafattan, Fandaraina, and Kalikut, mention of which has already been made. I next came to the city of Shaliat,8 where the Shaliat s are made, and hence they derive their name. This is a fine city ; I remained at it some time and there, heard that the kakam had returned to China, and that my slavegirl had died in it ; and I was much distressed on her account. The infidels, too, had seized upon my property, and my followers had been dispersed among the Chinese and others.”

Ibn Batuta twice afterwards visited Calicut and other places on the coast, but no further particulars of interest are recorded. Setting sail finally from Calicut he arrived at Zafar in April 1347 and thence returned to Egypt and North Africa.

The Muhammadans continued their raids into Southern India during the fourteenth century, and in 1374, in one of these, under Mujabid Shah of the Bahmanl dynasty, they came as far south as Ramesvaram, but the rapid rise and extension of the Yijayanagar Raj in the last half of the century put an end for a time to these Muhammadan raids into the South.

There can be no doubt, however, that even in Malabar, which was free from such expeditions, Muhammadan influence was on the increase, and it is not at all improbable that it was about this time (end of fourteenth century A.D.) that the influence of the Zamorins began to preponderate in Malabar ; and this there can be no doubt was brought

1 Caesalpinia sappan. * Honore.

3 BirkOr — Conf. p. 194. 4 Mangalore — Con/, p. 194.

5 Chdliyamt the island lying between the Beypore and Kadalundi rivers (p. 14) — -

Conf. p. 194.

about (as indeed the Keralolpatti indicates) by a close alliance with the Muhammadan traders attracted to Calicut by the freedom of trade enjoyed there.

One of the first effects of this Muhammadan alliance seems to have been that the trading rivals of the Muhammadans, the Chinese merchants, whose fleets Ibn Batuta so graphically describes, received some bad usage at the Zamorin’s hands, and deserted Calicut and the Malabar coast generally after undertaking an expedition of revenge in which they inflicted no small

slaughter on the people of Calicut. This

happened, Colonel Yule thinks,1 about the beginning of the fifteenth century.

There is certainly no mention made by 'Abdu-r-Razzak2 of Chinese trade, except that the seafaring population of Calicut were nick-named, at the time of his visit (1442 A.D.), " Chlni bachagdn " (China boys) and, as he says, that the trade with Mecca was chiefly in pepper and that at Calicut there were " in abundance varieties brought from maritime countries, especially from Abyssinia, Zirbad, and Zanzibar/' it is probable that the preponderance of the Malabar trade with China and the East, noticed 3 by Marco Polo, had by this time given place to a trade with the West in the hands of Muhammadan merchants, and in proof that Muhammadans were then both numerous and influential at Calicut, it may be cited that there were, when 'Abdu-r-Razzak visited the place, two cathedral mosques (Jamath mosques) at Calicut.

'Abdu-r-Razzak gives a very interesting account of his sojourn at Calicut, which he describes as a " perfectly safe harbour." The Calicut port is, and from the shelving nature of the sea-bottom probably always will be, an open roadstead, so that the traveller intended to convey that the safety of its harbour depended on other circumstances than the nature of its shores, and these he proceeds to describe thus : —

" Such security and justice reign in that city that rich merchants bring to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise which they disembark and deposit in the streets and market-places, and for a length of time leave it without consigning it to any one's charge or placing it under a guard. The officers of the Custom House have it under their protection, and night and day keep guard round it. If it is sold they take a customs duty of 2| per cent. ; otherwise they offer no kind of interference."

This corroborates in a very remarkable way the tradition 4 preserved in the Keralolpatti that it was owing to the security of trade which merchants found at Calicut that they were induced to settle there.

'Abdu-r-Razzak also notices that wrecked vessels were not taken at Calicut by the authorities. The people went about naked, bearing " a Hindi dagger 5 (bright) as a drop of water " in one hand and in the other a shield " of cow's hide large as a portion of cloud." King

1 Marco Polo, II, 381. * Conf. p. 279.

- Elliot, IV, 88-103. » Conf. p. 13J.

s See p. 285.

and beggar were both thus attired, but Mussalmans dressed in costly garments. Tbe king was called u Sd/nurtˆ and tbe traveller noticed the peculiar law of inheritance in force. “ No one becomes king by force of arms,” he observed, and seemed astonished at the fact. At his audience with the king he was made to sit down and his letter was read, but “ The Sdmuri paid little respect to my embassy so leaving the court I returned home.” His presents while en route had been taken by pirates, and this no doubt contributed to his cold reception. The result was that he remained “ in that wretched place, a comrade of trouble, and a companion of sorrow ” for some time. At last came a herald from Vijayanagar with a letter to the Sdmuri “ desiring that the ambassador of His Majesty the Khakan-i-Said should be instantly sent to him ” the Raja of Vijayanagar, and the traveller thereupon remarked : — “ Although the Sdmuri is not under his authority, nevertheless he is in great alarm and apprehension from him, for it is said that the king of Bijanagar has 300 sea-ports, every one of which is equal to Kalikot, and that inland his cities and provinces extend over a journey of three months.”

There was evidently a settled and independent government at Calicut, and the pleasing account given of the security there afforded to merchants accounts for the pre-eminence to which the city of Calicut rose about this time. The trade in Malabar products seems to have been exclusively in the hands of Muhammadan merchants, and it may be safely concluded that, after the retirement of the Chinese, the power and influence of the Muhammadans were on the increase, and indeed there exists a tradition that in 1489 or 1490 a rich Muhammadan came to Malabar, ingratiated himself with the Zamorin, and obtained leave to build additional Muhammadan mosques.

The country would no doubt have soon been converted tb Islam either by force or by conviction, but the nations of Europe were in the meantime busy endeavouring to find a direct road to the pepper country of the East. The first, assured step in this direction was taken when Bartholomew Dias sailed round the t{ Cape of Storms ” in 1486. The Cape was promptly rechristened the “ Cape of Good Hope,” and the direct road to India by sea was won.

Section (D).

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

A.D. 1498-1663.

The next adventurer who weathered the Cape of Good Hope was an

unlettered man " of middle stature, rather 'stout, and of a florid complexion." He was of noble birth. In character he is described as being possessed of " a violent and passionate temper " which led him to the commission at times of atrocious cruelties. But he could, when he

chose, command his temper, and he had " a large fund of dissimulation." His great qualities were " indomitable constancy " and a will which brooked no questioning. The most pleasing trait in his character was his affection for his brother, who sailed with him in this voyage of exploration.

Starting from Belem near Lisbon on the 25th of March 1497, Vasco da Gama's fleet consisted of three small vessels called the San Raphael (his own ship, 100 tons), the San Gabriel (his brother Paulo da Gama's ship, 120 tons), and the San Miguel (commanded by Nicholas Coelho, 50 tons). Each ship carried eighty men, officers, seamen and servants.

After a voyage of nearly five months the fleet arrived at St. Helena Bay (18th August 1497). From that point they stood out to sea for one month and then made for the land. Failing in weathering the Cape on that tack, they again stood out to sea for two months, and on making for the land they found that they had weathered the Cape (November 1497). After entering one or two rivers east of the Cape they left the coast, and on 8th December 1497 the squadron encountered a great storm and the crews rose in mutiny. The officers stood by their commander, the ringleaders were put in irons, and the ships went on their way, sighting the coast of Natal on Christmas Day. On 6th January 1498 the squadron entered the River of Mercy (dos Reis or Do Cobre), and there they remained for a month careening the ships and breaking up the San Miguel, the crew of which was distributed between the other two ships, Coelho himself thereafter sailing with Vasco da Gama in the San Raphael. Leaving the place in February, they passed the banks of Sofala and in the end of March the expedition reached Mozambique. There they remained about twenty days and left it on Sunday, 8th or 15th April. On 21st April the squadron reached Mombasa, and on Sunday, 29th April, Melinde.

Their stay at Melinde extended to three months, for the " new moon of July " was the beginning of the season for departure from Melinde for India.

The king of Melinde most hospitably entertained the strangers, and provided them with pilots and with a broker to help them in their trade. And it was by his advice that the expedition eventually sailed for Calicut instead of for Cambay, whither the broker wished to take them.

Leaving Melinde on 6th August 1498, the two ships ran across with the south-west monsoon and sighted the coast of Malabar on 26th August.

The pilots foretold that the first land to be seen would be " a great mountain,1 which is on the coast of India in the kingdom of Cannanore, which the people of the country in their language call the mountain Delielly, and they call it of the rat, and they call it Mount Dely, because

1 Con/, p. 7.

in this mountain there were so many rats that they never could make a village there."

Running down the coast from Mount Deli the expedition passed Cannanoro without stopping, which town seems to have presented much the same appearance then as it does now, for it is described as " a large town of thatched houses inside a bay."

" The ships continued running along the coast close to land, for the coast was clear without banks against which to take precautions : and the pilots gave orders to cast anchor in a place which made a sort of bay, because there commenced the city of Caliout. This town is named Capocate." 1

Shortly afterwards Da Grama appears to have moved his ships a few miles to the northward and to have anchored them inside the mudbank lying off Pantalayini Kollam.

The arrival of this Portuguese expedition aroused at once the greatest jealousy in the Moors or Muhammadans, who had the Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade with Europe in their hands, and they immediately began to intrigue with the authorities for the destruction of the expedition. There appear to have been three persons in authority under the Zamorin, the Overseer of the Treasury, the king's Justice, and the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard. The two first of these were the first to be liberally bribed to obstruct the new-comers.

Accordingly, when Da Gama sent Nicholas Coelho on shore with a message to the Zamorin asking him to sanction trade, the authorities tried his temper by making him wait, thinking thus to cause a break with the Portuguese ; but being warned by a Castilian whom they found in the place, he exercised patience, and on declining to give his message to any but the king himself, he was at last admitted to an audience, and after some further delay the king gave his sanction,, written on a palm leaf, for opening trade.

Trade accordingly began, but the Portuguese were supplied with nothing in the way of goods but rubbish, and scantily even with that. They accepted it,

however, in default of better stuff, but the jealousy of the Moors prevented them eventually from getting even this much.

Da Gama accordingly determined to visit the Zamorin in person, and demanded hostages for his safe conduct. By the Castilian's advice the nephew of the king's Justice was accepted as a sufficient hostage. Intrigues were rife however, and when Da Gama made his first attempt to land he found that the Zamorin had gone to a place at some distance, and the authorities were prepared to take Da Gama thither by force if he landed. Again warned by the Castilian, Da Gama sent messengers in front to ascertain if the king was really there to reoeive him, and on finding that he was not, Da Gama, without landing, re-embarked.

Finding that he was not to be outwitted, the authorities eventually arranged for an interview. Sending a factor in front of him with the

1 Con/, p. 73.

present^1 for the king, Da Gama ascertained that this time he was there attd ready to receive him, and he proceeded to the interview accompanied by twelve men of good appearance and well dressed. He himself was " in a long cloak coming down to his feet of tawny-coloured Batin, lined with smooth brocade, and underneath a short tunic of blue satin, and white buskins, and on his head a cap with lappets of blue velvet, with a white feather fastened under a splendid medal, and a valuable enamel collar on his shoulders, and a rich sash with a handsome dagger/* The appearance of the king at this interview is thus described . — " The king was sitting in his chair which the factor " (who had preceded Da Gama with the presents) " had got him to sit upon : he was a very dark man, half-naked, and clothed with white cloths from the middle to the knees ; one of these cloths ended in a long point on which were threaded several gold rings with large rubies which made a great show. He had on his left arm a bracelet above the elbow, which seemed like three rings together, the middle one larger than the others, all studded with rich jewels, particularly the middle one, which bore large stones which could not fail to be of very great value. From this middle ring hung a pendant stone which glittered : it was a diamond of the thickness of a thumb ; it seemed a priceless thing. Round his neck was a string of pearls about the size of hazel nuts, the string took two turns and reached to his middle ; above it he wore a thin round gold chain which bore a jewel of the form of a heart surrounded with large pearls, and all full of rubies ; in the middle was a green stone of the size of a large bean, which, from its showiness, was of great price, which was called an emerald) and according to the information which the Castilian afterwards gave the Captain Major of this jewel, and of that which was in the bracelet on his arm, and of another pearl which the king wore suspended in

his hair, they were all three belonging to the ancient treasury of the Kings of Calicut. The king had long dark hair all gathered up and tied on the top of his head with a knot made in it ; and round the knot he had a string of pearls like those round his neok, and at the end of the string a pendant pearl pear-shaped and larger than the rest, which seemed a thing of great value. His ears were pierced with large holes with many gold ear-rings of round beads. Close to the king stood a boy, his page, with a silk cloth round him : he held a red shield with a border of gold and jewels, and a boss m the centre, of a span's breadth, of the same materials, and the rings inside for the arms were of gold ; also a short drawn sword of an ell's length, round at the point, with a hilt of gold and jewellery with pendant pearls.

i piece of very fine scarlet cloth, piece crimson velvet, piece yellow satin, chair covered with brocade of much nap studded with silver gilt nails, cushion of crimson satin with tassels of gold thread, cushion of red satin for the feet, a hand-basin chased and gilt with ewer of the same kind " a very handsome thii*g," "a large very spiendid gilt mirror fifty scarlet caps with buttons and tassels of crimson twisted silk and gold thread n top of the caps, fifty sheaths of Flanders knives with ivory handles and gilt sheaths, presents were "all wrapped in napkins, and all in very good ordei.

TttK PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

Od the other side stood another page, who held a gold cup with a wide rim into which the king spat ; and at the side of his chair waa his chief Brahman, who gave him from time to time a green leaf closely folded with other things inside it which the king ate and spat into

the cup." _ .

Da Gama on reaching the king's presence made profound salutations, " and the king, bowing his head and his body a little, extended his right hand and arm, and with the points of his fingers touched the right hand of the Captain Major and bade him sit upon the dais upon which he was." But Da Gama deolined the honor, and remained standing during the interview,1 in which he pressed for freedom to trade in the produce of the kingdom, explaining what he could give in

return.

The interview would probably have had the desired result, but the Moors had meanwhile been busy bribing the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard, an official of great power, for "'if any one entered where the king dwelt without his leave, immediately he would order his head to be cut off at the door of the palace without asking the king's pleasure." To him then the Moors

resorted in their alarm, and fresh dangers immediately beset Da Gama.

The Portuguese had been allowed to erect a factory on shore for trading purposes, and Da Gama was at this factory after his interview with the king, when the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard arrived there with a palanquin to conduct Da Gama, as he said, to a second interview. Encouraged by the seemingly satisfactory result of the first interview, Da Gama appears to have been off his guard for the time, and accompanied by eight of his men carrying sticks— their arms having prudently been left behind — he was borne ott in the palanquin.

They journeyed leisurely till nightfall and were lodged all together in a house in the middle of other houses, having for food boiled rice and boiled fish and a jar of water. Next morning the doors of their house were opened very late, and only those who wished to go out for offices of nature were permitted to do so.

Thus they remained a day and another night.

On the next day they were taken " among thickets until about midday, stifled with the great heat of the sun," and then they reached the banks of a river, where they were put into two Indian boats and so went on. The boat with Da Gama went ahead and reached some houses, where rice was cooked and offered to them. The other boat

- The Zamorin's return present to Da Gama consisted of twenty pieces of white stuff very fine with gold embroidory "which they call Beyramies," twenty other pieces called " Sinabafos," ten pieces coloured silk, four large loaves of Benzoin, as much as a man could carry, and in a porcelain jar fifty bags of musk, six basins of porcelain of the size of large soup liasins, six porcelain jars each holding thirty pints of water. These things were for I >a Gama himself. If he had parted amicably with the king he was to have received a spocial present for the King of Portugal.

With 'five men in it remained behind, and at night they were landed and put into another house.

TVhen a great part of the night had passed " a message was brought to Da Gama to say the Chief of the Palace Guard wanted to speak to him, and one man who acted as interpreter, by name Joan Nuz (Nunez), was alone permitted to accompany him. He was taken by himself through a path in the bushes by a Nayar to a house where he was shut in by himself. The Moors tried hard to persuade the Chief Officer to kill him at this point, but he did not, it is said, dare to allow it, because the king would have utterly extirpated him and his.

In the morning Da Gama was taken before the Chief Offioer, who received him very ungraciously and questioned him about the object of his voyage. Da Gama almost laughingly put him off and said he ought to take him to the king and he would tell him the truth. The Chief Officer was very angry at receiving this answer and Da Gama did not reply to his further questions.

The next device resorted to was to get Da Gama to promise to land all his merchandise from the ships, and to then excite the king's cupidity by telling him it was no sin to take the goods as the Portuguese were only robbers and pirates who ought to be executed.

Acting on this, Da Gama was told on the following day that the king had ordered all the goods to be landed, and he thereupon consented to do so ; but seeing in this a means of communicating with the ships and letting his brother know of the predicament in which he was placed, Da Gama added that it was necessary to send some one with a message to the ships, and this was agreed to.

The place where Da Gama and his men then were was only a league from the factory, so one Joan De Setubal was sent in a boat to the ships to tell all that had happened.

One boat-load of goods was accordingly sent ashore and the goods were taken to the factory. Da Gama thereupon promised to send all the rest if he were allowed to go on board, but to this the Chief Officer would not consent.

Then Da Gama sent a message to his brother to say that even if all the goods were landed he did not think they would let him go ; so he directed him to send the hostages ashore with much honor and many gifts, and to make sail for Europe.

Paulo da Gama refused to obey this order, and the goods not having been landed, the Chief Officer went before the king, charged Da Gama with breaking faith, and suggested that the Moors should be permitted to take the ships and appropriate the goods for the king's use. The king agreed to this, but the jealousy of the king's Brahman and of his Treasurer had been aroused at the Chief Officer's having it all his own way, and first the one and then the other interfered and pointed out ff^at the Portuguese had so far done no harm, and great discussions thereupon arose.

At this juncture Paulo da Gama released the hostages on board honorably and with rich presents, and made pretence to sail away. The hostages demanded to be put to death by the king if Da Gama were to be slain, and

their demands Were backed up by both the Treasurer and the king's Justice out of envy at the rich presents offered by the Moors to the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard.

The king then seeing the ships, as he thought, departing without doing harm, repented and ordered the goods in the factory to be paid for. • He also sent for Da Gama and begged his pardon, and gave him a present and dismissed him, " asking his pardon frequently."

As Da Gama was thus going away, he met the factor coming to tell the king that the factory had been robbed. The king's Treasurer accompanied Da Gama to his boats, and when Da Gama vowed to him he would have his revenge, he said " he regretted very much the manner in which he had been treated, but that the king was not in fault."

On hearing from the Castilian, who returned on shore after seeing Da Gama on board, the true account of what had happened, the king sent off a boat with one of his Brahmans to ask Da Gama to return in order to see the justice the king would execute on the persons through whose fault offence had been given to the Portuguese, and to offer also to complete the lading of the ships, but Da Gama, thankful to be safe on board once more, declined the invitation and offer.

The expedition appears to have remained for about seventy days at Pantalayini Kollam, and to have left the place about the 4th November 1498.

Running up the coast they were met by boats sent out by the King of Cannanore (the Kolattiri Raja) to intercept them, and Da Gama decided to visit .the place, but declined to land.

To show his good-will, the Kolattiri sent them all they required and more for the loading of their ships, and Da Gama was equally liberal in the goods sent in exchange : branch coral, vermilion, quicksilver, and brass and copper basins. To the Kolattiri himself he sent a present of green cloth, brown satin, velvet crimson damask, a large silver basin, thirty scarlet cloth caps, two knives in sheaths, and five ells of darker scarlet cloth.

Thereupon the Kolattiri would not rest till he had seen the commanders with his own eyes, and for this purpose, as Da Gama wˆould not land, he had constructed for himself a narrow wooden bridge made out into the sea to the distance of a cross-bow shot, and at the extremity of it he had a small planked chamber prepared. Thither the Kolattiri came to be nearer to the ships, and there the brothers Da Gama visited him, giving and receiving valuable presents, and talking of the vile treatment received by Da Gama at Calicut. The Kolattiri likewise sent a present to the King of Portugal and gave

Da Gama a golden pnlm-leaf on which all was written.

The expedition left Cannanore on 20th November 1498, proceeded to

Angediva Island, which they left on 10th December. They reached Melinde on 8th January 1499, sailed again on 20th January, touched at Terceira Island for the burial of Paulo da Gama in the end of August, and finally, on 18th September 1499, the two ships again reached Belem.

Of the momentous results to Asia and Europe of this most memorable voyage this is not the place to write, as it forms part of the general history of India. Suffice it to say that the Moors of Calicut had good cause to be jealous of the Portuguese interlopers, who bade fair soon to make their Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade unprofitable, and who in a very short time showed that they meant to suppress the Moorish trade on the Indian coasts altogether.

The profits realised on the cargoes taken home in Da Gama s ships were enormous, and accordingly in the following year (1500 A.D.) a fresh expedition was fitted out and entrusted by the Iving of Portugal to the command of Pedro Alvarez Cabral. It was this expedition which laid the foundations of the Portuguese settlement at Cochin, and the following account thereof is extracted from Day's " Land of the Per-mauls ; or Cochin, Its Past and its Present " (Madras, 1863), p. 79 :

< < the following year, Pedro Alvarez Cabral was despatched from Portugal with ten ships and two caravels, carrying one thousand five hundred men, besides twenty convicts, to establish a factory by fair means if possible, but otherwise to carry fire and sword into the country. Some of those who had sailed with Da Gama accompanied him, and Bartholomew Diaz commanded one of the vessels, and five friars of the

Order of St. Francis accompanied the fleet.

" Cabral received secret orders that if he succeeded in negotiating with the Zamorin, he was to endeavour to induce him to banish the Moors from his dominions. On 5th March 1500 the sailors embarked, Cabral was presented with a royal banner, which had been blessed by the Bishop of Visen, and a cap which had received the Pope s benediction ; thus armed, on the 9th the fleet commenced their voyage. On

24th May they encountered a sudden tempest near the Cape ot Coo

Hope, and four vessels foundered with aU bands on board ; but on 13th September the remainder of the fleet amved off Calicut. Cabia then despatched a deputation to the Zamorin of one European and tour natives,

the latter being some of those earned away by Da Gama bu they v*ere fishermen (Mukkuvar) and consequently low-caste men, the

7,qrnorin could not receive them.

“ Cabral then demanded that hostages should be sent on board to obviate any treachery in case he wished to land, and named the Cut-

wal > and a chief Nayar as the most euitahle persons: they, however

declined the honor, but on other hostages being furnished, Cab . landed with thirty officers and men. _ _ __

-7^{75}77 Its Cfnatd, who had ill-treated Da Gama. It «■

perhaps as well for him that he did not go »■ > b’»ld

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“An interview then took place, at which rich presents wero exchanged, and a treaty of friendship, “ as long as Ihe sun and moon should endure,’ ’ was entered upon.

“ About this time a vessel from Cochin of six hundred tons burden passing the port, the Zamorin requested Cabral to capture it, which he succeeded in doing, but subsequently restored it to the Raja of Cochin. A ’factory was soon established at Calicut, in wliich seventy Europeans were located. Cabral, however, found that he still progressed very slowly, having only succeeded in loading two vessels with pepper in two months. The Moors appear to have effectually prevented the Portuguese from obtaining any large supply of this valuable condiment. i

“ Cabral at length became very impatient at the delay, and informed the Zamorin that he must immediately receive lading for his vessels as he was anxious to return to Europe, complaining that the Moors had been served to all the spices, thus precluding his procuring any. The Zamorin hesitated and appeared embarrassed how to act, and Cabral, with a view to hasten his decision, on 17th December attacked and seized a Moorish vessel, which was loading in the harbour, on which the Moors on shore became greatly excited and besieged the factory, slaughtering fifty of the Portuguese in sight of their countrymen, who, however, could render no assistance : the remaining twenty contrived to escape by swimming off to the ship’s boats, which were lying as close to the shore as was safe.

“ Cabral demanded satisfaction for this outrage, but not receiving any, he

bombarded the town, killing six hundred of the inhabitants ; and then seized ten of the Zamorin's vessels, to pay for the merchandise left on shore, which was valued at four thousand ducats : some of these ships contained merchandise, and on board one of them were three elephants, which were killed and salted for the voyage. Having thus revenged himself, Cabral sailed for Cochin, protesting that in Calicut the people could not be trusted, and that truth and honor were alike unknown. It appears, on the other hand, that Cabral was hasty and perfectly regardless of the sacrifice of human life, being quite ready to slaughter Moors and Nayars indiscriminately, with or without provocation, and with no expectation of doing any good.

" On 20th December 1 1500 the fleet arrived at Cochin, and a Syrian Christian, Michael Jogue, who was a passenger in one of the vessels (for the purpose of visiting Rome and afterwards proceeding to the Holy Land) was despatched on shore accompanied by an European to visit the Raja, Tirumumpara, who received them in a very friendly • manner and sent a message to Cabral that he might either purchase spices for money, or give merchandise in exchange for them, as was most convenient to him.

1 Or 24th by other accounts.

" Cabral was in every respect much pleased with the Raja of Cochin, who, although much less wealthy than the Zamorin, and consequently not living in so much state,1 was greatly superior to him in every other respect, being honest in his dealings and intelligent and truthful in his conversation.

" Cochin at this time was described as a long low sandy island* * covered with coconut trees and divided by a deep river, a quarter of a mile broad, from the neighbouring island of Baypin, or Yypeen. Passing up this river for half a mile, a wide expanse of backwater appeared, which extended for about a hundred miles north and south.

" The town of Cochin was small and situated close to the river, and in it was the Raja's palace (where Muttancherry now stands), by no means an imposing edifice, and badly furnished. A few Moors resided there, and possessed better houses than those of the native population, which were merely composed of mats, with mud walls and roofs thatched with leaves. At this period no buildings were allowed to be constructed of stone or brick and tiled, excepting temples and palaces ; but Moorish merchants were permitted to surround their dwellings with stone walls for the security of their merchandise.

" The Raja suggested that to avoid any misunderstanding and to create mutual confidence, it would be best for him to send Nayar hostages on board

the fleet. This was accordingly done, the Nayars being exchanged for others every morning and evening, as they could not eat on board without violating some religious rules. An alliance of friendship was signed, and the Portuguese promised Tirumumpara at some future date to instal him as Zamorin and to add Calicut to his dominions. A factory was then given the Portuguese, in which seven factors were placed to sell their merchandise. Th6 Raja allowed them a guard and permitted them to sleep within the walls of his palace. One night this factory caught fire, whicli of course was attributed to the vindictiveness of the Moors, but no injury appears to have resulted.

“ Whilst Cabral was at Cochin he received deputations from both the Rajas of Cannanore2 and Quilon, inviting him to visit them and promising to supply him with pepper and spices at a cheaper rate than he could obtain them at Cochin, but their offers were politely declined.3 Two natives also paid Cabral a visit and requested a passage to Europe, stating that they were members of a large Christian community residing at C’ranganore (Kodungngallur), about twenty miles north of Cochin, in which some Jews of little note were also located.

“ Just as Cabral was preparing to leave Cochin on 10th January 1501, a f’eet belonging to the Zamorin, carrying one thousand five-hundred men, was descried off the harbour. The Raja immediately sent mes-

1 It appears he was at this time tributary to the Zamorin.

- The Kdlattiri.
- Notwithstanding this it appears that (as stated further down) Cabral visited Canna nora before sailing for Europe, as Da Gama had done before him.

sengers to inform the Portuguese of the appearance of the enemy and to offer them any assistance they might require. But the Calicut people held off and had evidently no wish to come to an engagement. On the following day, finding that they did not attack, Cabral chased them, but was overtaken by a violent storm which carried him out to sea. He did not subsequently return to Cochin, but put into Cannanore, where he received on board an ambassador from the Raja of that country to the King of Portugal. From thence he proceeded to Europe, carrying with him the hostages, whom he had forgotten to land.

“ Thus was Cochin first visited by European vessels, filled with Portuguese, who after their recent capture of the Raja’s vessels, apprehended retaliation,

but instead met with nothing but kindness and hospitality, as well as every assistance 1 in obtaining lading for their ships.

“ Cabral in return, unfortunately, but as he asserted accidentally, carried off the Nayar hostages to Europe, leaving his factor and people on shore without any attempt either to provide for their safety or to reconvey them to their native laud. But they were taken every care of by the Cochin Raja and subsequently honorably returned to their friends.

“ As the number of vessels lost in these first expeditions counterbalanced the profits, the King of Portugal proposed that merchants should trade to India in their own vessels on the following terms, namely, that twenty-five per cent, of the profits should go to the king and the trade in spices remain wholly in the hands of government officials, who were to decide upon all mercantile transactions even to the necessary expenditure for factors. It is hardly requisite to observe that no persons came forward to avail themselves of this extremely liberal proposition.

“ The next Portuguese navigator, or rather buccaneer, who arrived in Cochin was John de Nueva, who was despatched from Portugal in March 1501 in command of four vessels. The king supposing all difficulties with Calicut amicably settled by Cabral, ordered de Nueva to leave two of these ships at Sofala and to proceed with the remaining two to Calicut : in case he met with Cabral he received instructions to obey him as general. At St. 131 ee he found an old shoe hanging from the branch of a tree, which contained a letter from Pedro de Tazde, giving an account of what had lately occurred at Calicut, and also of the friendly dispositions of the Rajas of Cannanore and Cochin. It was thought best on receiving this information to take all four vessels on to India as the whole force did not exceed eighty men. Nueva anchored at Anchediva in November and from thence proceeded to Cannanore, where he was amicably received by the Raja, who offered him lading for his vessels. This Nueva declined until he had consulted the factor

1 The fact no doubt was that the Cochin Raja hoped, with the assistance of the foreigners, to regain some of the power and independence of which the Zamorin, with Muhammadan assistance, had robbed him.

at Cochin, whilst en route to which place he attacked and captured a Moorish vessel opposite Calicut. On his arrival at Cochin, the factor came on board and informed him that although the Raja was naturally extremely indignant with Cabral for having carried away his hostages and departed without bidding him adieu, he had nevertheless treated him and the other Portuguese who were left in his territory in a friendly manner.

“ Being apprehensive lest their enemies the Moors might attempt to massacre them, the Raja had even lodged them in his own palace and had provided them with a guard of Nayars to protect them when they went into the town. He also stated that the Moors had persuaded the native merchants to refuse to exchange their pepper for Portuguese merchandise, and that therefore ready-money would be required for all purchases. Nueva being unprovided with this, returned at once to Cannanore, but found that owing to the machinations of the Moors, it was as necessary there as at Cochin. He now quite despaired of procuring lading for his vessels, but the Raja of Cochin, when informed of his dilemma, at once became his security for a thousand hundredweights of pepper, four hundred and fifty of cinnamon, fifty of ginger, and some bales of cloth. Whilst lying off this place on 15th December, about one hundred and eighty vessels filled with Moors arrived from Calicut with the intention of attacking the Portuguese fleet. The Raja immediately offered Nueva any assistance in his power ; this was however civilly declined, and all the ordnance at the command of the Portuguese vessels was speedily brought to bear on the enemy. By this means a number of their vessels were sunk and the remaining Moors were too much discouraged to continue the action. Owing to the generosity of the Raja, the Portuguese ships were soon loaded, and Nueva departed, leaving his European merchandise for disposal in Cannanore under the charge of a factor and two clerks. Before sailing he received an embassy from the Zamorin, offering excuses for his previous conduct and promising to give hostages if he would proceed to Calicut and there load his vessels. To this message Nueva vouchsafed no reply.

« »phe Kingof Portugal, on learning the treatment which Cabral had received from the Zamorin, was extremely indignant and determined to exact further retribution. Vasco da Gama was therefore despatched from Lisbon on 3rd March 1502, in command of an avenging squadron of fifteen vessels, being followed a short time subsequently by his cousin

Stephen da Gama with five smaller ships.”

The King of Portugal originally intended that Pedro Alvarez

Cabral should again command in this expedition, but Da Gama, who was engaged in superintending arrangements connected with these expeditions ashore, succeeded with difficulty in persuading the king to allow him to go on this occasion to take vengeance on the Zamorin Among the crews went eight hundred men at arms, “ honorable men and many gentlemen of birth.” Da Gama’s flagship was the San Jeronymo, with Vincent Sodre, “ a relation of his,” as captain.

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The fleet sailed on 25th March 1502, made the coast of Brazil, ana then crossed to and weathered the Cape of Good Hope. One sliip was lost in a storm off the Sofala banks, and after touching at Melinde, which they left on the 18th of August, they made the coast of India at Dabul.

Running south along the coast, Da Gama claimed for the King of Portugal the suzerainty of the sea, and this was first formally notified to the King of Batticola, who is described as " a tenant of the King of Bisnaga " (Vijayanagar). Da Gama promulgated the conditions on which alone he would allow native trading vessels to ply, namely,

They were not to trade in pepper.

Nor bring Turks.

Nor go to the port of Calicut.

The fleet proceeding southwards came to an anchor in the " Bay of Marabia "l to repair a mast, and while anchored there they fell in with " a large ship of Calicut " with the " chief merchant and the richest in Calicut " on board. This individual was the brother of "Coja Casern, the factor of the sea to the King of Calicut." There were besides more than seven hundred Moors on board. The Portuguese first looted the ship, and then, notwithstanding promises of the largest ransoms, Da Gama ordered the ship to be set on fire. The crew had been deprived of most of their arms, but with what remained they began a desperate fight. They succeeded in boarding a Portuguese ship which tackled them, and would have succeeded in taking it had not assistance arrived. Da Gama then gave orders to sink the ship with the falconets and swivel guns. This was d6ne, and the crew taking to the water were killed with lances. But even then they continued to resist, and one man, while swimming, hurled a lance into one of the boats and killed a Portuguese.

Da Gama was complimented on this exploit by the Kolattiri, who had hospitably treated the Portuguese factors left at Cannanore by Cabral. Da Gama proceeding thither landed, and with his men attended mass in the church.

While at Cannanore the Kolattiri visited Da Gama attended by four thousand Nayar swordsmen. He was accompanied by his nephew, " a youth and a courtly person," who carried sword and target, " which it is their custom to carry till death."

Da Gama arranged a treaty of commerce with the Kolattiri, the goods to be supplied at fixed prices.

He next divided his fleet ; one portion of it was to war on all ships except those of Cannanore, Coohin and Quilon, which were to be protected by passes obtained from the Portuguese factors at Cannanore and Cochin respectively.

1 The bay lying opposite Madayi, c onj. p. 229 and p. 69. The bay alluded to is that of Ettikkulam

The Kolattiri allotted to the Cannanore factor ten N&yars as a guard and to carry his messages.

“ These NAyars are gentlemen by lineage, and by their law they are bound 1 to die for whoever gives them pay, they and all their lineage/’ And even if they are of the same lineage and serving different masters, they are bound all the same to kill each other if need be, “and when the struggle is finished, they will speak and communicate with one another as if they had never fought.”

Proceeding southwards towards Calicut, Da Gama first received a message from the Zamorin by a Brahman who came dressed in one of the murdered friar’s habits. The message was to say that the Zamorin had arrested the twelve Moors who had been guilty of the outrage on the factory, and with them he would send a large sum to pay for the factory goods. Da Gama sent back word to say that he did not want money, and referred to his treatment of the rich Moor in Mount Deli bay. But he kept the Brahman.

Da Gama’s next aots were those of a fiend in human form over which it is well to draw a veil. And his relative De Sodr6 at Cannanore was also guilty of great cruelty to a wealthy Moor (Coja Muhammad Marakkar of Cairo) who had insulted the Kolattiri. For the service rendered by De Sodr£ on this occasion the Kolattiri began, it is said, the custom of giving to the Portuguese commandants at Cannanore a gold pardao daily for their table supplies.

Da Gama went on to Cochin, which he reached on 7th November. He there keel hauled and caulked his ships and loaded them with pepper, at the same time satisfactorily settling a treaty of commerce with the King of Cochin. He also arranged a similar treaty with the Queen of Quilon.

The Zamorin and the Calicut Moors had meanwhile been making great preparations to fight the Portuguese at sea.

Da Gama left Cochin with his fleet in two divisions to load up with ginger at Cannanore. Yincent Sodre with the fighting caravels ran along close inshore while the laden ships kept further out to sea. Proceeding thus they fell in with the Calicut fleet, the “first squadron of which consisted of about twenty

large ships and about fifty other “ fustas ” and “ sambuks.” The Portuguese with their caravels got to windward of the enemy, a light land wind blowing. The Moors were much elated at seeing the smallness of the Portuguese fleet. But the Portuguese artillery was much more powerful than that of the Moors » the Moorish shot came “ like bowls ” (their powder was weak). The Portuguese succeeded in dismantling the Moorish flagship, the others collided, got into a tangle, and drifted helplessly out to sea.

Then the ships of burden came up and tackled the second [squadron of the enemy, consisting of a hundred sail, chiefly “ sambuks.” Stan

1 Con/, p. 138.

in* through among them, firing broadsides, the Portuguese ships did much damage ; while in return, although the Portuguese ships were covered with arrows, no harm was done as the men lay concealed. Many of the Moorish vessels were sunk, and some of them, after being deserted by their crews, were towed up as far as Calicut, there tied together, and then set on fire and allowed to drift ashore in front of Calicut.

Da Gama buried muoh of his artillery at Cannanore, and obtained permission from the Kolattiri to build a wall and palisading, the key of the door of which was to remain at night in the safe keeping of the

Kolattiri himself. _ #

After regulating the Cannanore factory affairs Da Gama left two

hundred men there and sailed for Europe on the 28th December 1502.

Da Gama’s departure was the signal for the outbreak of hostilities between the Raja of Cochin and the Zamorin, to whom the former was tributary. The latter demanded that the Portuguese factors left at Cochin should be given up to him, and the demand was refused.

A force of fifty thousand Nayars, joined by many Cochin malcontents, marched to Repelim (Eddapalli in Cochin State) on the 31st March 1503. On the 2nd of April this army attempted to force a passage by a ford near Cranganore, defended by Narayan, the heir apparent of the Cochin State, with five thousand five hundred Nayars. The attack was repulsed, but aided with Moorish money, the Zamorin effected by treachery what he had failed to obtain by force, and Narayan was slain

with two more of the Cochin princes.

The Cochin Raja's people, on this happening, became clamorous for the lives of the foreigners whose protection had led to the calamity, but the Raja remained firmly their friend.

Two Italians however deserted, and learning from them the state of panic prevailing at Cochin, the Zamorin s forces marched thither and burnt it to the ground. The Cochin Raja thereupon retreated to the Island of Vypeen opposite Cochin, and the Portuguese with their property went with him.

As the south-west monsoon had begun, the Zamorin's force, leaving '•a strong detachment at Cochin, retreated to Cranganore and postponed further operations .until after the Onam festival in August.

Great was their consternation and great was the joy of the beleaguered Portuguese and Raja therefore when, on Saturday, 2nd September 1503, there appeared before Cochin Don Francisco de Albuquerque with six sail. He had touched at the Cannanore factory and learning from the Kolattiri the critical positiop of affairs, had pushed on to Cochin just in time to relieve the small garrison.

The Zamorin's forces were disheartened and easily driven back.

And Albuquerque, taking advantage of the high favour he possessed with the Raja, sought and obtained permission to build a stockade at Cochin for the future protection of the Portuguese traders. It was accordingly commenced on 26th September 1503, and it took the shape of a square with flanking bastions at the corners mounted with ordnance.

The walls were made of double rows of coconut tree stems securely fastened together and with earth rammed firmly between ; it was further protected by a wet ditch. On 30th September Albuquerque's cousin Alonso arrived with three more ships, and as the crews of these vessels were also at once put on to the work, it was soon finished. On the morning of 1st October the fort was with great pomp christened Emmanuel, after the reigning King of Portugal, and one Gaston, a Franciscan monk, preached a sermon on the occasion, blessing the day as one on which a door for the evangelization of the Hindus had been opened, and enjoining daily prayers for the welfare of Perlmpatap, the Raja of Cochin. Thus was founded the first European fort in India, for the stockade already erected at Cannanore appears to have been little more than a fence to keep out incendiaries.

The Zamorin and the Moors next resorted to other tactics. The Portuguese came for pepper and spices : if unable to obtain them they might perhaps leave the coast. The utmost exertions were therefore made to prevent their getting a lading for their ships. Albuquerque sent Pacheco into the interior to procure pepper, but what he got after great exertions and fighting sufficed to lade only one ship. He therefore proceeded to Quilon, where he ,was amicably received, and easily procured, with the aid of the local Christian merchants, spices for his ships. Obtaining permission to open a factory, he left a small establishment there. Travancore was at this time ruled by Govardhana Martanda. His territory extended from Quilon to Cape Comorin, and embraced, besides, the southern portion of the Pandyan kingdom including the port of Kayal. The Raja exacted tribute from Ceylon, kept a corps of three hundred female archers, and it is said he had not hesitated to challenge to battle the Raja of Vijayanagar.

Albuquerque sailed from Quilon on 12th January 1504 for Cochin, whence on 31st January he finally sailed for Europe, touching at Cannanore for ginger. Before doing so, however, he concluded a short-lived treaty with the Zamorin, the conditions of which were : (1) nine hundred candies of pepper as compensation, (2) Moors to give up trade with Arabia and Egypt, (3) permanent reconciliation between the Zamorin and Cochin, and (4) the delivery up of the two Italian deserters. These terms, except the last, were agreed to by the Zamorin to the rage and indignation of the Moors, some of whom left Calicut. But the treaty was of short duration, because of the capture of a boat by the Portuguese laden with pepper intended for Cranganore. Six persons were slain and several wounded in effecting this capture.

Albuquerque, before sailing, was warned of impending dangers, and the defence of the Cochin fort was accordingly entrusted to Pacheco, a most valiant soldier. He had as garrison one hundred and fifty men including invalids, and two ships which had not been loaded with pepper were also placed at his disposal.

On 16 th March 1504 the Zamorin’s force, consisting of five big guns which had been constructed for him by the two Italian deserters, the

Vottatta and Kottayam and Parappanad Rajas and other chiefs, with fifty-seven thousand Nayars, together with one hundred and sixty boats linked together and armed with guns cast by the Italians, attacked Pacheco’s small force at the Eddapalli ferry. But the Portuguese artillery again proved completely effective, and the enemy was driven back with heavy loss

notwithstanding that the Cochin Nayars (five hundred men) had fled at the first alarm.

On Sunday, the 25th March, another attempt to force the passage was made, and this time again the Zamorin was defeated by Pacheco's daring little band.

On the Tuesday following a third attempt was made, but with no better success.

The Zamorin next divided his forces and sent one part of it to force another and shallower ferry called Valanjaca. Pacheco's resources were now put to the greatest test, for at ebb tide he had to proceed to Valanjaca and defend it, and when the flood tide made that passage impracticable for men without boats he returned to Edapalli. As a precautionary measure he had seized all the boats.

The rains set in, cholera broke out among the Zamorin's men, and this brought a short respite to the wearied Pacheco and his band of heroes.

The Brahmans with the Zamorin finally appointed Thursday, the 7th May, for the last attack ; and it was with the utmost difficulty repulsed, the Cochin Nayars having again proved faithless.

But a partial crossing was effected at another point, and a curious incident, possible only in Indian warfare, occurred, for a band of Cherumar, who were there busy working in the fields, plucked up courage, seized their spades and attacked the men who had, crossed. These, being more afraid of being polluted by the too near approach of the low-caste men than by death at the hands of Pacheco's men, fled precipitately.

Pacheco expressed strong admiration of the Cherumars' courage and wished to have them raised to the rank of Nayars. He was much astonished when told that this could not be done.

The Zamorin at last gave up the attempt in despair, and his power and influence waned perceptibly in consequence of his ill-success, while the influence of the Cochin Raj a, on the other hand, increased considerably.

On 3rd July Pacheco having brought his three and a half months' toil to a happy issue, returned to Cochin in triumph, and hearing there of a partial outbreak at Qnilon, he set sail, to the amazement of everybody, in the teeth of the monsoon, landed at Quilon, and speedily restored the Portuguese prestige there.

On the 1st September 1504 Suarez de Menezes arrived at Cannanore, where

he was received by the Kolattiri escorted by three elephants and five thousand Nayars. After an ineffectual attempt to rescue some of

the prisoners taken at Calicut in Cabral's time, he cannonaded the place and sailed on 11th September for Cochin.

After being joined there by Pacheco on his return from Quilon in October, a successful night attack was made on Cranganore, which was held by the Padinyattedam chieftain under the Zamorin. The place was captured and was nearly all burnt. The Portuguese spared the Christian houses, shops and churches, but they looted those of the Jews and Moors.

The only other notable incident connected with Suarez's stay on the coast was his destruction of a large Moorish fleet at Pantalayini Kollam. It had assembled there to take back a large number of Moors to Arabia and Egypt, who were leaving the country disheartened at the trade losses caused to them by the Portuguese. It was a crushing blow, for it is said Suarez captured seventeen vessels and slew two thousand men ; and the Zamorin too felt the weight of it, for he had hitherto relied 'on the Moors for assistance, and it was by their aid chiefly that he had obtained such pre-eminence on the coast.

On the return of Suarez and Pacheco, King Emmanuel, at a Council, resolved to bring about the complete overthrow of the Moorish trade by seizing (1) Aden, (2) Hormuz, and (3) Malacca, the two first being the ports through which their eastern trade reached Europe via Alexandria and Beyrout, and the last being that at which they exchanged goods with China.

The year 1505 was a memorable year in the Portuguese annals, for on 31st 'October there arrived at Cochin eight vessels, all that remained out of a fleet of twenty-two, carrying one thousaild five hundred soldiers, with which Don Francisco de Almeyda, the first Portuguese Viceroy of all the Indies , had sailed from Europe.

His appointment dated from the 25th March of that year, but it was made conditional on his succeeding in erecting forts at four places : (1) Anjediva Island, (2) Cannanore, (3) Cochin, and (4) Quilon.

The building of the Anjediva fort was commenced directly Almeyda touched the coast on 13th September, and it is said that in digging the foundations the Portuguese came across stones bearing a cross, showing that the place had once been the abode of Christians.

On his way down the coast he, on 23rd October, commenced, with the Kolattiri's permission, the Cannanore fort,i 2 which he called St. Angelo. And he left there Lorenzo de Brito with one hundred and

fifty men and two ships to defend it.

Here he was visited by the minister of Narasimha Row of Vijayana-gar, who then ruled the chief portion of Southern India. South Canara had' been before this time annexed in order to provide horses (Arab and Persian Gulf) for his cavalry. Almeyda was flattered at this visit, and

i It does not follow that they were Christian crosses, for the cross was originally a

heathen emblem. …… ,

- It was probably built on the site of the existing fort at this place.

the minister proposed an alliance of marriage between his master's daughter and the King of Portugal's son.

On reaching Cochin Almeyda learnt that the factor and others, thirteen persons in all, had been burnt to death by the mob at Quilon. Thither accordingly he despatched his son Lorenzo with six vessels, with orders to ignore the massacre if lading for his ships were provided, but if not, then to take ample vengeance for the massacre. Lorenzo, finding twenty-seven Calicut vessels there, engaged and sank them all ; and after visiting the Maidive Islands (in search of Arab vessels) he touched at Ceylon and concluded a treaty with the King of Colombo.

Almeyda himself was meanwhile busy with political affairs at Cochin, arranging a new succession to the crown. He installed with great pomp the third Raja, and endeavoured to alter the succession to the throne, making it contingent on the approval of the King of Portugal. This not being approved by the elder princes, hostilities ensued. But the Portuguese hold on Cochin was increased by the strengthening and rebuilding of the fort there, a work to which Almeyda devoted all his energies.

The Zamorin had for a long time been waiting for succour from Egypt, and had meanwhile been completing with the utmost secrecy preparations for a great naval attack on the Portuguese. The secret was well kept, but a travelling European, one Ludovic of Bologna, disguised as a Moslem fakir, visited Calicut, fell in there with the two Italian deserters in the Zamorin's employ, fraternised with them, and soon ascertained that preparations on a big scale were afoot. He succeeded in escaping to the Cannanore fort, and was thence despatched to Cochin to lay his information before Almeyda.

Lorenzo Almeyda was accordingly ordered to concentrate his ships on Cannanore, and as it happened, they rendezvoused there on the 16th March 1506, just in time to intercept an armada of Turks and Moors whom the Zamorin had launched against Cannanore. This armada consisted of two hundred and ten large vessels gathered from Ponnani, Calicut, Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, and Darmapattanam. Lorenzo Almeyda steered his ship straight between two of the enemy carrying red-coated Turkish soldiers. The Portuguese gunpowder and artillery fire again easily won the day, and the armada retreated towards Darmapattanam. The wind falling adverse, however, they were again driven north towards Cannanore. They sent a message to Lorenzo to say they had not come to fight, and wished to pass to the northward. To this, however, Lorenzo woyld not listen, lie again closed with them and near three thousand Moslems, it is said, fell in the battle and the rest were scattered in all directions. The Portuguese loss was very trifling.

This victory completely established the naval supremacy of the Portuguese, and no further attempt was made to dispute it.

At the end of the monsoon in 1606 the Portuguese viceroy wisely determined to give up the Anjediva fort and to concentrate his forces in the Cannanore and Cochin forts, which sufficiently protected the trade.

And it was well he did so ; for in April 1507 the Portuguese at Cannanore had to sustain the brunt of a powerful attack from the Kolattiri, assisted both by the Zamorin and the Moors. The old Kolattiri, the original friend of Vasco da Gama, had died and the succession to the raj had been disputed. The matter had been left to the arbitration of a Brahman nominated by the Zamorin, so that the new Kolattiri was attached to the Zamorin's interests and was no friend of the Portuguese.

Moreover a barbarous incident had justly incensed the people of Kolattunad. The Portuguese permitted no native vessel to ply on the coast without their passes, signed by the commandants either of Cochin or of Cannanore. Chenacheri Kurup, the minister of the old Kolattiri, had some years previously sent a memorial to the King of P ortugal praying for an order to the Portuguese captains not to molest the Kolattiri's petty islands, the Laccadive group, and to permit ten native vessels to go annually to Hormuz or Gujarat for the purchase of horses, and a favorable reply had been received. But the Portuguese captains had obstructed the carrying out of the order, and, perhaps, they had some excuse for doing so, as several Calicut Moors under cover of this permission used to carry on trade. The Portuguese captains were not therefore very particular as to what vessels they took. And it so happened about this time that one of them, Gonzalo Vaz, meeting a vessel near Cannanore, overhauled her papers, and, declaring a pass which

she carried from Brito, the Cannanore commandant, to be a forgery, seized the rich prize, and, to avoid discovery, plundered and sank her after sewing the crew up in a sail and throwing them overboard. The stitching had not been firm, and the corpses of the crew were washed up on the beach. One of the bodies was identified as the son-in-law of Mammali Marakkar, and the father, a very influential merchant, came to the Cannanore fort and indignantly upbraided Brito for the breach of the faith. Brito protested his innocence, but it was not believed. And the murdered man's family therefore went in a body to the Valarpatta-nam palace of the Kolattiri and demanded vengeance. The populace was greatly incensed, and the Kolattiri reluctantly consented to

hostilities. # . . ,

The Portuguese, seeing the threatening attitude of the people, withdrew within their fort, and from 27th April 1507, for a period of four

months, the fort was closely invested.

Before the breaking of the monsoon Brito communicated with Almeyda at Cochin and obtained some reinforcements and supplies, and Gonzalo Vaz was dismissed the service. But, though informed of this act of justice, the Kolattiri was not satisfied.

He obtained twenty-one pieces of cannon from the Zamorin, all communication between the town and tort was cut off by a trench, and forty thousand Nayars were entertained to besiege the place, and the Zamorin subsequently sent twenty thousand more to assist.

Brito worked hard to complete his defences. At last one morning the besiegers advanced against the fort in twelve columns of two thousand men each, tom-toms beating, rockets and blue-lights blazing, and doughty champions dancing in front of the array, performing wonderful athletic feats.

The Portuguese poured in a destructive fire, however, and drove the invaders back before they reached the walls.

The water of the garrison came from a well 1 situated a bowshot from the walls, and each time the Portuguese wished to draw water they had to fight for it, until Fernandez, an engineer, hit upon the expedient of mining a passage as far as the well and so drawing off the supply underground. The Portuguese, after this had been accomplished, made another sally and filled up the well with earth to hide the device from the enemy.

The Moors constructed ramparts of bales of cotton, and against them the ordinary cannon used had but little effect; but the Portuguese planted a large piece of ordnance on their ramparts, and one lucky shot from it, it is said, sent the cotton bales flying and killed no less than twenty-two men.

After this no attempt was made to take the fort, and the besiegers hoped to starve out the garrison. The latter were reduced to the greatest straits, and lived on lizards, rats, cats, and other animals. On the 1 5th August, however, a miraculous event occurred, seemingly in answer to the prayers of the besieged to the Queen of Heaven,2 whose feast day it chanced to be, for the sea sent forth shoals of crabs and prawns, and the garrison again lived in plenty.

To bring the siege to a termination before the Onam festival in August, a grand final assault, both by sea and land, was planned. The boats and catamarans were easily enough driven back by the besieged garrison, but the Nayars gallantly stormed the wall and effected an entrance. So steady, however, was the Portuguese fire that they withered away before it and finally retreated.

Nearly every one of the little garrison was, however, wounded in that day's fight ; and Brito, to conceal the exhaustion of his resources, kept up a bombardment of the town after the enemy had been repulsed, and destroyed a big mosque in which the Moors had congregated for the Friday service.

But succour was at hand ; for on 27th August a fresh fleet of eleven ships under De Cunha arrived from Europe, and their commander,

1 It is an interesting fact that the present Cannanore fort is stifl dependent for its water-supply on this well.

2 Conf. pp. 36-38. The sea had probably sickened, as it does periodically, d the prawns and crabs had probably been driven on shore in consequence.

with three hundred of his men, had no difficulty in driving back the besiegers and relieving the place.

The Kolattiri then sued for peace, which was granted on terms advantageous to the Portuguese.

The markets of Cannanore and Cochin were thus open, and no difficulty was experienced in freighting the ships for Europe with spices.

Prior, however, to the despatch of the fleet, Almeyda, on the 24th November, made a descent on the Zamorin's shallow harbour of Pon-nani, and destroyed

the town and shipping. Numbers of Moors took oath to die as sahids on this occasion, and the defence of the town, the Moorish headquarters on the coast, was very stubborn. Eighteen Portuguese were killed in the assault on the place.

The fleet eventually sailed for Europe on 6th December.

Meanwhile extraordinary preparations were being made in Egypt to equip a fleet to drive away the Portuguese, whose interference with the overland trade had deprived the Egyptian ruler of his chief source of revenue. Cedar trees felled on Mount Lebanon were rafted to Alexandria by sea, thence floated up the Nile, and finally transported on camel back to Suez, where twelve large ships were built under the skilled superintendence of Venetian shipwrights. This fleet, under the command of Admiral Mir Hussain, then sailed for the coast of Konkan, carrying on board one thousand five hundred Mamluks and the Zamorin's ambassador, Mayimama Marakkar, who had been sent to request assistance against the Portuguese.

This ambassador was among the first slain in the fight which ensued at Chaul with Lorenzo Almeyda's ships. But Lorenzo was himself slain together with the whole of the crew of his ship, which had grounded on some fishing stakes and there remained fast. The remaining Portuguese vessels then sailed for Cochin and conveyed the news of this disaster to the viceroy.

The latter vowed vengeance ; and, with a fleet carrying one thousand three hundred Europeans and four hundred selected Cochin Nayars, sailed for and reached Cannanore on 25th November 1508.

Hearing a rumour that the Egyptian fleet was approaching, Almeyda sailed up to Mount Deli, and while anchored there a large fleet hove in sight, which turned out to be that of the great Albuquerque, who had been sent out to relieve Almeyda of the viceroyalty.

The combined fleets then returned to Cannanore and quarrels immediately ensued between the two viceroys. In the end Albuquerque was sent to Cochin, and Almeyda, as viceroy in command of the combined fleets, sailed from Cannanore on 12th December in search of the enemy.

On the 3rd February 1509 the viceroy fell in with the Egyptian fleet, nnd the eighty war-boats despatched to its assistance by the Zamorin

in a harbour in Gujarat. A complete victory was gained by the Portuguese, who also secured much plunder and took many prisoners.

Returning in triumph to Cannanore, Almeyda made a most brutal use of his victory by hanging some, and by blowing from cannon others, of the Turkish prisoners taken by him. The limbs of the victims of his revengeful fury are said to have been showered over the Moorish town of Cannanore as a warning to Moslems not to provoke the Portuguese to vengeance.

On reaching head-quarters at Cochin (8th March 1509), Almeyda still delayed handing over charge of his office to Albuquerque. The disputes between them continued until Albuquerque was despatched a prisoner to Cannanore and consigned to Brito's charge.

Thus matters continued until 16th October 1509, when fresh reinforcements arrived at Cannanore from Europe under the command of Don Fernando Coutinho. Brito, the Cannanore commandant, set sail secretly the very night the fleet anchored at Cannanore to convey the news to Almeyda, for one of the first acts of Coutinho was to release the great Albuquerque from custody, and to confer on him the insignia of his rank as viceroy. On their arrival at Cochin (29th October 1509), Almeyda quietly resigned charge of his office and made preparations to return to Europe. He was, however, never destined to reach Portugal again, for in a petty quarrel with Caffres at a place to the west of the Cape of Good Hope, the first of the Portuguese viceroys of India was mortally wounded, and the same fate likewise befell Brito, the famous defender of the Cannanore fort.

Coutinho had brought out instructions from Portugal that Calicut should be destroyed. Such had been, it is said, the counsel sent to Europe by the Kolattiri and by the Cochin Raja, both of whom envied and were afraid of the Zamorin, and benefited by his misfortunes.

Accordingly Albuquerque and Coutinho set out for and reached Calicut on 4th January 1510, timing their arrival there when the Zamorin was absent from the place.

Landing in two divisions, Albuquerque on the left took the fort by escalade and carried all before him. J

Not to be outdone, the aged Coutinho, with the right division, sought and obtained a guide to conduct his party of eight hundred men straight to the Zamorin's palace. The day was hot, Coutinho himself had no helmet or other head covering. The country through which his division passed was thickly covered with orchards and the gardens were divided from each other (as they are now) by massive earthen embankments.1 Proceeding thus, it is said, for a mile and a half, the palace was at last reached, and the Chief Officer of the Palace Guard and two other chieftains defending it were slain. The

foun w P all”ded 18 8t,U pomted out as that of whi < * the mounds forming the foundations now alone exist on both sides of the main road from the Mananchira Tank

towards Beypore. It is there that the Zamorins are still crowned ananLˆ Iaak

palace was sacked, the treasure and royal emblems accumulated for ages were seized, the precious stones were picked out of the idols, and excesses of all kinds were committed. Overcome by fatigue Coutinho lay down to rest on a couch in one of the most spacious halls, and it is said he slept for over two hours. Suddenly he was roused by the wild shouts of the returning foe, the Nayar guards (the agambadi) poured in from all directions before he could rally his men ; the Portuguese knew not which way to turn in their ignorance of the locality, and the Nayars overwhelmed them with showers of arrows and javelins.

Albuquerque arrived on the scene too late to save his friend ; Coutinho and eighty of his men were slain, and Albuquerque himself escaped with difficulty. The palace was on fire, and two of the guns were in the hands of the enemy. He made a great but ineffectual effort to retake them, and then retreated. The earthen embankments among the orchards obstructed his men, and at such places the Nayars pressed them hard and wounded many of the Portuguese. Albuquerque himself was first wounded by a bullet in his foot, and then by a stone which knocked him down insensible. Laying him on shields, he was carried without further mishap to the shore, and on reaching this the Portuguese made good their retreat to the ships under cover of the guns of the fleet commanded by Captain Rebello. They left, however, one hundred of their number behind.

After returning to Cochin and giving the wounded some time to recover, Albuquerque next set out on an expedition against Hormuz, the head-quarters of the Moslem trade in the Persian Gulf. Proceeding up the coast he touched at Honore, and was there prevailed on by the chieftain Timmaya to attack Goa before proceeding to Hormuz.

The chieftain of Goa, Subbayi, had lately died. He had succeeded in collecting around him a large following of divers nations, and piracy on a large scale was there carried on.

Adil Khan, his successor, was absent at the time, and Goa fell an easy prey to Albuquerque aided by the Honore chief. On 25th February 1510 Albuquerque entered the place in triumph, and found great booty, including a large number of horses intended for sale to the Yijayanagar

Raja.

The advantage of having a deep harbour like Goa available for shelter for even his largest ships in the south-west monsoon season struck Albuquerque very forcibly, and he determined at once to make it the capital of the Portuguese possessions in India. And to this end he set about strengthening its defences.

He accordingly stayed there till the monsoon set in, and meanwhile despatched an embassy to Vijayanagar, proposing an offensive and defensive alliance against the Moslems. But Adil Khan then returning laid siege to the place, and so effectually intercepted supplies that Albuquerque was compelled at last to evacuate the place and to retreat to Ra-bunder, where he remained in great stress for provisions all

through the monsoon. Many desertions from the Portuguese ranks took place at this time. At last, taking advantage of a break in the weather, he made good his retreat to Anjediva (August 1510), and on 15th September arrived at Cannanore.

There in a large tent erected in frofft of the fort a grand durbar was held, attended by the Kolattiri, his minister Chenacheri Kurup, and Mammali Marakkar, the chief Moor of Cannanore.

At this council an urgent message was received from Nuno, left in command at Cochin, that the viceroy would at once return thither, because the reigning Raja had, under Brahman advice, decided to relinquish the throne according to custom on the death of the senior Raja, which had just taken place. The ruling Cochin Rajas had been previously in the habit of retiring to a pagoda to lead the lives of hermits directly their seniors in the family died. This custom was now to be broken through in deference to the wishes of the Portuguese, to whose interest it was that the next senior in the family, an ally of the Zamorin's, should not succeed to the raj. It was, however, with much reluctance and with a heavy heart that the reigning Raja was prevailed upon to do so, and it was only when a number of his chieftains presented themselves, tendered fealty, and advised that the Brahmans should not be listened to in this matter, that he consented to break through the customs of his ancestors. Albuquerque tried to reassure him and said, " Brahmans' words have ceased to rule this kingdom. The mighty arm of the foreigner must be respected in future. Seek asylum therefore in the royal favor of the King of Portugal, and you will never be forsaken."

In the end of September Albuquerque decided on a second expedition against Goa, and a fresh fleet from Europe arrived just as he was organising the

expedition and enabled him to make up his force to the necessary strength.

On arrival at Cannanore, however, the men broke into mutiny on hearing that a force of nine thousand Turks had been prepared to meet them. The Zamorin too sent a force under the rival Cochin claimant to draw off the Kolattiri from the Portuguese alliance. Albuquerque was, however, equal to the occasion ; he eventually persuaded the Kolattiri's minister, Chenacheri Kurup, to join his expedition at the head of three hundred picked Nayars, and this shamed his own men into facing the dangers in front of them.

Proceeding up the coast, the expedition touched at Honore, and after engaging the chief of that place, Timmaya, to assist him against Goa, and on learning that Adil Khan was again absent from the place, Albuquerque determined on immediate attack. He reached Goa on St. Catherine s day, 6th November 1510, and after a contest lasting only for six hours the place fell into his hands.

Alouquerque took a statesman-like view of his position, and it was under his orders that the foundations of Portuguese power in India

wore laid. Besides building forts and churches and carrying out various public works with Moorish spoils, he encouraged his men to marry the native women, and on them he bestowed the lands taken from the Moors. To the mixed race thus produced he looked for the formation of a native army which should be as powerful by land as his fleet was by sea. Adhering to these views with firmness, he ably carried them out. But the people under him thirsted to be rich ; the means they adopted to this end were very frequently most unscrupulous, and all such irregularities Albuquerque repressed with a heavy hand. He thus made numerous enemies among his own people.

From November 1510 Goa finally supplanted Cochin as the chief Portuguese settlement, and the effect of the capture was so great that the different Rajas of Southern India voluntarily sent embassies to Albuquerque acknowledging the Portuguese supremacy.

To ruin the Moslem trade in India and the East had been the aim of all the Portuguese commanders from Da Gama's time downwards. And Albuquerque's next blow was aimed at their China trade, the emporium of which was at Malacca. This city he took in July 1511.

Narrowly escaping being drowned in shipwreck on his way back, he landed at Cochin in February 1512 among great demonstrations of joy as the Moors had been industriously circulating rumours of his death.

To his sorrow, however, he found that his countrymen had in the interval been associating indiscriminately with the natives, and had abandoned themselves to vice and crime. To stop this he constructed a barrier to separate the fort from the town, and made a rule that any one other than a Christian entering the fort should forfeit his life. In consequence of this rule over four hundred Cochinites, including some Nayars, voluntarily embraced Christianity. For their benefit the vioeroy established schools.

Leaving Malabar in September 1512, Albuquerque next proceeded to Goa and thence he set out on another distant expedition against Aden, after putting in train a scheme for building a fort at Calicut and for entering on a treaty of peace with the Zamorin.

It was in spite of the expressed dissatisfaction of the Kolattiri and of the Cochin Raja that he endeavoured to come to terms with the Zamorin, and as all their influence was exerted to thwart the plan, the negotiations did not make much progress, and they came to a standstill altogether directly Albuquerque sailed for Aden and the Red Sea.

Returning with a heavy heart from his unsuccessful expedition against Aden in August 1513, an opening was presented to Albuquerque for a good understanding with Calicut in consequence of the succession to the raj of the member of the family who had hitherto

encouraged the idea of an alliance with Portugal.

By a treaty with the Zamorin the Portuguese would be enabled to curtail their expenditure at Cochin, for their establishment to protect Cochin from invasion, especially at the Eddapalli ferry, had always to be maintained on a war footing whilst the Zamorin was their foe.

THB PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

Albuquerque landed at Calicut, had an interview with the Zamorin, and arranged the following terms of peace with him : —

The Portuguese were to erect a fort at Calicut in a locality of their own selection.

They were to be permitted to trade as they pleased.

They were to be permitted to barter European goods for pepper, whilst all other traders 1 were to pay for it in cash.

The annual quantity of pepper to be supplied to them was fixed at fifteen

thousand candies, and the price to be governed by that prevailing at Cochin.

A moiety of the customs revenue was to be paid as tribute to the King of Portugal.

The loss incurred by the destruction of the factory planted by Cabral was to be made good from the Zamorin's treasury.

In accordance with this agreement, the Portuguese set to work to erect a fort at Calicut. The site selected appears to have been on the northern bank of the Kallayi river at the southern extremity of Calicut. The position chosen had the advantage of being flanked on two sides by water. The fort was square in form with flanking bastions at the corners facing the sea. The Zamorin personally exerted himself to help the engineer, Thomas Fernandez, who built it.

This arrangement with the Zamorin increased Albuquerque's fame in Europe. He sent tigers and elephants to Portugal ; some of them were passed on to Rome. His zeal was, however, disparaged by slanderers among his own officers, and the King of Portugal began to take alarm at his increasing renown.

In February 1515 Albuquerque set 'out on his last expedition for ruining the Moslem trade, and this was directed against Hormuz, the emporium of the Persian Gulf. This place fell an easy conquest.

But meanwhile the slanderers' tales had been listened to, and Albuquerque 8 supersession had been decreed. His successor, Suarez, sailed in April and reached Goa on 2nd September 1515. Albuquerque was still absent on the Hormuz expedition, and a ship was despatched to convey to him the news. His anguish was great when he came to know that men whom he had sent in disgrace to Europe had returned in high offices of State. " Oh holy Jesus, deliver me from this dilemma. When I serve my king loyally, the people hate me ! When I serve the people, the king hates me ! I have had enough of this ; it is time for me to bid farewell to the world. AK ! do not forsake an aged pian."

The Moors alleged that one of the conditions was that they should be permitted to load four vessels annually for the Red Sea, but as soon as the Calicut fort was finished the Portuguese broke faith with them and forbade any further trade with Arabia, and any trade whatever in pepper or ginger (Rowlandson's Tahafat-ul Mujahidin, p. 112). It is doubtful however if this was so, and reference is probably made to the proposed terms embracing a condition to the said effect offered by Albuquerque prior to his Aden expedition, which terms were not accepted at the time.

Falling ill of dysentery, he saw his end approaching, and placidly acquiesced therein. His ship arrived at Goa on 16th December ; a boat was despatched to shore to fetch a priest ; he received the last offices of the Church, and on the 17th he died, aged 63 years.

Albuquerque was greatly beloved by the ˆ natives for his justice and honesty. These good qualities lived long in their memories, and offerings and vows were made at his tomb by all classes and creeds among the natives.

The events of the next few years do not present many features of interest. But an important change came over the Portuguese administration. In 1517 a Finance Minister was sent out from Europe to control expenditure, and as a check on the hitherto unlimited powers of the Viceroy. Dissensions of course arose directly he tried to exercise his authority, and in the end he had to go home. From this time forward the Home Government displayed great jealousy and suspicion in regard to the acts of its Indian administrators, and frequently cancelled their orders. This treatment naturally produced indifference in public affairs, and resulted in every one connected with the administration striving to amass wealth without caring much how it was obtained.

In 1517 Suarez arranged a treaty with the Queen of Quilon. Compensation was given for the loss of the former factory, control of the pepper trade was obtained, and a fresh factory was erected, probably on the site of the existing fort at Tangasseri. An unsuccessful expedition against Jeddah, and the subjugation of Egypt by the Turks, also marked this year. The impending trouble from a fresh Egyptian expedition consequently passed over.

In 1518 expeditions were sent to the Maldives and to Ceylon, and in the end of the year a change of viceroys took place, Sequeira succeeding

Suarez.

In 1519 some trading Moslems, taking advantage of the weakness of the Portuguese factory at the Maldives, massacred the garrison, and from this time forward the islanders, including probably those of Mini-coy, were not interfered with by the Portuguese, and in course of time became Muhammadans. In this same year in September the Quilon, or rather Tangasseri, fort (Fort Thomas) was begun secretly by the Commandant Eodrigues under pretence of repairing the factory, and was completed and armed ; and, under the conditions of the agreement giving the Portuguese the control of the pepper trade, Eodrigues seized five thousand bullock-loads of that article which certain traders from the East Coast had collected in barter for five thousand bullock-loads of rice, and which they were on the point of

taking across the ghauts via the Ariankavu Pass. From that time forward East Coast merchants were afraid to cross by that pass for trade at Quilon and it gradually fell into disuse. It was in this year also that Sequeira, the Viceroy, with a band of men witnessed near Cochin a duel 1 on a very big scale between a

1 Co*f. p. 169-

chieftain of the Zamorin and a chieftain of Cochin. Four thousand men were engaged on each side, and while the fighting was in progress one of the Portuguese struck in with the Zamorin's men, whereupon the Cochin men sent a flight of arrows into the Portuguese spectators and killed five of them, putting the rest to flight.

In January 1520 another expedition against Jeddah was despatched, but it seems to have accomplished little or nothing, and in the monsoon of that year Fort Thomas at Tangasseri was besieged. The garrison, numbering only thirty Europeans, bad rice to eat, but little else, and were driven to making curry of rats to give their rice a flavour. In August, however, provisions and reinforcements arrived from Cochin, and the two Queens of Quilon sued for and obtained peace.

In 1521 the Cochin Raja, smarting under the recollection of the former defeats sustained at the Zamorin's hands, thought he saw a favorable opportunity for attacking the latter, which he did with a force of fifty thousand Nilyars, and the Portuguese, disregarding treaty obligations, sent some gunners to assist him. But the Brahmans came to the Zamorin's assistance, and by cursing the land which gave protection to the Parangis (Portuguese), succeeded in making many of the Cochin Raja's followers desist from the enterprise, and the rest were easily driven back into their own limits.

The Portuguese too, under Sequeira, made themselves very much disliked by the natives by refusing to recognise their own passes to native ships engaged in trade ; in fact the Portuguese ship captains became little better than organised pirates. Petitions went home, particularly from Cannanore, and in consequence of these Sequeira was recalled and Don Duarte de Menezes came out as Viceroy with orders to maintain peace and to propagate Christianity.

In January 1523 Menezes came to Calicut, and there found to his astonishment that things were rapidly assuming a warlike aspect. The Zamorin was dead and his successor did not favor the Portuguese alliance.

Moreover, the piratical acts of the Portuguese had made the Moorish merchants desperate. The Viceroy, to avoid war, adopted the readiest means for bringing it on by overlooking insults to his people. His own Secretary (Castro) was grossly insulted in Calicut bazaar and driven back with his retinue into the fort by the rabble with stones, several of the retinue being wounded, and no notice was taken of the affront. When therefore Menezes sailed with all the available ships to Hormuz, a Moorish merchant, one Kutti Ali of Tanur, had the effrontery to bring a fleet of two hundred vessels to Calicut, to load eight ships with pepper, and to despatch them writh a convoy of forty vessels to the Red Sea before the very eyes of the Portuguese.

On the 11th or (perhaps) 2 1st of September 1524 " there arrived at the bar of Goa D. Vasco da Gama, who discovered India, as Viceroy of India." He came in great state as befitted his position, with a fleet of fourteen ships carrying three thousand men, and his mission was to reform the abuses which had crept into the administration.

On reaching the land at Dabul " and with the wind becalmed, during the watch of daybreak, the sea trembled in such a manner giving such great buffets to the ships, that all thought they were on shoals, and struck the sails, and lowered the boats into the sea with great shouts and cries and discharge of cannon." On sounding they found no bottom, " and they cried to God for mercy, because the ships pitched so violently that the men could not stand upright and the chests were sent from one end of the ship to the other." The trembling came, died away, and was renewed " each time during the space of a Credo." The subterranean disturbance lasted about an hour, " in which the water made a great boiling up, one sea struggling with another." When daylight was fully come they saw the land. Da Gama maintained his presence of mind during this trying scene, and reassured his men

by telling them that even the sea trembled at the presence of the Portuguese.

Da Gama went to Cannanore and stayed there for three days, during which time he insisted on the Kolattiri surrendering a notorious pirate chief oalled Bala Hassan, who was thereupon thrown into a dungeon in Cannanore fort.

Passing Calicut, where there were commotions but no fighting, Da Gama proceeded to Cochin and took measures to bring Menezes, the Viceroy, to account for his actions by arresting both him and his brother D. Luiz, the good Governor of Cochin.

But Da Gama had fallen sick and Menezes hoped to continue in his post if his illness proved fatal. In this, however, Da Gama forestalled him by orders issued from his sick bed, and he sailed for Europe before the illness took a

fatal turn.

Da Gama died " at 3 o'clock after midnight on the 24th day of December of this present year of 1524." " Feeling his death approach

ing* (he) passed from the fortress to the houses of Deogo Pereira which were close by in the court of the church." After death his body " was carried to the monastery of St. Anthony and 1 buried in the principal chapel." On his tomb there was " a square grating surrounding the grave, of the height of a span, lined with a black velvet, and a black

1 The quotation in the text is from Correa's " Lendas da India " (Stanley's translation). There has been much conjecture as to the exact place of the great Da Gama's burial at Cochin. The monastery belonged to the Franciscans, and the principal chapel thereof was probably dedicated, as Correa and P. Barreto de Resende state, to St. Anthony. Castanheda, on the other hand, say# the burial took place in the Cochin cathedral. Barros and San Roman say it was the monastery of St. Francis. Correa's account written so near the time is entitled to the fullebt credit, and there can be little doubt that it was in the Franciscan chapel of St. Anthony that Da Gama's body was first laid to rest. Much has been written about the vandalism of the British Government in having blown up the church where Da Gama's remains rested, but the charges are without foundation, for the chapel, rebuilt by the Dutch, still exists as the European Protestant place of worship down to the present day. Da Gama's body was removed to Portugal in 1538 and deposited first at Vidigueira. His remains now rest in a chapel at Belem, the port whence he set out on his adventurous voyage. They were transferred to this last resting-place with much ceremony so lately as June 1880.

and white fringe placed upon a velvet cloth which covered all the grave." 1

Short as was the time during which Da Gama held offioe, he did much to rehabilitate the reputation of the Portuguese. He purged the settlements visited by him, and selected the ablest officers to conduct affairs. De Souza under his orders relieved Calicut, engaged the famous Kutti All's fleet at Kappatt, and drove it to PantalayiniKollam. Taking up the chase next day, De Souza drove the fleet before him as far as Cannanore, where the sailors having abandoned it, it fell a prey to the Portuguese. Meantime the young George Tellia had encountered the younger Kutti Ali near Goa and had defeated him too.

When the royal despatch was opened after Da Gama's death, it was found that Henry Menezes had been appointed to succeed him in the event of his

death.

About the time of Da Gama's death the Moors, with the Zamorin's approval, made an onslaught on the Cranganore Jews and Christians, the reason alleged being that the Moors had resorted to various tricks for adulterating the pepper, &c., brought to market, and some Jews and Christians had been specially selected to discover such tricks and mete out justice to the offenders. Assembling from Calicut, Pantalayini Kollam, Kappatt, " Turkoz " (? Trikkodi), Chaliyam, Parappanangadi, " Travancore " (?), Tanur, Paroni, Ponnani, and " Baleenghat," the Moors mustered a fleet of one hundred grabs aild attacked Cranganore. They slew many Jews and drove out the rest to a village to the east, but when they attacked the Christians, the Nayars of the place retaliated, and, in turn, drove all the Moors out of Cranganore.

One of the first acts of Henry Menezes' rule, when he arrived at Cannanore on his way to the south from Goa, was to order the execution of the pirate Bala Hassan, who had been delivered up by the Kolattiri on a demand from Da Gama. This man was related to the family of the Arakal Raja of Cannanore (Mappilla), and bribes to a large amount were offered for his release, but in vain. The Kolattiri also offered a visit to the Viceroy to intercede for him, but the execution was not stayed. The Moors were greatly disgusted at this and decided that in the future they should act independently of the Kolattiri altogether. And the Kolattiri on his part asked the Viceroy to punish those Moors who had taken refuge at Darmapattanam Island. An expedition was accordingly organised, and the towns, bazaars and shipping at Darmapattanam and at Mahe were destroyed (January

1 There is pointed out in the Protestant Church at Cochin a tomb-stone in the pavement of the church bearing the name " Vasco " in legible characters thereon, the remainder of the name lias become obliterated. The top of the stone bearing a coat of arms is broken, but if the top there now is the real top of the stone on which the name " Vasco " is engraved, then it is almost certainly not Da Gama's tomb-stone, as the coat of arms is different from that of Da Gama.

On reaching Calicut, Menezes found that the place had been attacked by the Zamorin s troops hut, notwithstanding this, the Zamorin pretended he was now inclined to sue for peace. Pushing on to Cochin, Menezes there received another message from the Zamorin asking for peace, but in reality it was only a pretence to gain time till the setting in of the monsoon. Hurrying his preparations therefore, Menezes determined to strike the first blow, so he sailed for Ponnani and there burnt the town and seized or burnt the shipping (26th February 1525).

Pantalayini Kollam, the emporium of the trade with Mecca, next occupied his attention. It was defended by three bastions on a bill 1 with many guns. A. canal had been dug communicating with the sea and the ships and mercantile warehouses lay along this canal. The town was defended by twenty thousand Nayars and Moors.

Menezes arrived before it one evening, and both parties made great preparations for the fight on the morrow. The Portuguese next day landed in three divisions and were completely victorious, taking, it is said, two hundred and fifty cannon and quantities of ammimition. The town and bazaar and shipping were all burnt, and the Portuguese carried off with them forty vessels to Cannanore, where they arrived on 11th March 1525.

The effect of this victory was great, and the reputation of the Portuguese for valour was revived.

The Viceroy next* dealt with the Laccadive Islands, which are eighteen in number. Orders had come from Portugal that if the Kolattiri would supply all the coir (for which the islands are famous) required by the Portuguese at a cheap rate, he might keep the islands. Menezes, at an interview with the Kolattiri, then demanded a thousand candies per annum of coir. The Kolattiri replied he could not undertake to supply this quantity and said he preferred giving up the islands. This was accordingly done, and Menezes stationed there forty soldiers and imposed an import duty on all rice taken to the islands. With the sum thus collected he was able to buy the coir required and to pay for the establishment.

He next blockaded the coast to intercept the supplies of rice required at Calicut, and two naval actions, both in favor of the Portuguese, were fought near Mount Deli.

War with the Zamorin was clearly impending, although he still pretended to want peace with a view to throw the Portuguese off their guard ; so the Calicut fort was first provisioned and strengthened for the monsoon season, and Captain Lima, with three hundred men, undertook its defence.

The Kurumbranad Raja and Tlnayancheri Elayad invested the place with their Nayars directly the monsoon set in, and they were helped by a band of Moors under the command of a skilled European

1 The present graveyard hill apparently.

engineer who had three years before been made a captain at the siege

of&Rhode Island by the Turks (1522), and who, having been taken prisoner, renounced Christianity and became a Muhammadan. He threw up trenches and placed guns in Y annattan paramba, south of the fort, and in the street of Chlnakkotta (Chinese fort). The Portuguese retired within their fort after destroying all outlying warehouses and buildings. They had wp-ter and rice sufficient for one year, and curry stuff and oil for one month.

On the 13th June 1525 the Zamorin himself came with an additional force, and Lima, although the monsoon was then blowing, despatched a boat to Cochin for assistance. The boat reached there after much buffeting on 10th July, and one hundred and forty men were despatched to succour Calicut. Only thirty-five of them landed with great difficulty, owing to the roughness of the sea, about the beginning of August, under protection of the fort guns. Tfie rest, without leaving their boats, went back to Cochin after receiving a message, shot out to them tied to an arrow, that four men were killed, that many were wounded, that five hundred men at least were required, and that provisions and ammunition were wanted most particularly.

The Zamorin spared no efforts to take the place before reinforcements could reach it. The powder magazine walls cracked, and the ammunition had to be stored elsewhere. The Sicilian engineer tried to mine under the wall, but a Portuguese renegade conveyed the news to his besieged countrymen in a song. A countermine was sunk and the miners were caught.

On a stormy night in the end of August boats arrived and landed ammunition, bread, salted meat, and other provisions, and in the morning Lima, the Commandant, out of bravado, scaled the rampart, chucked some bundles of fresh betel leaf to the besiegers, and then proceeded to show them he had both bread and meat to eat by eating it in full view of the besiegers.

On 15th October. the Viceroy arrived with twenty ships and relieved the garrison ; and on the 31st of that month an attack was made on the besiegers and they were driven back, leaving the renegade Sicilian and two thousand men dead in the trenches.

Meanwhile the Viceroy had determined to abandon the fort altogether, because he had news from Europe that the Turks, now rulers of Egypt, were organising an expedition to the .East, and it was manifest the Portuguese could only hope to resist them by concentrating their strength. The fort was accordingly abandoned,1 and it is said that the last man to leave it set fire to a train of gunpowder which killed

1 Zein-ud-din in the Tahafat-ul Mujahxdin gives a similar account. “ To facilitate their doing this” (abandoning the fort), “ they made an opening in

the wall from within the fort, and in a part which was not visible to those who were without, and abandoning the fort they set sail in the ships and went away." Ferishta's story about the taking of the fort was probably founded on the inflated account which the ZamorL. sent abroad concerning the siege.

many of the Nayars and Moors, who in hopes of plunder flocked into the fort directly it was abandoned.

During the rest of the year the Viceroy was busy hunting up pirates along the coast, for no open opposition was now ever offered to the Portuguese at sea. The people, however, organised a system of fire signals, and the movements of the Portuguese ships were vigilantly watched and made known. While taking some boats near Beypore, the Viceroy received a wound in the leg, and the inflammation was increased by unnecessary exertions of a similar kind off Mahe. He then retired to Cannauore and landed there in January 1526. But his wound grew worse and he died there on the 2nd February. His body was buried in the church at Cannanore. It was remarked of him with wonder that he had saved no money during his tenure of office.

On opening next day the royal despatches, it was found that Mas-carenhas, then absent on an expedition to Malacca, was nominated as Viceroy next after Henry Menezes. Owing to his absence, and as it was necessary to have some one at hand to organise the defence against the Turks, the next despatch was opened and Sampayo, at Cochin, was found to be the next nominee. He was informed of this, and accordingly assumed the reins of government, and at once set to work to put Goa, Cannanore and Cochin in a posture of defence to resist the expected Turkish expedition. Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore was extended up to the well on which the garrison depended for drinking water, and Fort Emmanuel at Cochin had bastions erected on the sea side of the work.

Dissensions at Mascarenhas' supersession, however, arose, and the Portuguese were divided into two parties, and party spirit ran high.

Fortunately for them similar dissensions had arisen in the Turkish fleet despatched to India, and anxiety on that account was allayed by the news that the Turks had failed to take Aden.

This news was conveyed to Portugal by the overland route via Hormuz through the Turkish dominions, in the wonderfully short space of three months, the first occasion on which the overland route was ever used for the purpose. When Mascarenhas arrived from Malacca, he was favorably received at Quilon, but at Cochin he was drBen again on board his ship. Sailing to

Goa, Sampayo there seized him, put him in chains, and sent him to Cannanore, where, in turn, the garrison honorably received him. In July arbitration as to the rival claims was resorted to, and the result being in favor of Sampayo, Mascarenhas

sailed for Europe (21st December 1527).

Various combinations of pirate boats under the Kutti Alis were dispersed during the early part of 1528, and in September of that year there occurred a violent storm while some Portuguese ships were lying off the mouth bf the Chetwai River. The wind came, it is said, from the east, but, if that was so, it is difficult to understand how several ships were driven on shore and wrecked and the crews massacred, for an east wind ought to have blown them out to sea.

In the following month the Viceroy made a descent on Purakkat, the Nayar chieftain of which had, up to the time of the attack on Pantalayini Kollam, been a firm ally of the Portuguese and had joined them on several expeditions with his men. On that, and probably on previous occasions also, the Purakkat people, however, had been on the watch for the plundering rather than for the fighting, and while Purakkat was lazily looking on at the fight at Pantalayini Kollam and watching his chance for plunder, Henry Menezes, the Vioeroy, in a rage directed one of his men to aim " at that idle fellow." Purakkat was wounded in the leg and fell, but concealed his feelings of indignation at the time. Afterwards, however, he joined the Zamorin against the Portuguese and was in particular present at the siege of Calicut fort. It was to take vengeance for his desertion that the Viceroy attacked his territory, and he further timed his attack so as to arrive there when the chief was absent. On the 15th October 1528 the Portuguese took the place and obtained a very rich booty. Each of the thousand men engaged obtained as his share, it is said, no less than eight hundred gold pattdks (ducats), and Sampayo himself got a lakh of them. Purakkat after this sharp lesson returned to his allegiance and continued steadfast in it up to the very last.

In October 1529 Sampayo's successor (Nunho D'Acunha) arrived with orders to send Sampayo in custody to Europe, and this was at once done when Sampayo boarded the Viceroy's ship at Cannanore on the 18th November.

The new Viceroy governed with justice and impartiality, and the Portuguese under his rule again became all-powerful, so that in 1531 the Zamorin again began to think of a Portuguese alliance.

Terms of peace were arranged, and the Portuguese selected a site for a new

fort in the Zamorin 's territory. The place selected was the Island of Ghaliyam.1 The position was well chosen for the object which the Portuguese from Cabral's time had kept steadily in view, namely, "to ruin the trade of the Moors." "7s2 locus ultra Cali - cuturn duas leucas appnme navigabili aestuano impositus , mire factus erat ad Arabum vnfestanda conttnercia et Zamorini consilia exploranda} con-at usque opprimendos ." And its advantages are further set out in Zein-ud-dln's work. From their fort there the Portuguese were able, as Maffeius says, to watch the Zamorin's movements, because " the Zamorin, his troops, and, indeed, all travellers of whatever description were obliged to pass that way along the coast, and the fort " thus commanded the trade between Arabia and Calicut." Securely posted at Chaliyam, the Portuguese, with the aid of their armed boats, which could ply at all seasons of the year as far up the Beypore river as Arikkod, and even farther into the verheart of the ghaut forests, were in an unequalled position to harass the Zamorin by overhauling all

' Thc 8ite of the present terminus of the Madras Railway south-west line.

2 Alafftiu*, lib. ix, p. 208.

traffic between the portions of his dominions lying to the north and to the south of that river. This armed patrol service in fact cut his dominions in half, and all merchandise passing to Calicut from the southern territory could be overhauled as it passed. Even his troops, unless they swam the river whilst the Portuguese patrol boats were absent, could not cross the stream without seeking Portuguese permission. No wonder, then, that Zein-ud-din described the Portuguese official who negotiated the peace as a " master of the greatest subtlety and cunning and capable of employing the deepest stratagems."

There accordingly a fort " of great solidity and strength " was built, and in making it the Portuguese were not particular as to the materials employed. They threw down the ancient Jamat mosque1 and even " demolished the tombs of the Moslems, and carried off the stones of which they had been built to complete their fortress." On being remonstrated with for this, the Viceroy himself came to the place and ordered that the materials belonging to the Portuguese only should be employed. The work of destruction went on ho, and it then transpired that the local chief had sold the mosque and tombs to the Portuguese. For this he was afterwards summarily dealt with by the Zamorin.

The building of this fort exercised a most important influence on the events that followed, for the Portuguese hold of the Moslem trade grew stronger than ever in consequence. And the events of the next few years might be summed up in a few words as fruitless attempts on the part of the Moors to

break the chains that bound them in this respect.

In 1 537 the Portuguese made a descent on Peroney and killed Kutti Ibrahim Marakkar and others because a vessel had sailed to Jeddah with pepper and ginger without obtaining a Portuguese pass, and punishment was necessary to prevent a repetition of the act, which would have caused the Portuguese great loss.

In consequence of this the Zamorin started for Cranganore to attack the Portuguese and the Cochin Raja, but his courage failed him, and to protect the place for the future the Portuguese erected a fort at Cranganore, “by which and other acts of theirs” Zein-ud-din says, “the Zamorin was reduced to the last extremity.”

In the same year (1537) the Portuguese followed up their opponents to Kayil, to the east of Cape Comorin, and destroyed a Moorish fleet which had rendezvoused there. And a somewhat similar event occurred in the year following.

In 1539 peace followed, and the Zamorin’s subjects again agreed to accept the Portuguese passes.

In 1550 war again broke out in consequence of the Zamorin interfering in the succession to the chiefship of some territory near Cochin famous for its pepper. Its chief was called by the Portuguese

1 Con/, pp. 194-95.

“ the great pepper-owner.” The chief was slain and the Zamorin came south to avenge his death. The hostilities which ensued caused him to expend “ much good substance, which never returned either to himself or to his posterity.” The Portuguese retaliated by making descents on the coast towns, particularly on Pantalayini Kollam, destroying mosques and houses, and giving one-third of the inhabitants “ martyrdom.”

In 1552 the Zamorin received assistance in heavy guns landed at Ponnani, brought thither by Yoosuf, a Turk, who had sailed against the monsoon.

But by 1555 the desultory war had exhausted the resources both of the Zamorin and of his Moorish subjects, and the inevitable had to be submitted to once more.

Peace was restored on condition that the Portuguese ship passes should be

taken out by traders.

Again, in 1557, the Moors in North Malabar began hostilities, and these continued till, in 1 559, they made the usual submission and agreed to take out the hateful passes.

It was at this time (about 1559) that the Portuguese began to be most stringent in enforcing their pass rules. They confiscated all vessels not carrying their passes, even in cases in whicn passes had been duly taken out and had been accidentally lost, and it is alleged they were utterly unscrupulous as to what became of the crews. Zein-ud-din, who is, however, a not altogether disinterested witness, says that they massacred the crews by cutting their throats, or tying them up with ropes or in nets and throwing them overboard.

However divergent might be the views of Portuguese viceroys and commandants on other points, they appear to have been at ODe on this question of the advisability of destroying the Moorish trade. Their policy was, therefore, consistent and directed to one end. They began by making contraband any traffic in the articles of pepper and ginger. They next excluded Muhammadans from the trade " in the bark of spice trees, and in the clove jilli-flower, and the herb fennel, and in produce of this kind. Lastly, they closed to Muhammadan merchants the Arabian ports, and Malacca, and Resha, and Thinasuree, and other places," so that there remained to the Muhammadans of Malabar " of their coast trade, nothing but the petty traffic in Indian nut, coconut, and cloth, whilst their foreign voyages of travel were confined to the ports of Gujarat, the Concan, Solmundel. and the countries about Kaeel."

Moreover, the Portuguese also obtained the control of the rice trade from Honore, Barcelore, and Mangalore by building jorts designed to prevent Malabar merchants from collecting rice in granaries and exporting it, as was their custom from these places, " to Malabar generally, to Goa, and even to the Arabian ports." Down to the present day an artificial famine can always be produced in Malabar by

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stopping its imports of grain, and it appears to have been the same in the sixteenth century.

These stringent measures led to the Moors fitting out piratical fleets of small boats—chiefly at Valarpattanam, “ Turkoz ” 1 (? Trikkodi) and Pantalayini Kollam — to prey on the commerce of the Portuguese and their allies. In this they were at first very successful, and the Portuguese thereupon began “ an indiscriminate plunder of the property of Muhammadans, and were guilty of great oppression, for which

there was none among them (Muhammadans) able or willing to grant redress/’

Nor did the Portuguese content themselves with suppressing the Muhammadan trade; they tried to convert the Moslems to Christianity, and it is related that, in 1 562, they seized a large number of Moorish merchants at Goa and forcibly converted them. Of course these converts reverted to their own religion at the first convenient opportunity.

Zein-ud-din s indictment of the Portuguese for these and similar oppressions is very forcible. They were “ guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous, such indeed as are beyond the power of description ; they having made the Muhammadans to be a jest and a laughing stock, displaying towards them the greatest contempt; employing them to draw water from the wells and in other menial employments ; spitting in their faces and upon their persons ; hindering them on their journeys, particularly when proceeding on voyages to Mecca ; destroying their property; burning their dwellings and mosques ; seizing their ships ; defacing and treading under foot their archives and writings ; burning their records ; profaning the sanctuaries of their mosques ; even striving to make the professors of Islamism apostates from their creed and worshippers of their crucifixes, and seeking, by

1 Famous among the pirate chiefs who commanded these fleets stands out the name of the Kottakkal Kunhali Marakkars. The family originally hailed from Pantalayini Kollam. Probably at the time when Henry Menezes destroyed that Moorish settlement the family moved to Trikkodi, and thence again toKottakkal at the mouth of the Kota liver. They obtained the title of

Kunhali Mirakkar from the Zamorin. Kvtihi means a youth, a title of distinction ; Ali is the name of the Prophet's son-in-law, and Morakkiir means the doer or follower of the law — marggam — and is applied, as a title, to persons of a foreign religion like the Christians and Muhammadans. Some of the remains of their fort at Kottakkal are still to be seen. It was situated at the northern extremity of a spit of sand extending from the south across the Kota river mouth, and it completely commanded the bar of the river and the shipping which lay inside it. The position was one of great strength against ancient artillery as it was protected on two sides (north and cast) by water, on a third side (the west) by a swampy salt marsh, through which the river, encumbered by another sand-spit stretching from the north across its mouth, has now (1885) forced its way. On the south the narrow neck of land was easily protected by a rampart. This fort lay just opposite to Putupattanam, the ancient seat of the Tekkalankdr (Southern Regent) of KMattunad. It would occupy too much space to relate the history of this family, whose descendants still live in Kottakkal in comparative poverty. The tombs of the first of the Kunhali Marakkars and of the mother of the founder of the family (who had no title) are still pointed out in a building attached to the chief mosque of the plac e. A memorial tomb to the founder of the family, who was captured by the Portuguese and 44 received martyrdom," at Goa, is also to be seen in the same building.

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

bribes of money, to induce to their apostacy. Moreover, decking out their women with jewels and fine clothing in order to lead away and entice after them the women of the Muhammadans ; slaying also the pilgrims to Mecca and all who embraced Islamism, and practising upon them all kinds of cruelties ; openly uttering execrations upon the Prophet of God (upon whom may the divine favor and grace for ever rest) ; confining his followers and incarcerating them. Further binding them with ponderous shackles and exposing them in the markets for sale, after the manner that slaves are sold ; and when so exposed, torturing them with all sorts of painful inflictions, in order to exact more from them for their freedom. Huddling them together into a dark noisome and horrible building ; 1 and when performing the ablutions directed by their law, beating them with slippers ; torturing them with fire ; selling and making slaves of some, and harassing others with disgusting employments ; in short, in their treatment of the Muhammadans they proved themselves devoid of all compassion." " For how many women of noble birth, thus made captive (at sea), did they not incarcerate, afterwards violating their persons for the production of Christian children, who were brought up enemies to the religion of God and taught to oppress its professors ! How many noble Saids, too, and learned and worthy men did they not imprison and persecute even unto death ! How many Moslems, both

men and women, did they not compel to embrace Christianity ! And how many acts of this kind, atrocious and wicked, the enumeration of which would require volumes, did they not commit ! May the All Gracious and Merciful God consign them to eternal destruction!"

" Notwithstanding all this, howerer, they preserved an outward show of peace towards the Muhammadans in consequence of their being compelled to dwell amongst them, since the chief part of the population of the sea-ports consisted of Muhammadans."

The year 1564 was an eventful year for Southern India, since it was in that year that the bulwark which the Hindu dynasty of Vijaya-nagar had presented against the flood of Muhammadan invasion from the north, was overthrown at the battle of Talikota. So far as Malabar itself was concerned this event, however, did not bear fruit for two centuries more.

In that same year the Portuguese were again besieged in their fort at Cannanore. The attack was however repulsed, and in retaliation the Portuguese, it is said, cut down forty thousand coconut trees to punish the inhabitants.

1 This refers to the prison of the Inquisition at Goa, called by the Portuguese " Algowar." It was thus described by M. Dellon, who was confined in it : " This prison was more foul, dark, and horrible than any one I had seen, and I doubt whether there can be one so nauseous and appalling." He was told that forty out of fifty Malabar pirates confined in it some years before his time hanged themselves with their tur bands owing to the horrible famine they suffered.

In 1565 the Zamorin and his Moorish allies again attacked the Cochin Raja at or near Cranganore, and in the course of a fortnight it is said that two of the Cochin Rajas fell at the head of their troops in this war. The result was that the Portuguese enlarged and strengthened their Cranganore fort. And the Jews in this same year finally deserted their ancient settlement of Anjuvannam at Cranganore and came to Cochin, where they resided within the fort limits until Jews' Town was built. It was completed in 1567, and the Jews in a body moved into it.

Meanwhile the coast pirates were busy, and in 15bo and again in 1568 those of Ponnani under Kutti Poker made prize of two large Portuguese vessels. In one of these ships it is said no less than a thousand Portuguese soldiers, " many of them approved veterans," perished either by the sword or by drowning. Kutti Poker's adventurous career was however cut short in 1569, for after having made a successful raid on the Portuguese fort at Mangalore,

he fell in with a Portuguese fleet as he was returning south off Cannanore, and he and all his company " received martyrdom."

The Zamorin about this time tried to arrange a combined attack on the Portuguese in all parts of the country simultaneously, and two of the confederate Muhammadan kings of the Dekhan (Ahmad-nagar and Bijapur) besieged the Portuguese settlements of the north. Mutual jealousies fomented by the Portuguese, however, brought these expeditions to naught.

In 1571 an important advantage was obtained, for in that year " on the 14th or 15th of the month Sufur " the Zamorin's troops laid siege to the fort at Chaliyam, which had been such a thorn in the Zamorin's side ever since it was built in 1531. The Ponnani, " Punnoor," Tanur, and Parappanangadi Moors joined in, and the combined forces drove the Portuguese under Attaide, with considerable slaughter, inside their fortifications. The besiegers threw up trenches. The Zamorin expended "a vast sum of money," and after two months came in person from Ponnani to conduct the operations. The besieged garrison's provisions ran short and they were driven to feed on dogs and "animals of a similar vile impure nature." Supplies sent from Cochin and Cannanore were intercepted. The Portuguese tried to arrange terms, and eventually, on the " 10th of the month Jumadee Alakhur," at midnight, the garrison marched out, "safe egress being afforded them," and they were shortly afterwards sent away under the escort of the Raja of Tanur (? Vettatta Raja), who had leagued with and abetted them. From Tanur they were shipped to Cochin. A relieving expedition from Goa arrived just too late to be of any assistance.

The Chaliyam fort had been such a source of trouble and annoyance to him, as already explained, that the Zamorin " demolished the fort entirely, leaving not one stone upon another." He made the site " a barren waste, transporting to Calicut the greater part of the stones

and masonry," whilst he gave the remainder to be appropriated for rebuilding the Jamat mosque, which the Portuguese had destroyed in building their fort. The ground and that lying round it were given, as previously arranged, to the Raja of Chaliyam (Parappanad Raja ?) for the assistance rendered by him on the occasion.

An event even still more important to Portuguese interests occurred in this same year (1571), for orders came out from Portugal to divide their possessions into three portions, designated India, Monomotapa, and Malacca. The decline of the Portuguese power seems to have dated from the time of

this arrangement, for the consequence was a train of perplexities that distracted the Portuguese more than all the previous attacks of their enemies in India.

The war, however, still went on. In 1572 the Portuguese made a descent on Chaliyam and burnt it. In the following year Parappa-nangadi was attacked and four Muhammadans " suffered martyrdom." In 1577 a fleet of fifty "grabs" returning from South Canara with rice was seized by the Portuguese and three thousand Muhammadans and sailors, it is said, were slain, and " the trade of the Muhammadans by this blow became almost annihilated." In the following year negotiations were opened for peace ; the Zamorin offered to allow them to build a fort at Calicut, but they wished to have one at Ponnani, to which the Zamorin would not agree. In 1579 the Zamorin was at the sacred temple of Kodungngallur (Cranganore), and the Cochin Raja, even with Portuguese assistance, failed to dislodge him from it. Nettled at this failure, the Portuguese carried on hostilities with great rancour against the Zamorin and his subjects — at Calicut, "the new harbour" (? Putiyangadi), Kappatt, Pantalayini Kollam, "Turkoy" (?Trikkodi) and Ponnani — attacking them at all times and seasons, cutting off intercourse between neighbouring ports, and " greatly hindering " the importation of rice from South Canara. So that a great famine, such as had never before occurred, was the consequence, " the common people of the ports above named being deprived of all means of subsistence."

About this time a merchant of Venice, Caesar Frederick, paid a visit to the coast, and among other interesting bits of information he gives the following: "And from thence (Barotlore) you shall go to a city called Cannanore, which is a harquebush shot distant from the chiefest. city that the king of Cannanore hath in his kingdom, being a king of the Gentiles." " And he (the Zamorin) and his country are the nest and resting place for stranger thieves, and those be called ' Moors of Carposa,' because they wear on their heads long red hats ; and thieves part the spoils that they take on the sea with the King of Calicut, for he giveth leave unto all that will go a roving liberally to go ; in such wise that all along that coast there is such a number of thieves, that there is no sailing in those seas, but with great ships, and very well armed ; or else they must go in company with the army of the Portugals." — (Kng . Translation).

Just then (1580) another blow was impending still further to destroy Portuguese prestige, for on the death of Henry I. Spain subdued Portugal, and the control of their possessions in the East passed into Spanish hands.

This event was almost contemporaneous with another which influenced the fate of India in general and of Malabar in particular, for in 1580-81 Holland,

one of the seven " Northern United Provinces," declared its independence of Spain. And shortly after this other European nationalities began to trade directly with the East.

About 1581-84 the Zamorin had had enough of fighting, and he arranged a treaty of peace with the new Viceroy Mascarenhas (the first appointed by Philip of Spain), whereby the Zamorin's subjects were permitted to trade as far as Gujarat, and to other parts as formerly, and to open trade with Arabia at the end of each season.

With the conclusion of this treaty of peace the interest in the narrative changes from Malabar to Europe, because it was only for a year or two more that the Portuguese enjoyed that monopoly of the Indian trade, particularly in Malabar pepper and spices, to which their efforts had hitherto been very consistently directed. With the appearance on the scene of the Dutch, and afterwards of the English and of the French, this monopoly died a natural death. Moreover the Muhammadans, whose trade it was the policy of the Portuguese to ruin, again began after a while to exercise their former privileges under the favoring shelter of the European jealousies imported into the East.

It would be out of place here to trace out the influences which eventually resulted in the conquest of all the Portuguese possessions in India outside Goa. A few words will suffice to carry the history of the Malabar coast up to the next stage in its course, the conquest by the Dutch of the Portuguese settlements, culminating in that of Cochin.

In 1591 Captain Raymonds made an unsuccessful attempt to reach the East in three English ships. In 1594-95 Houtman organised the Dutch East India Company. In 1596 another English expedition to the East under Captain Wood was also unsuccessful. In 1597 two Dutch ships succeeded in reaching India, but the one was destroyed off Malacca by a fleet of six Portuguese ships, and the other was wrecked on the coast of Pegu.* In 1598 the Dutch under VanNec reached Amboyna, established trade, and also settled at Baroda. On 31st December 1600 the English East India Company of London was formed. Henri IV of France issued letters patent for the formation of a French East India Company on 1st June 1604, but it came to naught. In August 1607 or 1608 the first English ship reached Surat under Captain Hawkins. In 1609 the right of Holland to trade with India was formally recognised by treaty with Spain, and in 1610 the Dutch settled at Pulicat. In 1612 the English factory at Surat was established, and in 1615 Captain Keeling with three English ships, the same which had brought Sir Thomas Roe on his embassy to the Great Mogul, arrived off Calicut, and concluded a treaty with the

Zamorin. But it very soon transpired that ail that the Zamorin wanted was to get assistance against the Portuguese for the conquest of Cranganore and Cochin, and when the English ships left without assisting him, very scant courtesy was shown to the ten persons left behind, who were to have founded a factory at Calicut. In 1611-15 the United French East India Company was formed. In 161G this United Company sent two ships to Java, and the result is described negatively as “not a failure” financially. In 16-17 the Dutch settled at Ahmadabad. In 1619-20 the French Company sent an expedition to Acheen and Java, and it was fairly successful. In 1620-22 the Dutch settled in Persia and in other places tentatively. In 1624 the English East India Company was invested with powers of government. In 1634-35 the English East India Company entered into a treaty with the Portuguese by which the English gained free access to Portuguese ports. In consequence of this some Englishmen appear to have settled at Cochin, and in 1635 pepper was for the first time exported to England direct from Malabar. In 1636 other bodies than the English East India Company were empowered to trade with India, and the same was renewed in 1655. In 1639 the English settled at Madras aud the Dutch made their first attack on Goa. In 1640 Portugal recovered its independence from Spain. In 1642 Richelieu founded “ La Compagnie des Indes” with exclusive privileges for twenty years, but the energies of the company were wasted in an ineffectual attempt to conquer Madagascar. In 1647 the English East India Company began to enlist Members of Parliament among the subscribers to their stock ; hitherto they had been shy of enlisting “ gentlemen ” among their servants. In 1652-53 ensued the naval war between England and Holland in Europe, and the English factories in India suffered in consequence. In 1655 the Dutch settled at Yingorla. In 1657 the English East India Company obtained a new charter. In 1660 the Dutch made a second attack on Goa and failed. In 1661 the English East India Company was re-incorporated by Charles II, and by the charter granted in this year the East India Company’s servants were authorised to make peace or war with any prince or people not being Christians, and to administer justice for themselves and their dependents. This provision materially improved the status of the chartered Company’s servants — who had up to this time been buccaneering, adventurers rather than steady traders and one company had been seeking to discredit another. Moreover in this same year Bombay was transferred to the English Crown as part of the Infanta Catherina’s dower on her marriage with Charles II.

The following account of the capture of Cochin, and of the other Portuguese settlements in Malabar, is taken from Dr. Day’s “ Land of the Permauls ; or Cochin, its Past and its Present,” p. 115. Dr. Day’s account was compiled from official records now in the Collector’s office at Calicut.

not her power was now to become predominant in the East, another race was to try their hand at supremacy, and another religion to be introduced. The Portuguese had become objects of aversion to their old allies, the princes of Cochin, as they had deposed the Raja and created his aunt the Rani.

The Dutch beginning to dislike the interference of the Mogul and others at Surat, wished to establish a settlement on the coast of Malabar, where they might be territorial sovereigns, as well as traders without being subject to the rapacious exactions of the Muhammadan Government, or the neighbourhood of their successful rivals, the English. Cochin appeared a suitable spot, so they determined to try and dispossess the Portuguese and occupy it themselves.

In 1661 the Dutch entered into an agreement with the Paliat Achan, hereditary chief minister to the Cochin Raja, to assist them in their schemes. ‘ When the Dutch planned the conquest of the coast, he (the Paliat Achan) materially assisted and met VanGoens, 12th March 1 66 1 , in a friendly manner and entered into an agreement, the purport of which was that, as the Portuguese and other enemies had deprived him of his lands, he would place himself entirely under the protection of the Dutch, who were to restore him by force to his territories, whilst he was to obey them in all things.’ This agreement was dated the same day on board the ship De Muscaatboom. The Dutch troops appeared on the northern side of Cochin at Vypeen, where VanGoens fixed his head-quarters at the Bishop’s house, and strongly fortified the Roman Catholic Church. Leaving eight hundred men to garrison it, V anGoens re-embarked the remainder of his force, and landed on the southern side of the town. The Raja of Cochin now openly asserted that, he and the Dutch had entered into an alliance.

“ VanGoens’ seized a church to the south, and made it his headquarters. He then attacked the Rani’s palace at Muttancherry, and after a struggle succeeded in takingit and making the Rani a prisoner. On the following day the Dutch attacked the fort of Cochin, but the officer commanding the storming part was killed, and they retreated in confusion. Regular approaches were now opened, but the old Portuguese spirit showed itself, and the garrison bravely defended themselves for several weeks, when the Raja of Porca 1 came to their assistance with six thousand natives, and the Dutch determined to retreat.

“ In the dead of the night they accordingly embarked in silence. When the morning broke, the Portuguese were amazed at finding their enemy’s camp abandoned. A Jew had sounded the hours as usual, thereby effectually deceiving them and preventing any sally on their part. Seven hundred men were left in the entrenchment at Vypeen. This year Tangacherry fell to the

Dutch.

1 Purakkat.

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

“ Ae the Jews had favored their enemies the Dutch, the Portuguese considered it necessary to punish them to prevent the recurrence of such conduct, and therefore immediately on the siege being raised, they plundered Jews’ Town of almost all it contained, attempted to destroy the synagogue, and carried off the Pentateuch, which was subsequently, in 1668, recovered uninjured.

“ The absence of the Dutch was but temporary. In 1662 Cranga-nore fell to them ; in October of that year they returned to Cochin under Hustart, but were vigorously met by the Portuguese, who in vain attempted to prevent their landing. The head-quarters of the Dutch were fixed at the convent of St. John, the destruction of which had been unsuccessfully attempted by the garrison. In November Van Goens with a large nuipber of troops joined the besiegers, but the garrison bravely determined to stand a siege.

“ In December the Raja of Porca 1 arrived with a large native force at Ernacollum, and threw supplies into the fort. It was therefore determined to attack him. The natives under Portuguese officers met their foes most gallantly and drove them back with great loss, and the Dutch were compelled to bring up fresh troops before the Porca contingent could be routed.

“ But the Portuguese still held out, so the Dutch with the assistance of the troops of their ally the Raja of Cochin and the Paliat Achan, determined on storming the fort, and for eight days and nights were enabled to keep up a succession of assailants, the troops being relieved every three hours. A remnant of the glorious valour of the early Portuguese appears to have animated this little band of their descendants in so long maintaining such an obstinate defence. At length, when the Portuguese commandant Pierre de Pon found that no assistance could reach him, that his native allies had forsaken him and had joined the new European power, that provisions were becoming very scarce, and all were worn out -with fatigue and anxiety, he capitulated, and the Dutch became masters of Cochin on the 8th January 1663.

“ Four hundred topasses who were not included in the terms of the capitulation, ‘ on discovering the omission, and knowing the cruel and licentious character of the Dutch soldiery in India, drew up close to the gate at which the Portuguese were to march out and the Dutch to enter, declaring that if equally favorable terms were not granted to them as to the

Portuguese, they would massacre them all and set fire to the town.' It was deemed advisable to accede to their demands, and subsequently some of them even enlisted in the Dutch service."

1 Purakkat.

Section (E).

THE DUTCH, ENGLISH AND FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

The Struggle for the Pepper and Piece Goods Trade.

A.D. 1663-1766.

When the Dutch acquired in the manner described in the preceding section all the Portuguese possessions in -Malabar they found, among the settlers at Cochin, a small factory of the English East India Company established there, as already described, so early as 1634-35, and these factors receiving immediate notice to quit, took the earliest opportunity to leave the place after it fell into Dutch hands.

From a very early period in its history the English Company had set its face against martial enterprises. And Sir Thomas Roe, the Ambassador to the Great Mogul, had given the Company some invaluable advice which they took well to heart. " The Portugueses," he wrote, " notwithstanding their many rich residences are beggared by keeping of soldiers, and yet their garrisons are but mean. They never made advantage of the Indies since they defended them. Observe this well. It has also been the error of the Dutch who seek plantations here by the sword. They turn a wonderful stock ; they prole in all places ; they possess some of the best, yet their dead pays consume all the gain."

So far indeed did the English Company carry this policy that they even forbade at times an appeal to arms by the factors for their own defence ; and the annoyances experienced in consequence of this were occasionally almost intolerable.

But the strength of the Company lay in the admirable arrangements whereby they encouraged trade at their fortified settlements. They established manufactures ; they attracted spinners and weavers and wealthy men to settle in their limits ; the settlers were liberally treated and their religious prejudices were tolerated ; the privacy of houses was respected by all classes and creeds ; settlers were allowed to burn their dead and to observe their peculiar wedding ceremonies ; no compulsory efforts were made to spread Christianity, nor were the settlers set to uncongenial tasks ; shipping facilities

were afforded ; armed vessels protected the shipping ; all manufactured goods were at first exempted from payment of duty ; the Company coined their own money ; and courts of justice were established ; security for life and property in short reigned within their limits.

In 1685-90 a martial policy was tried at Bombay and Surat, but the Company found to their heavy cost that " it did not pay, and so it was once more abandoned. And the settled policy of the Company seems to have beeji from this time forward to avoid war, either defensive or offensive, unless a substantial return could be obtained for the outlay in money and men.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEPPER, ETC., TRADE.

The English Company's servants were graded in their order of seniority as apprentices for five years, as writers for five years, as factors for three years, as senior factors for three years, and as merchants. Some changes subsequently took place in these grades, for senior factors were latterly styled merchants, and the merchant grade became senior merchants. The pay of the several grades was very small. In 1739 the Chief of the Tellicherry factory received only £70 a year,^ the two senior merchants £40 a year each, one junior merchant £30 a year, and one writer £5 a year with an additional Rs. 144 (equivalent at that time to £18 a year) for reading divine service.

One or more of these servants seem to have been despatched from time to time to look after the Company's investments at the different ports on the coast. They lived under the protection of the native rulers of the places where they settled, and were in no way different from ordinary private merchants. In time, as the Company s investments became larger and more important, the necessity for fortified posts to protect the Company's warehouses made itself felt ; but for many years after the Company's factors were unceremoniously turned out of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663, the English Company's servants in Malabar had to rely alone for protection on the native chieftains in whose territories they were settled. It would be difficult to overestimate the benefits of the experience thus obtained in the Company's dealings with the natives, for the factors had perforce to study native character and to adapt themselves to it ; and in doing this they were unconsciously fitting themselves to become the future rulers of the empire.

Such settlements seem to have been formed at Rattera and Brin j an in Travancore territory and at Ponnani and Calicut in the Zamorin s country.

It was with the latter chief that the English Company's earliest extant 1 agreement was concluded in September 1664 shortly after the taking of Cochin by the Dutch. Two of the Company's servants by name Riveri

(FRivers) and Vetti (?) appear to have proceeded to Calicut in the June preceding the above date, and to have been permitted to settle there on agreeing to pay duty to the Zamorin on the trade carried on.

The Zamorin is described shortly after this time as ruling the country “from Ticori (Trikkodi2) to Chitwa,” 3 a distance of about 22 leagues. His palace at Calicut was built of stone, and he kept up “ some faint resemblance of grandeur ” about it. He was still “ reckoned the powerfullest king ” on the coast, and he had the best trade in his country. The products of his country were pepper, betel-nut, coconut, jaggery, copra, sandalwood, iron, cassia-lignum, and timber.

1 Collection of Treatiei, Sf c., i. I. — Calicut, 1879.

- Fage 72. * * Chavakkad, see p. 77.

MaLABAR district.

His supremacy appears to have been acknowledged by all the Malayali chiefs, except, perhaps, the Cochin Raja, from the northernmost part of Malabar to the southernmost extremity of Travancore by the offering of a flag or other token of submission, and by attending him once in twelve years at the Tirana vayi ceremony already fully described.* 1 This supremacy was however little more than nominal, and his position among the country powers appears to have deteriorated greatly from what it was in 1 498 when the Portuguese appeared upon the scene.

In August 1664 the French “ Compagnie des Indes ” was formed by Colbert. It started with a capital of 15,000,000 “ livres tournois ” (£600,000), and Louis XIV had to publish an edict telling his courtiers it was not derogatory for a man of noble birth to trade to India. Men who had thus to be reminded of what was or was not fitting to their position were not the men to push French interests successfully, and the English Company’s servants soon saw that the French men were poor men of business and not likely to prove successful rivals in trade. Fryer described their Surat factory about this time as “ better stored with monsieurs than with cash ; they live well, borrow money, and make a show.” Their first venture was a fresh attempt on Madagascar, and most of their funds were spent in combating with a bad climate, a poor soil, and the hostility of the Mala-gasis. In 1672 they relinquished their attempts on the island and their colonists were scattered abroad, some to India and some to Mauritius and Reunion.

Meanwhile in 1665 war had broken out in Europe between the English and the Dutch ; and the Dutch2 3 4 in 1673 with a fleet carrying 6,000 men under VanGloens threatened the English settlement at Bombay, where in

September 23, 1668, the English Company had finally settled down and secured for themselves from the Crown authorities an unequalled position for trade. The Dutch, on finding they were likely to receive a warmer reception than they had bargained for, wisely determined not to land.

In 1674 the French, who had been driven out of St. Thom6 by the Dutch, settled under Francois Martin at Pondicherry.

About 1680 the Dutch began to experience the results of their error in seeking trade at the point of the sword. The expenses of the garrisons maintained at their various settlements were so large that their trade yielded no profits, and they began gravely to consider the advisability of destroying the forts of Cannanore, Cranganore and

- Pages 162-9.
- The Dutch settlements on the coast at this time were —

1. Quiloh.
2. Calli-Quilon.
3. Cranganore.
4. Cannanore, which were all placed under the command of the Governor at 6. Cochin.

Quilon, or of re-selling them to the Portuguese. For various reasons, however, the resolution was not carried out.

The Dutch were also very intolerant of persons professing the Homan Catholic faith, and in their overtures to Portugal about this time they proposed to hand back the places (except Cochin) where that faith had obtained a firm hold of the people. The negotiations fell through, and in 1684 the Roman Catholic priests were at last allowed to return to the charge of their flocks.

In this same year (1684) the English Company obtained from the Attingal Rani (of the Travancore family) a sandy spit of land at Anjengo. The site was badly selected in some respects, for there was no good water within three miles or so and the open roadstead and surf rendered shipping operations precarious. The place, however, had other advantages. Pepper was abundant, also calicoes of excellent quality. And when the place was fortified some

years later, the cannon of the fort commanded the river, the main artery of traffic, as well as the shipping in the roadstead.

It was in 1690 that the Rani of Attingal gave permission to the English Company to erect the Anjengo fort, but no written treaty remains as a Record of the fact.

The English system of sending factors to various points on the coast to test the value of the trade at these places seems to have enabled the Company to decide where it would be best for their interests to plant factories for the defence of the trade thus ascertained to exist ; and, in this way, towards the close of the seventeenth century they settled on two points on the Malabar coast, one at Anjengo, as already described, and the other at Tellicherry. Calicut would probably have been selected as a more favorable spot for trade than Tellicherry, but the Zamorins seem, not unnaturally after their experience of what had befallen them in the Portuguese period, to have looked with jealousy on all foreign fortified settlements ; and so strong seems to have been the feelmg on this point that it was not, until after the English Company had been settled for nearly a whole century at Calicut, that they were permitted in 1/59 even to tile their factory there so as to secure it against fire.

As the English Company's operations expanded in this way so did the Dutch Company's business fall off, notwithstanding the number and strength of their fortified posts. On September 10, 1691, the Dutch gave up Chetwai to the Zamorin. In 1697 the walls of the Dutch fort at Cochin had become so ruinousˆowing to the parsimonious policy pursued, that it was manifest something must be done. In pursuance therefore of the policy inaugurated in 1680, steps were taken to reduce their military expenditure. The Cochin fort was reduced to alt its size, at Cannanore and Uuilon only one tower was to be left standing, and at Cranganore the exterior works only were to remain. Moreover the military at all the outposts— Faponetty, Purakkilt, and

Calli-Quilon — were to be withdrawn, and the marine establishment was reduced to the most attenuated proportions — one small yacht, two sloops, and three row boats.

These reductions had their natural effect on the country powers, and the Dutch Company was no longer feared.

It was in 1695 that the notorious Captain Kydd's expedition was fitted out in England to put down 1 European piracy in the Indian seas. The Mogul held the factors at Surat responsible for the piratical acts of Kydd, the Dutchman

Chivers, and others. And the other country powers seem to have reasoned in like fashion, for about November 1697 the Anjengo settlement was violently but unsuccessfully attacked by the Travancoreans on the plea that the factors were pirates. It may, however, be doubted whether this, their ostensible reason, was the true one, for, as will presently appear, the presence of the English in Travancore was gradually leading to a revolution in that State.

It was not the country powers alone who charged the old English Company with fomenting piracy, for their rivals (the new company) also brought this charge against them ; and indeed from the extent to which European piracy had prevailed, the alternative lay between the suppression either of it or of honest trade.

It would be out of place here to set forth the grounds of quarrel between the rival East India Companies, but in passing it requires to be noted that English interests suffered severely in consequence of the disputes, whereby piracy was encouraged. The Mogul made the Surat factors pay heavy damages, and even went the length of ordering the factories to be destroyed. The differences were at last, however, arranged ; on April 27, 1702, the rival Companies approved an instrument of union, and on and after July 22 of that same year all opposition between the rival Companies' officers in India was to cease. It took a year or two more, however, to adjust all their differences ; and it was not till September 29, 1708, that the Earl of Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England, who had been appointed arbiter in the disputes, made his famous award, and from that date the style of the association was altered to that of " The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies ."

Notwithstanding these troubles the English settlements on the coast were making progress.

About 1680 there had occurred a disruption in the Northern Ivolattiri family. Hamilton, who visited the reigning Kolattiri in 1702, but who had been on the coast some years previously, thus describes the event : — " There were three princes of the blood royal who conspired to cut him " (the reigning Trince Unnitiri) " and his family off, to possess themselves of the government of Callistree "

' Tages 73-1.

(Kolattiri) : " but being detected they were beheaded on altars built of stone. About two miles from Cannanore the altars were standing when I was there. They were only square piles of hewn stone, about three yards high and four

yards each side."

Such family quarrels were not infrequent in the Kolattiri Chief's house, and the reasons therefor are in operation in all Malayali families down to the present day, and more especially in North Malabar. The head of a Malayali house has two conflicting sets of interests to deal with — first, those of his legal heirs, the children of his female relatives of various degrees ; and. secondly, those of his natural heirs, his own wife and children. The latter have no lego, l claim on him, but natural affection comes into play, and to provide suitably for his own children and their mother a man not infrequently trenches upon the right of his kgal heirs. Hence arise bitter quarrels and jealousies.

There can be no doubt that the Kolattiri family's dominions had become greatly curtailed by such provisions having been made for the natural heirs of the chiefs out of the territories belonging of right to the legal heirs. And at the period when the Tellicherry factory was established, somewhere about 1694-95, one of the natural offshoots of the family, the Kadattunad Raja, known to the early .English as the Boyanore or Baonor 1 of Badagara 2 was in semi-independent possession of Kadattunad,3 that is, of the territory lying between the Mahe and Kdtta rivers. And another such offshoot was in similar semi-independent possession of the Malayalam territory lying to the north of the Kavayi river. And of the territory lying between the Kavayi and Mahe rivers various portions had come, whether by family alliances of the kind described or by grants, it is difficult to say, into the possession of various chieftains who were all more or less dependent on the Kolattiris. Randattara, otherwise called Poyanad, 4 was under the Achan - mar (fathers) four houses of the Nambiar caste ; Kottayam was under the Puranat (foreign) Rajas, and Iruvalinad (including Kurangoth) was ruled by six bouses of the Nambiar caste and by one house of the Nayar caste. Besides the above the two houses of Nambiars still continued to rule, in some subjection to the Kolattiris, the territories3 assigned (it is said) to them by Cheraman Perumal himself along the foot of the Western Lhauts in the present Chirakkal taluk, and there tvere other houses of Nambiars (though of lower rank) located in different places in what is now the Chirakkal taluk. Lastly the Mappilla Chief of Cannanore (the Ali Raja) or Raja of the Sea had secured to himself a small slice of territory at and about Cannanore. The original Kolat-tin dominions were therefore broken up into a large number of petty

' unha = Ruler. * Vadakara (p. 72)

See map at paragraph 1 1 of Section (6), Chapter IV

that "* *he C0,m')' <"" > ,ro" Cher.

4 (Chulali and Xftriyot)- Con/, p. 235.

Perumftl went

principalities at the time of the founding of the Tellicherry factory, and the territory which remained under the direct rule of the Kdlattiris was of comparatively small extent.

To understand thoroughly the position of affairs at this time, it is further necessary to explain that the Kolattiri house itself had' become largely disintegrated.

The following table shows its present (1886) constitution : —

Kolattiri family.

Udayamangalam. Palli.

Chirakkal. Chenga. Tevanamkdtta. Padinydra. Kavinmeri.

Prayikkara. Ennakkdt.

Ennakkdt. Mavalikkara.

Several other sub-branches had broken off from the parent stem, but these have all since become extinct.

The eldest female of all the branches was accustomed to some distinction, and was entitled to the sthanam (dignity) annexed to the Achamma Mupasthanam. She was nominally the head of the whole family just as the Ambadi Kovilagam Rani was the nominal head of the Zamorin's house.

But the executive power was in theory at least sub-divided among the five eldest male members,- who were styled, respectively, in their order of seniority.

1. The Kolattiri. 4. The Ndlamhur, and
2. The Tekkalankur. 5. The Anjamkur.
3. The Vadakkalankur .

When this arrangement was first made, the Kolattiri himself probably retained originally the immediate executive charge of only the middle portion of his dominions. The Tekkalankur (the Southern Regent) used to have separate charge of the southern portion of the territories of the house

with his head-quarters at Putupattanam on the .Kotta river, and tradition says that it was by marriage with one of the southern regents that one of the Kadattanad Raja s female ancestors acquired the territory of that family. The Vadakkalankur (the Northern Regent) had separate charge of the northern territories, and from a marriage with one of them, the Nilesvaram Rajas acquired their territory forming at present the southern portion of the Kasargode taluk in South Canara. The other Kurvdkhas (rulers of portions), namely, the fourth (Ndldmkur) and fifth (Anjamkur), probably remained in more or less immediate attendance on the Kolattiri himself and rendered him any assistance he req died.

The dissensions which broke out from time to time in the family, and of which that noticed by Hamilton is the first on record, were caused no doubt by the extensive surrenders of territory to the consorts of the ruling members. The Tekkalankdr , when he succeeded to that dignity in order of seniority, would find himself, if he accepted the situation, a ruling chief without any territory to rule, and he would not willingly part with what remained of the territory attached to the dignity (the Vadakkalankur's) he was about to vacate.

On examining the records it is found that, as a rule, the ablest member of the family, sometimes peaceably with the consent of all the members, sometimes by force, seized the reins of power at the earliest possible opportunity, and the rest of the family, although perhaps senior to himself, were mere puppets in his hands.

This explains how it came about that the grant of the Tellicherry factory site was obtained, not from the Kolattiri himself but from the Northern Regent (the Vadnkknlankur), who happened at the time to be the de facto ruler of Kolattunad.

It is not easy to explain why the Company eventually decided to settle at Tellicherry, for it was a place of no importance up to that time. Hamilton, who however bore the factors no good-will, was not able to find a satisfactory reason for it at the time. His narrative runs thus : — " The place where the Factory now stands belonged to the French, who left the mud walls of a Fort built by them to serve the English when they first settled there, and for many years they continued so, but of late 1 no small pains and charge have been bestowed on its buildings ; but for what reason I know not for it has no River near it that can want its protection, nor can it defend the Road from the insults of Enemies, unless it be for small vessels that can come within some rocks that ly half a mile off or to protect the Company's

Warehouse, and a Punch-House that stands on the Sea-Shore a short Pistol Shot from the garrison."

The factory site was probably chosen more for purposes of trade than with a view to securing that trade once it was developed. Tellicherry lies close to the fine pepper-producing countries of Kottayam and Randattara, and the finest cardamoms in the world are produced in the country lying at the head of the Periah pass into Wynad, to which Tellicherry is the nearest point on the coast. These were advantages which the Company would certainly appreciate. By selecting Darma-pattanam Island, however, the same advantages could have been secured along with capabilities of defence such - as Tellicherry could not boast. But the island was at this time in dispute among the country powers, and when the chance did occur of acquiring it the expense of moving the garrison and warehouses to the island was so heavy that, although the removal was sanctioned, it was never actually carried out.

1 Published Id Edinburgh in 1727.

Ab to when the factory was established it is certain that this event happened some time before the 24th October 1699, the first date in the " General Letter Book " of the factory extant on 6th May 1728 as mentioned in the factory diary of this latter date. The Company had probably had a trading post at Tellicherry for some years previously, and it is certain that at the union between the Companies in 1702 Tellicherry is mentioned along with Karwar, Calicut and Anjengo as among the affiliated factories of Bombay.

It was the Vadakkalanhur (Northern Regent) of Kolattiri who permitted the English Company to settle at Tellicherry. Their settlement was a» usual unprotected. And, it is said, that one of the rival Kolattiri princes of the Udayamangalam branch, in combination with the neighbouring Nayar chieftain of Iruvalinad, the Kurangoth Nayar, entered the Company's warehouse one day about 1704-5 and committed certain irregularities, which were duly reported to the Northern Regent, and it was at the same time pointed out to him that such events would recur unless the place were fortified. The Regent thereupon gave his consent to the building of a fort, and it is said that he himself laid the foundation-stone thereof. With the consent, it is said, of the Ponattil Poduval and of the Vallura Tangal, a house site belonging to the former and a hill (Tiruvallapan Kunnu) belonging to the latter were taken up, and on these sites the fort and fort-house were built. The Company also bought up, for the same purpose, a street of weavers which existed at the place.

The town, Hamilton says, lay at the back of the fort with a stone wall round

it “ to keep out Enemies of the Chief’s making, for in 1703 he began a war that still continues, at least there were Folks killed in 1723 when I was there.” The buildings and the war together, he said, had taken “ double the Money to maintain them that the Company’s investments oame to,” and he thus relates the origin of the disturbance. “ The occasion of the War, as I was informed, began about a trifle. The Nayar, that was Lord of the Mannor, had a Royalty, for every Vessel that unladed at Tellicherry paid two Bales of Rice duty to him. There was another Royalty of every tenth Fish that came to the Market there, and both together did not amount to £20 Sterling per annum. The Chief either appropriated these Royalties to his own, or the Company’s use, and the Nayar oomplained of the Injustice but had no Redress. These little duties were the best part of the poor Nayar’s subsistenoe which made it the harder to bear, so his friends advised him to repel force by force, and disturb the Factory what he could, which he accordingly did (by the secret assistance of his Friends) for above twenty years. The Company are the best Judges whether the War is likely to bring any profit to their affairs there or no.”

It is extremely improbable, it may be remarked, that the Company’s officers, who had been careful to buy up the weavers’ and others’ houses and lands before beginning to erect their fort, would have refused to

pay the petty dues Hamilton writes about, had they been justly payable, and he omits all mention of the irregular entry into the Company’s warehouse before the fort was built, so he is not an impartial witness in the matter. Jealousies between the Kolattiri chiefs had probably more to do with it than the reasons assigned by Hamilton.

A paper in the records states that every endeavour was made to arrange matters amicably with the Kurangoth Nayar, and it was only when these proved abortive that the English Company resorted to force. They stormed the Mailan hill on the outskirts of Tellicherry and took it, although it had, with a view to giving trouble to the factory, been fortified by the Nayar with the secret assistance of his friends,1 no doubt, as Hamilton says.

On August 20th, 1 708, the Northern Regent formally gave 2 and made over the Tellicherry fort, which had been “ built at the request and entreaties made by me as a friend ” to the Honorable Company, and he added that within its limits “ no person shall demand, collect or plant,” and “our custom-house will be obliged to give us what has been settled/’

Ihe Nayar appears to have maintained a desultory warfare with the factory

until, on 29th September 1719, he submitted proposals of peace, which were accorded to him and ratified on that date. Among other terms 3 he gave the Company " two great guns and a slave iu lieu of one you have lost," and he agreed to give the Company a monopoly of his pepper produce without any duty and to surrender " the Raraem hill," which is probably identical with that of Mailan already referred to.

The Zamorin in 1699 had probably reoeived an advance of money from the Company, as in that year he came to an understanding 4 with a Mr. Peni (1 enny ?) authorising him to deduct 25 per cent, of the duty on pepper exported. And again in 17 10 he had authorised 5 them to employ the oil ordeal for settling their disputes with native traders. It appears they also had the privilege of protecting debtors who took refuge in their Calicut factory, to the disadvantage occasionally of interlopers like Hamilton.

Meanwhile affairs in other parts of the Zamorin's territory had not proceeded so satisfactorily for the English Company's interests. It has already been said that the Dutch in pursuance of their policy to curtail their military expenditure had in 1691 placed the Island of Chetwai in the Zamorin's hands. The Zamorin was not slow to follow up the advantage this gave him of being placed on the flank, as it were,

> Hamilton himself, who was an Interloper, was probably to be reckoned of this niimber as he paid a visit to Mahe, the southern limit of the Nayar' s territory in 1707

Treaties, #e.f i. Ill This treaty was subsequently confirmed by the Kolattiri himself and other members of the family. Ibid., i. VIII, IX and X aunsetf

- Treatiet, #c., i. VI &nd VII.

4 Treatiet, fe., i. II.

- Treatiet, fe., i. IV.

of his hereditary foe, the Cochin Raja's territory. War broke out shortly afterwards, and from 1701 till 1710 the Dutch were drawn into it in a desultory manner in protection of the Cochin Raja's interests. It was this protection of the Cochin Raja against the Zamorin which involved the Dutch in so much profitless expenditure in Malabar. So long as the Chetwai Island remained in the Zamorin 's hands, he could at any moment turn, as it were, the flank of the Cochin Raja's defence, and it, therefore, became an object of importance to the Dutch Company to protect the northernmost point of the island. In 1714 they accordingly set about the erection of a fort at this point.

The English Company, on the other hand, and, if Hamilton's account is correct, the Chief of the English factory, Mr. Robert Adams, had, in particular, interests of their own to protect. Ever since the place had been in the Zamorin's hands, the English chiefs had made, as Hamilton expresses it, " a good Milch Cow " of it, by vending presumably on their own private account, " between 500 and 1,000 Chests of Bengal Ophium yearly up in the inland Countries where it is very much used.1 The Water Carriage of the River being cheap and secure, the Price of Ophium high, and the Price of Pepper low, so that their profits were great both ways."

The Raja of Cochin made over his claims to the island to the Dutch, " who," as Hamilton records, " made small account who had the best Title, but carried on their Work with Diligence."

Acting on the advice of Mr. Adams on the other hand, the Zamorin determined to resort to stratagem to recover possession of it. He accordingly sent some soldiers disguised as coolies who entered the Dutch service to help in the building of the fort. These men were instructed to watch their opportunity, and for this purpose they lay in ambuscade " in a Morass overgrown with weeds near the Fort." The two Dutch lieutenants in charge of the works began one evening to play dominoes in a temporary guard-room about half a mile from the fort, while the garrison strolled about off their guard in the cool of the evening. Taking advantage of this favorable opportunity the men in ambush easily overpowered the sentinels and took the half-built fort. Collecting a few men the offioers rushed to the spot, but one of them was killed in the advance, and the other losing heart, drew off his men and sailed for Cochin. Before sailing he had the mortification to see the English flag flying over the fort. On reaching Cochin he was tried by court-martial and shot, Hamilton being present at the execution. The Zamorin's people set to work at once to demolish the fort and carried off some great guns belonging to the Dutch. " And this was the Prelude of the War.

The reasons for the hoisting of the English flag over the unfinished work appears to have been that in February 1715, Mr. Adams had

i The consumption in these same parts is still large.

obtained permission 1 from the Zamorin to build a warehouse at Chetwai, and keep a person there for trade purposes.

The Dutch could not stand this affront, so Councillor Willem Bakker Jacobtz took the field at the head of 4,000 European and native troops. Chetwai was

recovered; Paponetty previously mortgaged to the Zamorin was also taken; and notwithstanding some unacceptable advice tendered to Mr. AMams by Hamilton " not to embark his Masters in that Affair because war was a different Province from his," the war ended in " a dishonorable and disadvantageous Peace " in 1717. The Zamorin by the conditions of peaoe " was obliged to build up the Fort he had demolished, to pay the Dutch Company 7 per cent, on all the pepper exported out of his Dominions for ever, and to pay a large Sum towards the Charges of the War. Some Part of the Money, I believe, he borrowed."

The Dutch formally resumed possession of the Chetwai fort on April 10th, 1717. It was named Fort William and Heer Wilhem Blasser, CaptainLieutenant, and first commandant thereof, died there on the 2nd of February 1729, as his tombstone lying at the Chetwai public bungalow still attests.

After the conclusion of this disadvantageous peace, Mr. Adams continued to be the Chief of the Tellicherry factory for many years, and he was not relieved of that charge till the 10th of March 1/28. Hamilton's belief that part of the money spent by the Zamorin in this war was borrowed was fully justified, for the early Tellicherry records show that the Company took great exception to the loans which Mr. Adams had made out of their money to the Zamorin, the Punnattur Raja, the Prince Regent of the Kdlattiri dominions and others. Notwithstanding the most persistent dunning, the Zamorin's debt amounted to the large sum of fanams 6,68,122*04 when Mr. John Braddyl eventually took charge of the factory. Mr. Adams did not regularly deliver over charge of it. He proceeded with Mr. Braddyl to Tanur to recover some of the money lent. Mrs. Adams, after some restraint (subsequently withdrawn) had been used to prevent her leaving Tellicherry, came down the coast " on board the Decker for Fort St. George," picked up her husband at Calicut, and the records do not say what further became of them.

In consequence of these expensive wars the Dutch settlement at Cochin was not paying its way, so in 1721 the Supreme Council in Batavia came to the very important resolution that the Raja of Cochin was no longer to be supported in his interminable fights with the Zamorin, and the Cochin council was solemnly cautioned to live peaceably with all men ; advice more easily given than capable of being carried out.

1 Triohtt, fc., i. V.

Malabar district.

This resolution of the Dutch Company, coupled with the results of certain

memorable events at Anjengo, speedily led to great changes among the country powers.

The Honorable Company settled at Anjengo mainly for two reasons— " Pepper " and " piece-goods ." Travancore was at the time of the settlement and for many years subsequently in a state which did not favour trade. The Rajas were as a rule mere puppets in the hands of certain Brahmans of the Trivandrum temple and of oertain petty chieftains of the Nayar caste, who were styled the Ettuvittil Piliamar , or the Pillays of the eight houses. These latter appear to have been the local heads of the Nayar tara organisation— of the organisation, that is, which, as already fully explained, was charged with the maintenance of the rights of all classes, and with preventing any such from falling into disuse. The country was therefore broken up, as was also the case with Kdlattunad, into an immense number of petty chieftainships, over which the Rajas had very limited and precarious authority. Such a country was not favorable for trade. What the English Company would have liked would have been a despotic monarch who could assign to them monopolies of the produce they came seeking and could enforce the same with a strong arm.

A weaker prince than usual appears to have succeeded to the Travancore Raj in 1718, and another prince, then quite a boy, but afterwards famous as the great Martanda Varma, appears to have set himself in opposition to the Brahmans and feudal chiefs, and in consequence the country was in a disturbed state.

In April 1721 the Anjengo factors were applied to for their usual annual present due to the Rani of Attingal, of the Travancore family. " Those * 1 who demanded it assured him (the Chief of the Factory) that they came to demand it by the Queen's order, and offered their Deceit of it in her Name." The chief appears to have had reason to expect that if the present wore sent it would never reach Her Highness as the Ettuvittil Piliamar were just then in the ascendant, so he refused to pay it into any hands but those of the Rani. On this the Rani invited him to bring it to Attingal himself. " And he, to appear great there, carried two of his Council, and some others of the Factory with most Part of the Military belonging to the Garrison, and by Stratagem they were all cut off, except a few black Servants whose heels and language saved them from the Massacre, and they brought the sad news of the tragedy." This happened on the 15th April 1721.

Two years later the Chief of the Anjengo factory was Dr. Alexander 2 Orme, the father of the Historian 3 Robert Orme. He

1 Hamilton's new account, &c., I. 332-3.

1 He was brother-in-law of the Tellicherry Factory Chief, Mr. Adams.

- Bora at Anjengo in 1728.

had come as an adventurer to India about 1706, and proving serviceable as a surgeon to the factors at Anjengo he had been taken into the Compauy's service, being described by the Anjengo factors, who recommended his being entertained, as " a very capable and ingenious person that would be extraordinarily serviceable to our masters and us in sickness/' He appears to have been appointed as the chief of the factory directly after the massacre.

The resolution taken by the Honorable Company on learning of this massacre is thus expressed in an ola 1 (cadjan letter), written by the Travancore Raja to Dr. Orme on the 15th August 1723 : — " Owing to the loss sustained by the Honorable Company in the capture of Atinga (Attingal) and the money and artillery, which the enemies robbed in our country, the Honorable Company have resolved, in spite of money expenses, to put down the enemies and subject the country to the king, we are ready to do anything, which the Honorable Company may require, and shall personally come there and punish the enemies there in the best manner you may desire, regarding which we affirm to do without fail, and wish to lyiow when must welcome there with our army."

The Raja appears to have died shortly after this letter was written, and it was not till 1726 that the first important step was taken by bin successor, advised to it also by the Prince Martanda Varma, now twenty years of age, to break the power of the Ettucittil Pillamdr and other ohieftains whose interference was as unwelcome to the Raja as it was to the trading English Company. This step consisted in obtaining a body of troops— 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 sepoys from the Nayak of Madura — in consideration of Travancore undertaking to become tributary to him.

With the aid of this force the refractory feudal chiefs were kept under some restraint, but it was not until after 1729, when the famous Raja Martanda Varma at last succeeded to the Raj, that effectual steps were taken " to put down the enemies, and subject the country to the king." And the extirpation of the Ettuvittil Pillamdr was the first effectual step taken in this direction by that energetic chief.

The advantage of having a standing army of trained troops had however meanwhile become so apparent that the next step adopted by this capable Martanda Varma was to employ the famous Fleming Eustachius D'Lanoy to organise his forces. D'Lanoy had been taken prisoner at the Travancorean

attack on the Dutch fort of Colachel in August 1741 ; he had attracted the notice of the Raja who had treated him with much kindness and consideration, and in return he and several of his companions had entered the Raja's military service.

Things had in this way become rife for great changes in the south, and in consequence

1 Treaties, fc., i. XII.

First, of the Dutch Company's resolution in 1721 not to hack up their native allies, or to do it in an irresolute fashion, which appears to have been what actually happened ;

Secondly , of the English Company's resolution in 1723 to

" subject the country to the king " and so facilitate their trade ; and

Thirdly , of the formation about 1741 of a standing army in Travancore,

the next few years saw the Travancoreans masters of the whole of the country as far north as Cranganore, leaving to the luckless ally of the Dutch Company, the Cochin Raja, only a few square miles lying round his palaces at Emakulam and Cochin.

Meanwhile the French had secured a stable footing on the coast as competitors for the Malayali produce of pepper, piece-goods, ginger and cardamoms, and the way of it was as follows : —

Hamilton, as already set forth, mentions incidentally that the French had formed a temporary settlement in a small mud fort at Tellicherry prior to the occupation of that place by the English. A.nd he further notices the fact that in 1698 they had a factory at Calicut. They were, however, evidently not doing much there, as he says they had neither money nor credit and were " not in a condition to carry on a trade."

Hamilton chanced once to visit the place which he called " Mealie," 1 and which the French subsequently seized in the manner to be presently described, and his account furnishes much interesting information regarding the chief of that district of Kolattunad, whom the French afterwards dispossessed of a small portion of his territory.

"And 8 or 10 miles further to the Southward" (of Mah£) "is Burgara,2 a seaport in the dominions of Ballanore3 Burgarie2 a formidable Prince. His country produces Pepper and the best Cardamoms in the World." In January

1703 Hamilton appears to have visited the place and bought cardamoms, and received a visit from the prince on hoard his ship, which he minutely inspected and then signified his intention of building a similar one " but there wanted water enough in his Riv.ers to flote her." " This Prince and his predecessors have been Lords of the Sea, Time out of Mind, and all trading vessels between Cape Comorin and Damaan were obliged to carry his Passes. Those of one Mast paid for their Passes about 8 Shillings yearly, and those with three paid about sixteen ; but when the Portuguese settled in India, then they pretended to the Sovereignty of the Seas which occasioned a War between him and them that has lasted ever since. He keeps some light Gallies that row and sail very well, which cruize along the Coast from October to M ay to make Prize of all who have not his Pass. In

1 Mayyali = Mah6. 1 Vadakara.

- Con1 apt form of Valunmvar = Ruler.

our discourse I asked him if he was not afraid to venture his person on board of a Merchant Ship since he himself was an Enemy to all Merchants that traded on these Coasts. He answered that he had heard of my Character, and that made him fearless and that he was no Enemy to trade, but only vindicated the Sovereignty of those Seas before mentioned, and that our own King was invested with the like Sovereignty not only on his own Coasts, but on those of France, Holland and Denmark and could have no greater right than he had, only he was in a better Position to oblige the transgressors of his Laws to obedience than he was. However, he would maintain his claim and right the best way he could, and whoever lost their Ships or Vessels for contempt of his authority might blame their own obstinacy or folly and not him." On parting with Hamilton he gave him a bracelet and made him " a free Denizen in all his Territories."

Hamilton paid him a return visit on shore at " his palace which was very meanly built of Reeds and covered with Coconut Leaves, but very neat and clean." He expressed wonder why the English did not settle in his dominions because he had pepper and cardamoms which were carried both to Calicut and Tellicherry and paid customs en route to other chiefs while he only charged 5 per cent, as duty. Hamilton replied " that sending his Vessels to cruize on Merchant Ships had blasted the reputation of his country." He proposed to Hamilton to settle there, but Hamilton told him in reply that he could not accept of his favors without the approbation of the Company.

In 1707 Hamilton again came from Cochin to buy a new ship which the Raja

(Kadattunad) had built. He called at a place belonging to him " called Mealie." 1 He was received with great favor, but the Raja would not sell the ship until he had first employed her in one voyage himself. " When I went to his palace the first time I was innocently guilty of ill-manners, for walking with him near his lodgings, I chanced to touch the Thatch with my Hat which polluted it so much that as soon as I went away he stript it of its Covering because Religion forbade him to sleep under it when it was thus polluted, but it was soon re-sanctified by a new Thatching." If this had been done by one of his own subjects he might have been in danger of his life for it.

The Raja insisted on all things being supplied to Hamilton without payment, and he had in consequence to pay fishermen on the sly for the fish he got from them.

" I do not certainly know how far Southerly this Prince's Dominions reach along the Sea Coast, but I believe to Tecorie,2 about 12 miles from Mealie,3 and in the half way is Cottica,4 which was famous formerly for privateering on all Ships and Vessels that traded without their Lord's Pass."

1 Mayycili = M.ihe. * * Trikkodi, p. 72. s Mahe (J/ayyˆi).

- Kottak.kul, p. 72, and foot-note, p. 332.

Hamilton further notices the " Sacrifice Rock " lying off Cottica, about 8 miles in the sea-so called, tradition says, because « when the Portuguese first settled at Calicut, the Cottica' cruisers surprised a .Portuguese vessel and sacrificed all their Prisoners on that Rock "

In 1719 the "Perpetual Company of the ladies" was formed in France

?£« s a f6W y6arS after thU eTent a Frencl1 squadron made in 1 . a, descent on Mahe 1 2 * * " in pursuance 5 of orders from the Directors with the view to secure on the Malabar coast a post that would indemnify the French for the loss of Surat."

;'InAe year 1725, a small French squadron under the command of M. dePardaillan, acting under the orders of the Government of Pondicherry, came to opposite the little town of Maihi, just below Tellicherry , on the Malabar coast, and summoned the place to surrender. The governor refused. The situation of Maihi indeed seemed to place it out of all danger.

" 0n high ground rising up from the sea, and washed on its north side by a little river, the entrance into which, as it ran into the sea, was closed by rocks for even the smallest boats, Maihi seemed to be able to bid defiance to any

enemy who should attack it on the side of the sea. So at least thought the governor, and so, apparently, seemed to think the French commodore. He, at all events, was, hesitating as to the course he should adopt under the circumstances, when the captain of one of his ships submitted to him a plan which he begged he might be permitted to carry himself into execution. The name of this captain was Bertrand Francois Mahe deLabourdonnais.

" On arriving at Pondicherry, he was attached to the squadron of M. dePardaillan, just starting for the conquest of Maihi. It is under the orders of this commodore, hesitating regarding the attack of the place, that we now find him.

" The plan which Labourdonnais submitted to the commodore was to land the troops on a raft of his own designing, in order of battle, under cover of the fire of the squadron. He pressed also that he might be permitted to lead them himself. M. dePardaillan, struck with the ingenuity of the plan, and with the energy and quickness of decision evinced by the young officer, gave his consent to the scheme. It was carried out almost instantly. The raft was made, the troops were placed upon it, and, piloted by Labourdonnais, were landed, with dry feet and almost in order of battle, at the foot of the high ground. This

1 Kottakkal, p. 72, and foot-note, p. 332.

- It appears from the Tellicherry factory diary of 28th November 1726 that the

.french had previously in 1722 occupied Mah£, and this is probably the occupation to

which Hamilton alludes in his " New Aceount, £c.," I. 298, in the following terms : — " About 4 miles to the southward of Tellicherry is a small French factory lately settled at the mouth of a small river, but for what end I know not : but I believe more to employ a little stock for the gentlemen of Calient factory's account than for the French Company."

- Malleson's " Hitt or y of the French >n India," p. 62, foot-note.

difficulty being surmounted, the place was stormed. As an acknowledgment of the skill and enterprise of his young captain, the commodore by a slight alteration of the letters which went to form the name of the captured town, transformed it from the Indian Maihi or Mahi 1 into the French Mahe — the first name of Labourdonnais. This new name not only took root, but it

gradually effaced the recollection that the town had ever borne another.

“ We are indebted to the Carnatic Chronology of Mr. C. P. Brown, late Madras Civil Service, for the information regarding the origin of the name ‘ Mah6.’ It was evidently unknown to Mr. Mill, and equally so to the authors of the Indian Gazetteers .” 2 * * *

The Tellicherry factors naturally enough regarded this intrusion of the French at a place so close to their limits — only two miles from their outposts — in no friendly light, and the first paper on the record of the extant Tellicherry factory diary beginning with Monday, 1st August 1726, is a letter from the President and Council at Madras expressing concern at the success of the French in seizing Mahe.

From an entry a week later it would appear that the Kadattunad Eaja had been at war at this time with the Kottayam Raja as well as with the French. Mr. Adams succeeded however in reconciling them with a view no doubt to turn all the Kadattunad Raja’s efforts towards embarrassing the French, and the terms of peace demanded by Kotta-yam and accepted by Kadattunad were— (1) The districts of “Belleta” with absolute command thereof to be delivered to the former ; (2) an elephant to be given to Tellicherry pagoda by the latter with an offering of butter tied round its neck ; (3) a piece of ground and a house for Brahmans to be given up by latter ; and (4) a house in the latter’s country to be burnt.

This however did not much affect the result. On the 14th August the French seized a small hill lying between them and Kadattunad’s force, and notwithstanding smart firing the latter failed to dislodge them. On the 15th, 100 Tellicherry Nayars were sent to assist8 Kadattunad ; but he wanted money and being already indebted to the Company, he was told first of all to settle his accounts. Rather than do this he preferred to come to terms with the French, and notwithstanding the chief’s efforts to “ embarrass the affair,” he sent on the 8th September to say that he thought himself obliged by force to hearken to the French, and was told in reply that he was unreasonable.

On the 10th of September there was a cessation of hostilities, and Kadattunad began to try to obtain the best terms he could by playing off the one factory against the other.

1 The Malayllam name ia written thus : = Mayyali.

2 Pages 62-64, Malleaon’s History of the French in India.

’ had’ 0n Febnmry 17th. *725, agreed with the English factors not to permit any

other Europeans to settle in tins country and to give the English a monopoly of the

produce of pepper and cardamom*. Trentut, fe., i. XIII. ˆ

No sooner had the hostilities with Kadattunad ceased than the French under M. hremisot began to be active in other directions. Between the two factories lay the territory of the Kurangoth Nayar with whom the

nglish factors had previously been at war as already described The Nayar welcomed, the French as allies and with their aid began to try to recover the territory he had lost.

The great annual hunting festival of the Nayars, Tulappattu,' was at hand ; between Tellicherry and Mahe lay some hills covered with brushwood which harboured wild pigs, and Mr. Adams obtained information that on the 12th of October the Nayar and the French intended to hunt on two hills, called Punnella and Putinha, which had been taken from the Nayar by the English factors. It was accordingly resolved to get up an opposition hunt and to guard the hills in order to prevent the Frenoh from seizing them.

On 12th October accordingly the Nayar and French combined and suddenly attacked the people stationed on the disputed hills. In the fight which ensued one Nayar was killed on the side of the English, and one Frenchman was slain and several wounded on the other side. On the following day there was another fight in which one Nayar boy was killed on the English side and three Nayars and a fisherman were wounded. The affair ended in mutual protests between the two factories, both urging that their nations were at peace in Europe, and finally a conference was arranged in December to settle matters. The English factory limits at this time are thus described From Upalla Canadi to Ponella Malla, north and south, and what maybe to the westward of said places or with them, and Tellicherry fort to Moohara and Codalla." The firm attitude assumed by the English factors had, they were assured, greatly advanced their credit in the country.

To protect their trade the English factors resolved to assist Kadattunad with money, &c., as being cheaper than war ; and they made use of the friendship of the Prince Regent in the Kolattiri dominions to bring over to their * 1 2 side the four Kulatta Nambiars of Iruvalinad, who were in a position to stop country supplies from reaching Tellicherry.

This fighting at Tellicherry was not approved either at the Presidency (Bombay) or by the Court of Directors. Orders were sent to live amicably with the French, to reduce expenses,3 4 * 6 and to recover debts. The Secretary of State was also moved to send a remonstrance to the French

Ministry against the French insults at Tellicherry, and

1 Con}, p. 171. 2 Treaties , #r., i. XV and XVI.

3 The following establishment, it was calculated, would suffice as soon as all the build

ings were finished : —

1. Tellicherry fort — 126 men.

44 do.

40 Nayars.

1. Mai lan

2. Coddallee

do.

do.

16 Moors.

1. Moobara do. garrisoned by Narangapuratta Nayar's men at 500 fanams monthly.

2. Putinha do. do. do. do. 50 do.

3. Tirimalla do. " esteemed at 600 fanams" — (Diary, 14th February 1727).

the Royal Company of France was ordored to be in amity with the English settlements in India.

The result was that the two settlements began to interchange friendly visits, and much gunpowder was spent in salutes, much to the chagrin of the Kurangoth Nayar, who tried various plans to prevent the respective factors from coming to an amicable understanding. His people came vapouring up before the English posts, which however were ordered " to bear everything till attackt." They next pulled down one dark night a fence round a French post in their own lines with a view to make the French believe the English had done it and set the French firing in all directions ; but Mr. Adams had no difficulty in exposing the Nayar's " villainous artifices."

The respective factors finally arranged terms mutually satisfactory and advantageous, and these were embodied in two agreements 1 and duly executed on 9th March and 17th — 28th April 1728. This agreement secured both factories against the intrigues of the Kurangoth Nayar and other petty chieftains in Iruvalinad ; it provided for the surrender of deserters, and for fixing a fair price for pepper ; and even if tear prevailed between the two countries in Europe the conditions of the agreement were to be observed until notice to the contrary was given by either side.

Thus peace and security reigned to the south and east of the Telli-cherry factory. To the north disturbances occurred in another quarter.

The Tellicherry factory diary records, on the 6th June 1727, that Ally Raja " did last night Treacherously seize the said Hill and Fort " (namely, Codalla) which the Prince Regent in Kolattunad had erected " purely as a barrier to a Large Country which produced a great quantity of Pepper."

The Dutch were still at this time settled in Cannanore in Fort Angelo taken from the Portuguese, and Ally Raja, or more correctly Ali Raja (the sea king), lived under the guns of their fort at a house called the Arakkal in Cannanore town.

Reference 2 has already been made to the origin of this Mappilla chieftain. The Keralolpatti would trace the family history back to the time of Cheraman Perumal, but tradition is tolerably unanimous that the first chieftain of the family was a Nayar, by name Arayan Kulan-gara Nayar, one of the ministers of the Kolattiri, who is said to have lived about the end of the 11th or beginning of the 12th century A.D., and who embraced Islam and adopted the name of Muhammad or Mammad Ali. Owing to his skill and ability, it is said, the Kolattiri retained him as his minister after his conversion, and his successors were known as the Mammali Kitavus, who were hereditary ministers of

1 Treaties, i. XVII, afterwards in 1736. Extended in regard to the surrender of desorters who h id committed crimes in the respective settlements. See i. XXXII

- Con/, p. 236.

the Kakttms. Tradition says that Mammad AU and his successors 1 * were admitted to all theimportant counsels of the Kolattiri and that they used to stand on such occasions with sword point resting on a box implying that, whatever was determined on, they would find the money n° it' Hamilton gives an interesting account of these chieftains alter they had become mdependent of the Kolattiris. He describes Cannanore as " a pretty large

town built in the bottom of the bay " and as independent of the Dutch stationed in Fort Angelo. It was under Adda Raja, a Mahometan Malabar prince, who upon occasion can bnng near 20,000 men into the field." " His government is not absolute, noi-is it hereditary ; and instead of giving him the trust of the Treasury which comes by Taxes and Merchandise, they have chests made on purpose with holes made in _their lids, and their coin being all gold, whatever is received from the treasurer is put into these ohests by these holes and eaoh chest has four locks, and their keys are put in the hands of the Raja, the Commissioner of Trade, the Chief Judsre, and

1 following is the traditionary list of these chieftains : — 1. Mammad Ali. 2. Ussan fr' ,,3'1JAh ˆU,83a; 4' Kunhi Mussa. 5. Ali Mussa is said to have conquered some of the Maldive Islands in 1183-84. The. Laccadive Islands had probably before this time been colonised from Kolattun&d. The Kolattiri is said to have arranged with him for an annual payment of 18,000 fanams for the islands besides any further required sum of money m times of need. And as a reward for his services the port of Cannanore and the desams of KanattOr and Kandttamohala were assigned to him. The long subsisting connection between the Maldive Islands and the Cannanore family probably also began at so early a date as that here assigned by tradition. It is certain that in the beginning of the 16th century the Maldive king was a tributary of Cannanore. 6. Alivappan M&ppijja, A.D. 1204-5. 7. Issa Pokra, A.D. 1283-84. 8. Valiya Mamm&li, A.D. 1364-65. The title of this chieftain, viz., the Great {Valiya) Mamm&li {Muhammad Ali is suggest tive of an extension of the family influence about his time. The family title of Mamm&li was well known to the Portuguese and other Europeans, and from the family connection with the Maldives and Laccadives the 9° channel separating Minicoy from the Laccadive group was usually referred to, down to nearly the end of the 18th century, as " Mamm&la's channel. 9. Pokr&li Koya, said to have been killed by the Portuguese in 1544-45. This appears to have been a brother of the chieftain (Mammali), and the Portuguese appear to have first offered to him the position of " Lord of the Maldives." Shortly after this the Maldive king in 1552 became a convert to Christianity. The Portuguese reduced the Islands in 1553, but ten years afterwards two Katibs, assisted by four vessels from the coast ("Corsaires Malabares") took the Portuguese fort, killed 300 of the garrison, and established themselves as joint kings. 10. Kutti&li, A.D. 1544-45. 11. Kunhi Pokko, A.D.

1590-91. 12. Cheriya Kunhi Pokkar, A.D. 1606-7. In the time of this chieftain, the family connection with the Maldives appears to have been resumed, and he, after defeating the claimants to the Maldive throne, appointed one of them as his " Vice-Regent." Very little is known of the Maldives after his time until the beginning of the 18th century, but from about the middle of the 17th century the Maldive kings have placed

themselves under the protection of the dominant European power in Ceylon, first the Dutch and afterwards the British. 13. Mamm&li, A.D. 1609-10. 14. Mamm&li Koya, A.D. 1646-47.

1. KamAli K&mavar, A.D. 1654-55. 16. Mammali, A.D. 1655-56. 17. Kutti&li, A.D. 1690-91. 18. Kunhi Avussi, A.D. 1703-4. 19. Kunhi Mamm&li, A.D. 1719-20. 20.

Kunhi Bl, alias Aravicbchiklt&vu, A.D. 1727*28. 21. Junumma Bl, A.D. 1731-32.

1. Kunhi Amsi, A.D. 1744-45. 23. Junumma Bl, Valiya Tangal, A.D. 1776-77. 24. Abdul Kadar, A.D. 1815-16. 25. Bl Valiya Tangal, A.D. . 26. Maria Amma Bf, A.D. 27. Ayissa Blbl Valiya Tangal, died, A.D. 1861-62. 28. Sultan Ali Raja,

died A.D. 16th November 1870. 29. Sultan Ali Raja, the oresent chieftain.

the Treasurer, and when there is oocasion for money none can be taken out without all these four be present or their deputies." The practioe alluded to doubtless had its origin in the time when the Mammdli Kitavus were the Kolattiri's Chief Sea Customs Agents and Admirals.

After the Portuguese reprisals on the Moorish commerce, the relations between the Ali Rajas and the Kolattiris had become strained, and at the period now reached the Dutch had evidently set up the AJi Raja to seize Codally, with a view to gain for themselves the pepper of the country (Randattara) commanded from that place. The Dutch making use also of the manifold dissensions always existing in the Kolattiri family had also made it impracticable for the Prince Regent to act vigorously.

A detachment sent to Agarr,1 in June 1727, to protect the English warehouse there, was stopped at Darmapattanam Island by Ali Raja's people and turned back with insults. The Chief appealed to the Prince Regent to " unite with those of the Royal line " and maintain peace. But the prince quaintly replied that " as there are so many of the Roy all Line 'tis extream difficult to effect the necessary Union." The Kottayam Raja however came to his assistance and between them they, in February 1728, took one of AIL Raja's forts on Darmapattanam Island. On the 26th of the same month the Prince Regent took and destroyed the Mappilla settlement at Valarpattanam, killing 600 men, women and children. On the 29th the united forces took Darmapattanam Island, another great Mappilla settlement, and Ali Raja's people had to take refuge in the little 2 island lying about a gunshot off the

point of Darmapattanam, whence they exchanged shots with the Prince Regent's people on the main island ; and there they maintained themselves for some Ijme. In their letter of 1 4th March 1 728 to Bomba v the factors reported that " Ally Rajah …. is sailed for Juddah, and all his country save Cannanore intirely destroyed by the Prince." The next news of him received in October, through Bombay, was that he had been poisoned at Jeddah by his minister, and that all his effects had been seized on aocount of presents promised to the prophet's tomb. But the factors informed Bombay, that the Moors had not been discouraged thereby, and they were 14,000 to 15,000 strong in Cannanore. So the war went on ; the Prince Regent, in great need of money and supplies, and being refused the same by the English factors, opened negotiations with the Dutch of Cannanore to hand over to them Darmapattanam Island, the possession of which was essential to the trade of Tellicherry. The factors thereupon (September 1730) determined to open their purse strings and store-rooms, and, as the best means of preventing a large expenditure of money, they further resolved to bring about peace

1 Co, if. p. 70.

- Called in Hamilton's time " Caeca Din r, at this time " Grove Island " by the factors.

Crow (Kakka) Island, but usually called

between the Prince Regent and the MappUlas. On the 1st of Novem- ~*r the Chief (Mr. Braddyl) had a satisfactory interview with the Prince Regent, and on the 2nd at another interview the Chief obtained from m a grant 1 of a monopoly of trade in Iruvalinad, Darmapattanam Island and Randattara, with permission to hoist their flag if the utch or French threatened to take possession of these places. In return the Chief promised him 20,000 fanams worth of military stores to enable him to carry on his war against the Mappillas. On 13th January and 10th May following further loans were given him, and, on the 9th June 1731, peace was at last arranged through the mediation of the Kalliad Nambiar, the Mappillas agreeing to pay an indemnity of 1,00,000 fanams at once, and a similar sum in four months' time. Hearing of this, Mr. Braddyl promptly applied for repayment of the loans, but the prince answered : " The present Treaty is only to give me a Breathing for four months."

Before, however, the four months had elapsed, a greater danger to the prince's authority began to make itself felt. It seems to have had its origin in the same family dissensions which had probably precipitated the Mappilla outbreak. The prince had stated, when applying for the loan given to him on the 10th of. May, that the* money was wanted to enable him to fight the

Canarese as well as the Moors, and on 23rd October following he applied for Tellicherry manchuas (small coasting craft), &c., to cruize against the Canarys," and a fortnight later news came from the factors at Hon ore regarding " the Extraordinary Insolency of the Canarees in having taken the guns out of several Bombay boats because the English at Tellicherry had assisted the Prince Regent against -them.

The Ikkeri, or Keladi, or Bednur Rajas were chiefs who had obtained independence on the breaking up of the Vijayanagar dynasty after the battle of Talikota in 1564. Prior to that event, Wilks says : The founder of the dynasty had been raised from the situation of an opulent farmer to the rank of Governor of Bednur, and the ninth in descent from him (Sivappa Nayak) who reigned from 1649 to 1671, but who had really been de facto king for a much longer period during the reigns of three of his cousins (1604-49), had defeated the Jain Rajas of Tuluva, and had acquired Canara from Hon ore to Cassargode. At Cassargode the Canarese necessarily came into contact with Malayali and with the dominions of that offshoot of the Kolattiri family which had been founded by intermarriage with the Zamorin's family. The Prince Regent, as already described, had found it " extream difficult to effect the necessary union" among the various branches of the family, and it seems to have been on the invitation of one or more of his discontented relatives that Somasekhara Nayakka, the thirteenth of this line of Bednur Rajas, pushed his forces across the Malayali frontier.

1 Tre*tie», Sfe., i.iXIX.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PEPPER, ETC., TRADE.

On the 16th January 1732 the factors reported to the President and Council at Bombay that the Prince Regent's army had been routed by the Canarese, who had, they said, " gott as farr as Mounty 1 Lilly," and the factors expressed anxiety as to their grain supplies usually obtained through the Canarese port of Mangalore. Ou the 28th January necame that the parts of the country about Valarpattanam were " altogether unsettled " and " in utmost confusion by reason of the great progress made by the Carnatick army against this kingdom." Adherence to the Prince Regent's cause meant starvation to the 1 ellicherry settlement, and great anxiety prevailed as to the provision of grain for consumption in the ensuing monsoon season. Moreover to add to the anxieties of the factors at this time the native pirates became unusually active ; but they despatched two successful expeditions against them, in one of which a pirate vessel, mounting 15 small guns, was taken, and in another. Ensign Lewis Mendonza, after first taking off the Valarpattanam river mouth a small Canarese vessel which attacked his party, was in turn attacked by a pirate vessel belong-mg to " Cutty Coileen" and

carrying 200 men. A skilfully planted shell, however, appears to have reached the pirates' magazine and she blew up, not one of her crew escaping. The factors were nearly in despair as to the provision of grain, and were planning secret expeditions to seize the Canarese boats carrying it to the army, when a welcome supply of 2,000 bales came in from Bombay. Almost simultaneously however, came the unwelcome news that the Canarese had taken bv assault on the 10th of May the fortified peninsula of " Matame " held by the Mappillas to the north of the Valarpattanam river. The Prince Regent had apparently made some sort of terms with the Canarese on

condition that they should help him in his feud with the rebellious Mappillas of Cannanore.

There was nothing now to prevent the Canarese from making themselves masters of the whole of the country down to the very gates of J ellicherry, and from overrunning the whole of the country from which he settlement obtained its chief supplies of pepper. The situation became consequently very embarrassing. On 22nd October 1732 news came that the Canarese had passed to the south of the Valarpattanam rner, and were about to besiege Cannanore in aid of the Prince Regent and in pursuance of a treaty with him. The factors learnt by letter -it day from the prince himself what terms he had accepted from the Canarese general " Ragonatt." These were :-The prince to hold e country north of Valarpattanam river as far as Nilesvaram as a

oneUata'4lL "'-2 Bedn,f'r 10 haVe thr6e f°rtS in the 6tdd territory-

k South cl mi. an°ther at "CaVi"2 3 "d the third ^ Nilesvaram South Ganara. The country south of the river to be under the Prince

1 Con), p C.

2 Near the alarpattanam river mouth— conf. p. 11.

3 Kavv&yi— -conf. p. (59.

Regent, who was to receive assistance against his rebellious subjects, first of whom were the Mappillas of Cannanore. In January, and again in February 1733, Cannanore was accordingly attacked, but on both occasions the Prince Regent's troops and the Canarese were repulsed with loss.

The possession of the Darmapattanam Island now became a matter of supreme importance to the factory. The main portion of it was still held, it is true, by the Prince Regent's people, but it was quite possible that they might transfer it to the Canarese, and on the other hand it was quite possible the Kottayam Raja might hand it over to the French. With the possession of it

either in Canarese or in French hauds, the Tellicherry trade would certainly have either disappeared altogether, or been fatally hampered, as the country from which their chief pepper supplies were drawn were commanded by this island.

Strenuous efforts were accordingly made to obtain exclusive possession of it, and the conduct of the negotiations lay in competent hands — those of Mr. Stephen Law 1 — who had succeeded Mr. Braddyl as Chief on 17th December 1732. The first step taken was to secure a firm hold of " Grove Island " lying off the Point of Darmapattanam, and this was done with the Bibi of Cannanore's consent, on 5th October 1734, on which date Sergeant John Christian, 2 corporals, 7 soldiers and 15 sepoys were admitted to garrison the small island in company with the Bibl's men. The Chief having gained this first step, took care to let the French factors know his determination to keep out everybody else. He accordingly next introduced men in Hnglish pay, but nominally in the prince's service, into all the forts on the island under a secret engagement already obtained from the prince, for at this time (OctoberNovember 1 734) the Chief was under an apprehension that the French would take it by a coup de main assisted by the crew of a F rench ship then at Mahe. And it was known that the Kottayam Raja, who had helped the prince to take it from the Mappillas, had agreed to give up the positions held by him on it to the French whenever they should choose to take them.

The Bibi of Cannanore was next 2 prevailed on in November-December 1734 to surrender her claims to the island out of fear that the Canarese or French would take it, and owing to her inability to retake it herself and keep it securely. If it was to be in any other hands than her own, she preferred that it should be taken possession of

by the English.

There remained then only the Kottayam Raja to be dealt with, and his consent was at last obtained after an army of between 4,000 and 5,000 Canarese had, on 3rd February 1735, crossed the Anjarakandi (called at that time the " Trentapatam ") river and had encamped on

1 Afterwards President and Governor of Bombay

» TrMti**, 4c., i. XXIV, XXV and XXVI.

the sandy flats at the east end of the island with a view to the further 1 invasion of the Kottayam Raja's territory. The preliminaries were arranged

with him on the 6th February ; the cadjan 2 deed containing hi3 consent to the English occupation was received at Tellicherry at 2 a.m. on the 7th. A hasty council was summoned, and it was resolved to act on it at 8 a.m. by formally taking possession of the largest fortress and any others the engineers might think necessary. These being secured, a peremptory demand was to be sent to the Canarese to evacuate the island forthwith.

Captains Slaughter and Mendonza and Ensign Adams with 120 soldiers, 140 Nayars, and 60 Tiyars, and others, mustering altogether 400 men, accordingly took possession of the fortress that same forenoon, and the Canarese general received notice to quit, with which he feigned compliance ; but he did not actually go.

The Kottayam Raja's alarm of invasion had meanwhile not abated, and on the 19th of February he sent to the Chief an unconditional agreement 3 to plant the English flag and post garrisons on the island.

It was then only that the prior secret arrangement 4 with the Prince Regent of K5lattunad was made public, making the grant of the island to the English absolute.

As soon as the business of gaining a solid footing on Darmapatta-nam Island had been thus satisfactorily arranged, the Chief set himself to the still more difficult task of trying to form a combination of the petty country chieftains against the Canarese. The Prince Regent had proposed this to the Chief in the preceding December (1734), and had proposed to raise the necessary funds by " tribute, and taking from such Pagodas as are supplied therewith." On 8th February 1735 the Chief advised the prince to help the Canarese until the Kadattunad and Kottayam Rajas and the Nambiars of Xruvalmad were forced to combine against the invaders. The Kottayam Raja shortly after this gave in his adhesion to the Chief's project. But jealousies were rife and the others all held aloof. The French too had professed their willingness to strike in, but when the Chief visited Mahe on 31st March to arrange the matter, the French, much to the disgust of the country powers, backed out of it. The negotiations for a combination did not make much progress under such circumstances.

In fact it was not till 29th January 1736 that any substantial progress was made, and then the combination included only the Prince Regent, the Kottayam Raja and the English. On that day, however, the resolution was taken to begin the necessary preparations at once by

Tho French afterwards gave out that this advance had been planned by the English

to compel Kottayam to come to terms with them. There was probably some good ground for this assertion. B b

1 Treaties, #e., i. XXVII.

Treaties , fc., i. XXVIII, followed by another a few days later _ i XXX

4 Treat, tt, fc., i. XXI, XXII.

enlisting Mappillas at 23 fanams per month. News had

bay. On the 17th February the Prince Regent deposited Rs. 20,000 as his share of expenses. On the 24th February the Canarese were peremptorily ordered to move back to the north of the Valarpat-tanam nver and their general seeing that mischief was brewing, took the hint and at noon on the 25th retreated across the Anjarakandi river towards Agarr and a strongly fortified post built at a place

called " Cadalay." On the 27th the native levies from Tellicherry _ all

Narangapuratta Nayar's men, the corps of Tiyar, and 231 Mappillas, 450 men in all— proceeded to join the Prince's and Kottayam Raia's

forces at Edakad. J

On the 29th the first hostilities ensued. The allies were attacked by the Canarese at Edakad, but the assailants were repulsed with loss, and a Canarese redoubt (" Trankier") at the Edakad point was taken! On the 3rd March the Chief himself (Mr. Stephen Law) took the field and planned a fort to annoy the " Cadalay " fort held by the Canarese. He next devoted his attention to the Canarese outlying works and to intercepting their supplies offood. On the 7th their Madakara fort was surrendered to the English war " gallivats " On the 8th the Chief proceeded thither and found the fort to be 500 yards in circumference with eight half-moon bastions. He wished to dismantle it and abandon the place, but the Prince Regent fearing it would fall into the hands of the Mappillas persuaded him to keep it, and an engagement 1 was accordingly afterwards 2 drawn up in ratification of the arrangement. The news reached him on the same day that the Canarese were beginning to desert other fortified posts to the north.

The incursion of. the Canarese had been disastrous to the Dutch trade at Cannanore as well as to the English, and on the 15th March the Dutch Chief at Cannanore, under orders from Cochin, took steps to stop the supply of food to the Canarese.

That same day the Chief (Mr. Stephen Law) began to draw in his detachments and to concentrate on the isolated position of the Canarese at Cadalay. The preparations for attacking it were complete on the 17th, and on the morning of the 18th the first attack was delivered. The English force secured an eminence with the Nayars on their right, but the latter fled when attacked by the Canarese. The English position was next attacked and was successfully defended with the loss of 3 men killed and 20 wounded. At 4 p.m. a retreat was made~£o a better position.

The Dutch factors at Cannanore were meanwhile holding aloof from active operations against the common enemy. They were afraid lest the post of Cadalay, if it were taken, would be retained by the

1 Treaties , fe., i. XXXI.

- On 5th July 1737.

English and used to intercept the Dutch trade with the pepper country lying up the Yalarpattanam river. To remove their jealousy the Chief agreed on the 19th to give them a certificate renouncing all claim to Cadalay if it should be taken. It is like enough that if the attack of the 18th had succeeded Cadalay would have been retained by the English and used to cut out the Dutch. On the 20th a reinforcement (an ensign and 30 men) arrived from Anjengo. On the 21st the Dutch agreed to join on the understanding that Cadalay should be razed to the ground. Qn the 26th Dutch reinforcements, in five ships and other small vessels, arrived at Cannanore, and on the 29th Mr. Law visited Cannanore and after some more fencing about the future occupation of Cadalay the Dutch at last agreed to land 300 men (of whom 180 wero Europeans) to assist the English, and this was accordingly done on March 30th.

On the 31st a council of war was held, and it was agreed to seize a hill near the Canarese camp, to erect |a breastwork there, and then to bring up cannon and mortars to reduce the Cadalay fort.

On the morning of 1st April this plan was put into operation. An advanced guard, half English and half Dutch, seized the hill. A general advance of the whole force was then made. The Canarese horse made a stand, but the Dutch, assisted by the English, routed them in great disorder, some taking towards the fort and some to the ground below it. The combined force then made a rush for the fort ; the Canarese hung out a flag of truce, but continued firing. This enraged the assailants, and a great slaughter took place at the gate, which was stubbornly defended by the Canarese, and which became blocked

up by the dead bodies of assailants and defenders. At this crisis an English topass, one Joafia Pichota, brought up a ladder, scaled the fort wall, and discharged his own piece as well as those of 18 others handed up to him in quick succession. This cleared the wall, and the English colours were soon flying on the ramparts. Meanwhile the defence of the gate slackened, the assailants poured in, and many of the Canarese defenders sought safety by lowering themselves over the walls by ropes. At about 7 a.m. the fort was completely taken amid great slaughter women and children and the Canarese general, Gopalji, being among the slain. A large body (300) of the enemy, after giving up their arms and while proceeding to Cannanore, were barbarously massacred by the

. ˆrf;. By the Chiefs exertions 600 or 700 more were saved and taken to Tellicherry. A third body of 200 horse and foot, while trying to escape inland, was cut off by the Nayars. The loss of the allies was not very great, the English lost 5 natives killed and 8 wounded. The Dutch had 1 ensign killed (died from over-exertion on the march) another European killed, and 2 others burnt by an explosion of gunpowder. The Nayars and other Malayalis suffered in their eagerness lor plunder, for a magazine blew up and killed 100 of them Eight cannon and 1 mortar were among the spoils, and it was found that

the Canarese would have been very soon starved into surrender even if their fort had not been taken.

The other Canarese forts surrendered one by one after this event to small detachments sent under Ensign Fisher and Captain Lane. These forts were located at Madayi, Taliparamba, Matalay and Ayconny. This last fort, described as 500 yards in circumference with ten half-moon bastions, situated at the mouth of the Kavayi river " in a pleasant plain country , gave some trouble. Captain Lane bombarded it at pistol-shot distance from 6 a.m. to 3 p.m. After its surrender, the whole of the garrison, men, women and children, were, Captain Lane reported, " cruelly— i shamefully— and in violation of all laws divine and humane' most barbarously butcher'd " by the Nayars, notwithstanding the exertions of the English officers to save them.

The 700 Canarese saved by the Chief at Cadalay were sent back (all but three officers) under safe escort as a sort of peace-offering to Bednur, and on 11th May the Chief wrote to the Bednur Raja detailing the causes of his breaking with him. These were (1) the factory at Honore had to be abandoned in consequence of the oppressions of his people ; (2) the Company s broker at Mangalore had been fined and imprisoned on a false pretext ; (3) the promise

to respect the English trading privileges in the Kolattiri country had been broken ; (4) and two English yessels driven ashore in Canara had been seized and plundered and no redress had been given ; (5) finally the Canarese general, Gopalayjm, had • dissensions in the Kolattiri family and tried to alienate the Company's privileges. And he followed this up with an offer to negotiate terms of peace between Bednur and the Prince Regent.

On the 12th August 1736 a somewhat questionable transaction took place. The Bibi of Cannanore had begun to show some hankering aftei Darmapattanam Island acquired by the Company in the way above described, and as Grove Island, to which the military had, with her consent, been admitted in October 1734, commanded the entrance to one of its rivers, it was resolved to " send away the Moors now on it." There is no doubt this was regarded as a breach of faith by the Mappillas, and was resented as such ; but it was submitted to quietly enough. The fact was that the Bibi of Cannanore could not afford to act independently of the English, and on the 8th October 1736, when she showed some signs of trying to intrigue against the Company, the Chief warned her to desist in very plain terms : — " If in future you continue in same evil practices, I shall no longer make those favorable allowances, but proceed for compelling you to desist." The Bibi was so placed that if the English had shut up her communications by sea, as they could very easily have done, and if the Prince Regent had co-operated with them by land, as he would have been only too delighted to do, the Blbi's stronghold at Cannanore could not have resisted the joint attack for any length of time. On 30th April 1737 the Bibl's husband agreed to take an oath in the chief mosque at Cannanore that she had never attempted

anything against the English Company. The country people all knew this to be false, so the Chief and factors accepted the offer, judging it would make the family contemptible in the eyes of the natives. After this, amicable relations were resumed and a vessel seized at Anjengo was restored.

On 10th September 1736 the factors received news that the Dutch had come to a disagreement with the Prince Regent, and had threatened to refuse further aid against the Canarese.

The facts forcibly illustrate the different methods of dealing with the country powers adopted by the Dutch and by the English Companies. The Dutch wished the Prince Regent to undertake to sell them 100 candies of pepper at 13 £ Venetians, to be laid on any district of his country. To this the prince replied that he did not concern himself with merchandise, that he had already assigned to the English Company privileges of trade, and that the

English only bought pepper with the free consent of the owners thereof This did not content the Dutch ; the negotiations went on ; and eventually about January 1737 an agreement was arranged that the Dutch should assist the prince to expel the Canarese beyond the Cassargode river, should aid him to reduce the Mappillas of Cannanore and the Raja of Kottayam on condition that the prince should deliver to them annually 1,000 candies of pepper at Rs. 56 per candy, about half its market rate. This arrangement did not much disconcert the Tellicherry factors, who shrewdly recorded in their diary that even if the Dutch did their part, the prince would not do his because of his avarice, which prevented him from paying even for the few Nayars the Company had entertained at Ayconny fort (Alikkunnu opposite Kavayi), and which would certainly, they concluded, prevent him from paying the market price for pepper and selling it at a loss to the Dutch. The English Company were well advised in paying market prices for the produce they required, for North Malabar was so broken up into petty principalities that the Prince Regent could not have, without war, secured the produce of any district in his dominions at less than the market rates.

The state of disunion among the petty chieftains, and, more especially between the different members of the Kolattiri fajnily, and their mutual jealousies were more strongly than ever forced on the attention of the fa tors in endeavouring to arrange a peace with Bednur ; and after an unsuccessful effort made in October 1736 by Captain Gibbs and Mendonza with 200 soldiers and 180 sepoys to take the Nilesvaram fort, the last remaining stronghold held by the Canarese, the factors decided to send one of their number, Mr. Lynch, to Mangalore to arrange a general peace, if possible, and if that, as seemed probable, were unattainable, then a separate peace on behalf of the English Company.

Mr. Lynch went properly equipped for the undertaking, and in his bill of expenses subsequently submitted there occurred the item of

Malabar district.

Ks. 200 for defraying the equipping himself with apparel suitable to the gay temper of the Canarese," which item the factore passed with the

emark that what he alleged had weight, the more so that his ordinary style of dress was very different. 7

Fe Juarv1 *' TO ˚f Mv L !lC|ˆ8 emba88y was a treat7 1 dated 9th-20th f7 7' m Wh'f he Canare8e Governor of Mangalore, Surapaya, tified all former grants to the Company, empowered them to re-open the

to ZV , hn˚re' 8eCU? f Eˆliah «**• f-m seizure, assigned he English a monopoly

of pepper and cardamoms in all the Kolat-

tm territory that might thereafter be conquered, secured recognition f all their grants theretofore obtained from the Kolattiri, empowered the Company and their officers to export rice from Mangalore without payment, of a heavy duty called Adlamy, barred the Canarese from coming to the south * of the Valarpattanam river, or erecting strongholds near the Company s fort at Madakkara, and left the rest of the Kolattiri dominions to be overrun by the Canarese as they might think fit : and besides these terms the diary shows that damages to the extent of 5 910 pagodas were obtained for wrongs suffored.

, r?n SG 1f6tˆFe])ruary 1737 a counterpart agreement 3 was executed by the Chief, Mr. Stephen Law, on behalf of the Company.

Directiy Mr. Lynch left Mangalore, the Canarese re-crossed the Nilesvaram river. The Prince Regent applied as usual for money to aid him to oppose them, but he was reminded that at the first settlement being formed at Tellicherry, the Company was to keep up no force, and that the Prince Regent was to protect the settlement in return for the customs duties which the Company had agreed to pay. He was accordingly informed that money would be advanced only if due security for re-payment were given. And the factors noted in their diary that even if the worst came to the worst, " the fortresses we have erected in this country may be esteemed a tolerable security for the trade, even

should the prince or whomsoever be disposed to attempt any violations therein."

On the 14th January news arrived of a grave disaster suffered at the Ayconny fort (Alikkunnu) protecting the mouth of the Nilesvaram river. Bombardier John Hull, it seems, was engaged in fixing some fuzes. Instead of using a wooden mallet he attempted to do it with an iron hammer; the magazine door was carelessly left open, an explosion took place, and in a second the magazine exploded, the fort gate was knocked down, also part of the wall ; 6 soldiers and 1 sepoy were killed, 13 soldiers and 12 sepoys were wounded ; the house, provisions, arms and most of the stores were destroyed.

1 Treaties, pc., i. XXXIII.

In the iJiary of January Gth, 1737, it is stated that this is the country where ull the popper is grown.

3 Treaties , frc., i. XXXIV.

But under the treaty it became no longer necessary to hold this fort, and so, on 16th February (the date on which the Chief ratified the terms) , orders were sent to vacate it, which was immediately done. The Nayars on this deserted it, and it was immediately occupied by the Canarese. It gave them the command of the Nilesvaram river and of the Nilesvaram portion of the Kolattiri dominions.

The peace enabled the factors to reduce their military establishment. They sent back the Anjengo and part of the Madras detachment, and a return shows that, on 7th March 1737, they had 2 captains, 4 ensigns, 19 sergeants, 16 corporals, 13 rounders, 14 drummers, 91 Europeans, 42 mustees, 221 topasses, total 422, less 30 sick, leaving 392 effective men for duty. These men were thus distributed : —

(a). Tellicherry —

NO.

1. Limit gate
2. Banksaul (wa

rehouse)

1. Great bastion
2. Hospital
3. Fort

• «*

(b). Mailan fort

(r). Putinha

(d). Grove Island . ,

t •

(e). Atarra 1

(CDarmapattanam (Great)

(g). Tachara

(A). Codotu

(i). River's mouth . .

(/). Eddakat

(X). Madakkara

Total . .

For the necessary reliefs a " free guard " of 140 men was wanted, making a total of 484 ; so the factors wanted 92 sepoys to make up their force to its proper strength.

On 8th April 1737 news arrived from Bombay that Salsette Island had been taken by the Mahrattas. The Presidency asked for succour, and the factors at once despatched 170 sepoys (already under orders to go back) and 3 gallivats and 100 stand-of-arms.

The Canarese were busy meanwhile within the limits allotted to them in the treaty with the English Company. In April 1737 they had again come south as far as Madakkara, and supplies and men had to be sent thither as a precautionary measure. In July the Prince Regent was promised Rs. 5,000 if he would decline to deal with any other European nation than the English and if he would consent to give an authentic deed ratifying the English Company's hold on Eddakat

1 El or Aarurr

and Madakkara. Re. 1,000 were sent to him and he > did as he was required.

The Dutch functionaries too retired in disgust to Cochin, not being able to arrange terms with the Canarese or with the Prince Regent, uttering vague threats of vengeance against the Canarese as they retired. Their trade at Cannanore must now have dwindled away to very small proportions, as the English Company from their Madakkara fort were now able to keep them out of the Valarpattanam river. In fact, on 18th March 1737, as some of their boats entered they were brought to by the fort and obliged to retire across the bar.

ˆ7 August 1737 the Canarese had again overrun the whole of the country as far south as the Taliparamba river, but Madayi fort still held out against

them.

The factors now interposed and arranged articles of peace between the Kolattiri and the Canarese. The Chief and Mr. Dynch and the Prince Regent, on 30th August 1737, met Surapaya, the Canarese general, near Madakkara. Both parties went strongly armed and escorted fearing treachery, and the Canarese escort was described as very ungovernable " in their demeanour. The terms arranged were as follows 1 2 : —

" That from the fort of Madday (Madayi), westward, to Urbelly, southward, and as the river winds to the foot of the hills, eastward, with all the country, northward of the said river, shall hereafter appertain to the King of Bednur, and from the parts aforesaid, southward, the King of Colastri (Kolattiri) shall enjoy what appertains to him, &c "

These terms were not, however, acceptable to the King of Bednur, who had more ambitious schemes of conquest in view, and simultaneously (20th, 21st October 1737) with his refusal to ratify the terms came the news that the Company's vessels at Mangalore had been refused a supply of rice. The Bednur Raja by turning off the rice tap, so to speak, had it always in his power to inconvenience seriously the Company's settlements and to cause an artificial famine. And rice was urgently needed just then in the Presidency for the Mahrattas were threatening an invasion.

Surapaya was superseded by Ragonatt as Governor of Mangalore and Commander of the Army, and the selection was not agreeable to the factors. On 29th December 1737 he reached the camp at Madayi, and, on 1st January 1738 the Chief received a peremptory order from him to proceed forthwith to the camp to talk of important matters, whereupon the diary records the following remarks : " The Board naturally

remark the haughtiness of the preeited Ragonatt and how base is his disposition. The Chief never thought proper to visit him even in times

1 Conf. Treaties, £e., i. XXXI, XXXV.

- Conf. Treaties . <f c.. i. XXXVI. XXXVTT yyyvttt

of the Canarese elated state, well knowing that Chicane and Treachery are what Ragonatt is extreamly addicted to." They However agreed to disguise their real feelings and to send a deputation to ascertain his intentions, and on the 4th January the deputation returned and reported that the Canarese wished the Company to remain neutral in the war about to be commenced

against “ the Mallabars.”

The factors’ reply to this was the putting of the Madakkara fort in a. thorough posture of defence and the securing the mouth of the Valarpattanam river so as to prevent the Canarese from crossing it into the pepper districts. This being accomplished, the factors awaited the current of events, but beyond seizing (April 1738) the guns of some English vessels detained at Mangalore the Canarese did nothing towards pursuing their conquests up to August 1738.

There is a gap in the diary at this period, and the events of the next twelve months cannot be fully ascertained from the other records. In October 1738 the Prince Regent appears to have been so far pressed that he actually delivered Its. 30,000 to the factors to prosecute the war, and the agreement come to with the factors at this juncture “to make war against the insolence of Canara ” and “to drive out Canara ” is still on record.1 About the end of the year hostilities were in progress. On January 2nd, 1739, Mr. Law reported from Madakkara a skirmish with the Canarese in which, on the English side, the Malabars displayed great apathy. On January 7th an attack by bombardment was delivered on the Canarese position near the same place ; the Canarese made a counter attack on the English flank, but were repulsed by the “ remarkable fire ” of the English troops. On January 10th prospects of peace began to dawn, the Canarese being dejected at the obstinate defence of the line of the Valarpattanam river, but the actual terms 2 were not definitely settled for another thirteen months. The chief points were the permission to export a definite quantity of rice without duty from Mangalore, and the omission of the »clause stopping the Canarese from making conquests to the south of the Valarpattanam river. In other respects the treaty followed pretty closely that of February 1737, which was likewise at the same time ratified.

After the conclusion of peace in the manner above indicated, the Bednur forces gave little further trouble to the Tellicherry factory, and they do not appear ever to have subsequently attempted to force their way to the south of the Valarpattanam river, which was securely guarded by the Company’s fort at Madakkara. The fact seems to have been that besides the opposition which the factors would have made had they attempted to pass to the south of the river, the invaders had pretty well exhausted the resources of the country to the north of it, and found a difficulty in supporting the large force they had there, and

1 Tr,nti,» Ar i XXXIX.

1 Treaties, #c., i. XLII, XLI1I.

which it is said was costing them in January 1749 as much as 12 000 pagodas per month. ’

On February 27th, 1739, there arrived the ship “ Harrington ” from

Sut rPatT 163 fr˚m the CoUrt 0f Director3 appointing the Ch ef, Mr. Stephen Law to be President and Governor of Bombav

au„ appomtmg Mr. William Wake from Anjengo to the chiefship of

“ Its J’vdrA Same/ 3rh’Pr ‘ ™ Dlrectors wrote Toiling out that

1. 1,3(1,000, the charge (of the Telhckerry factory) last year is a sum which runs away with all our profit.”

The dissensions in the Kolattiri family still continued, and the party of ˆ disorder appears to have been headed by a prince called

Ockoo, who, in consequence of the peace with the Caqarese, seemed to have turned his attention next to creating trouble in the south. In an attempt to reach Kadattunad by sea in November 1739 he was taken prisoner by the factors and sent in custody to Madakkara fort But this does not seem to have disheartened his followers, and the record of the next few years is full of references to various petty risings by this gang in different parts of the country. Moreover, two of his immediate followers escaped from custody in Darmapattanam Island through the carelessness of a “ Centinel ” on 12th December 1739, and the factors were so annoyed at this that they dealt summarily with those responsible. “ The commanding officer is relieved and severely reprimanded. The corporall is broke, and tho centry Henry Groodgame ordered to run the gauntlet and confined to duty in the fort for two months.”

The escape of these men appears to have encouraged the rest of their party.

Meanwhile the French at Mahe had been at war with the Nambiars of Iruvalinad. The original cause of dispute was whether a certain Nayar called Folatche should pay to the Nambiars, who

claimed him as a vassal. The French, on the other hand, laid similar claims to him. The Nambiars imposed an interdict by tying a bough to a tree after the country fashion. The French pulled the bou˚-h down, and “ Polatche ” took their side. The French obtained assistance from the Kadattunad Rnja, who was at this time a minor and under their influence, but the Nambiars repulsed their enemies on 4th September 1739 after killing the French commanding officer and many of his men. The English factors finding the

Nambiars hard pressed shortly after this, assisted them indirectly through the Prince Regent, and on 20th November the French were repulsed. The respective factories then protested formally against each other and peace 1 was restored in December 1739.

But the peace was of short duration, for on the 22nd of that same month the French seized a hill near. Mahe under the pretext that they had bougnt it from the minor Kadattunad Raja, whose mother, on the

1 Treaties, j'c., i. XLI.

other hand, refused to acquiesce in the arrangement, and amicable relations were accordingly broken off in that direction.

The French were very busy about this time and pushing in all directions. In December 1739 they hoisted their colours at Tanur. In January 1740 they attempted to settle at Chetwai, but the Zamorin would not consent, and the Dutch also marched down on them and forced them to leave. TheD on 6th March 1740 and agaib in the end of the year came news from Europe of a probable impending war between England and Spain assisted by Franoe. In April the French, who were blockading the Kadattunad country, seized an English boat, but released it. In June the English factors obtained information that the French had designs on Andolla Mala, an outlying bit of territory attached to Tellicherry. The English factors were on the alert and hoisted their colours on the hill, sending at the same time a party of military to protect them. The French began making entrenchments under the English guns on the hill, whereupon they were promptly attacked on 17th June 1740 by Ensign Bilderbeck and turned out of the place. The English loss was one man mortally, and another slightly, wounded. The usual protest followed, the French sending a sergeant and drummer to notify the same. And the English factors in their diary of 23rd July 1740 recorded that the English Company had a grant from the Kolattiri, empowering them to hoist their colours at any time and anywhere in the kingdom consisting of seven provinces, viz. : —

" l. Pallartuta Naddu.

1. Choulsaroum.

2. Neliotusaroum.

4 Alerta Naddu.

1. Edevadu Naddu.

2. Cartua Naddu.

3. Porovenaddu."

And they observed that the Canarese had conquered Alerta Naddu, and that " long since one of his (Kolattiri) ancestors being embarrassed in war, granted to one who was of the race of kings (which is a particular caste) the province of Porovenaddu (now called Cotiote), which he was to govern according to the dictates of an idol of a pagoda who is called Peremal a Podee." And they continued : " The kings heretofore appointed a governor in Cartua Naddu, but some few years before the French settled at Mihid the G-overnor (called Boyanore) paid little regard to the present king, who was then also embarrassed with war. Upon the French settling, they countenanced him, and since the governor's death his sister who presides pays no allegiance at all." It also appears that the French had lately set up " one of the caste of kings in opposition to the Regent (Boyanore's sister), but this proceeding of theirs had not been approved by their superiors.

On 5th September 1740 the French were repulsed in attacking a hill in Kadattunad on the road to Peringatur, where they had an outpost. On the 18th they suffered another disaster at the same place.

hey had taken forty men out of one of their Europe ships to assist them, and in the attack which followed, , thirty of those were killed

besides twenty others of the garrison, making in all fifty killed. Besides these, twenty men were wounded, exclusive of Nayars and sepoys. Of course the French protested against the English factors, and in proof sent the latter an English cannon ball which had been fired into their fort. The following day a reply was sent from Tellicherry to say that English cannon balls could be found in every country where the English had settled, and they recommended the French factors to return it " whence it came." This war continued in a desultory manner till the beginning of May 1741, when both parties agreed to a cessation of arms for a time.

The diary of 13th November 1741 contains the following: — " Arrived M. de Labourdonnais with two large ships at Mihie." And on the 1 5th the factors received notice of his intention of making war on the Kadattunad Raja, and of overhauling boats and vessels approaching that part of the coast. The tone of the letter was somewhat overbearing, as if written with the full knowledge that if his requests were not acceded to, he had ample force at his back to compel compliance. And so it turned out, for next day news came that three other French ships of Labourdonnais' squadron had reached Mahe, and another had arrived at Calicut. Thus reinforced the French speedily took the

field, and on the 22nd their forces captured the Kadattunad entrenchments after a warm fight in which many were killed on both sides. Labourdonnais had despatched one of his ships to Goa for provisions, &c., and on 10th December news arrived that the Mahratta pirate, Angria of Gheria, with seven grabs and thirteen gallivats, had surrounded and after a long day s fighting, from 7 a.m. till 6 p.m., had taken her, although she had 200 European soldiers and mariners on board. She was deeply laden with rice, wheat flour, and arrack, and she had besides between 300 and 400 slaves on board intended for the French Islands.

Having defeated Kadattunad, Labourdonnais next turned his attention towards bringing about a more satisfactory state of the relations between the French and English factories. The agreement1 of 17th — 28th April 1728 had adjusted the differences between the factories in regard to the Kurangoth Nayar's domains. Both factories had since then, and particularly just before Labourdonnais' arrival, been competing for the command of the Iruvalinad Nambiars' domains which adjoined those of Kurangoth inland. Each had seized and fortified several places in that part of the country. At Labourdonnais' 8Uggesˆon they now wisely decided to relinquish these advanced posts, which only served " to bring an expense on both, give disgust to the Malabars, and afford them an occasion of sowing divisions between the settlements of Tellicherry and Mah£." It was accordingly agreed 2 to

1 Treaties , fc., i. XVII.

3 Treatiet , $ < ?., i. CVIT. This agreement and that which follow! it (CVIII) were signed by M. de Labourdonnais as Mahe de La B. The French settlement is usually alluded to in the diary as " Mihie," which represents pretty accurately the native spelling " Mayyali."

raze the following posts and to withdraw from them the guns and garrisons : —

By the French.

1. Peringatur.
2. Cannamalla.
3. Chimbora.
4. Poitera.

5. Bilay.

6. Maylat.

By the English.

1. Andolla Malla.

2. Putinha.

3. Tere Malla.

4. Ponella Malla.

5. Muiearra Cunnu.

6. Muiearra Cundy.

Neither factory was in future to erect warehouses or forts in Iruvali-nad, but only to hold such places as might be within gunshot of the respective settlements. Commissaries were to supervise the carrying out of the above ; and the produce of the Nad was to be bought only at the respective factories.

On Christmas day 1741 the above articles were supplemented by others.1 Joint action by both factories was to be taken against the Nam-biars of Iruvalinad and against the Kottayam Raja if they attempted to disturb the peace. If attempts were made to sow dissensions by showing forged letters, &c. (as had already happened), inter-communication between the factories was to be free in order to get rid of the distrust thereby caused. The Nayars2 in the pay of the respective companies were to be kept quiet, and the factories were to take joint action in case of dissensions among them and also in protecting them against other people. To keep down the price of pepper, " which rises daily/' the merchants of the respective factories were not to be permitted to monopolise the product and the factors were to consult how to keep it down. In January and February consultations and assemblies of the respective merchants, with a view to fixing fair rates for pepper, were to be held. If after a rate was fixed the price should rise, the factors were to consult before making any advance on the rate already fixed. And if the merchants raised the price inland suitable remedies were to be applied. I urther it was provisionally 3 * agreed that in disputes arising between the French and the Kadattunad Raja the English factors were to arbitrate and the French factors were to act similarly in disputes between the Enghsh and the Pnnce Regent of Kolattiri, and as regards disputes with other Malabar powers the factors were to afford mutual succour to each other by arbitration, if asked, and failing that by arms if necessary. If arbitration were not asked, then the respective

factories were to remain neuter and under no pretext whatever was succour to be given to the native powers. The succour to be respectively given was to consist

1 Treaties, fc., i. CVIII.

2 English.-ˆ) Naranport Nayar, (2) Muicara Cunoti Nivar (31 Muicam r a -i

Ny.*r* .«*.-(!, Kurangoth Nayar, (2) Dnichatoo N»y.r. W CaI1,ili

Bomlly *PI"ar What fo"°"'8* ** ratii8- *Praident and Council at*

of ammunition and provisions, and to evince the friendly understanding between the factories, soldiers and officers were likewise to be lent.

Finally the agreements 1 of 1728 and 1736 were to remain in full force.

On the following day, 26th December 1741, orders were given for withdrawing the guns and garrisons. On the 1 1th January following peace was declared between the French and Kadattunad. The latter gave up the two hills about which they had been fighting, besides some adjoining land from the river to the sea. The hill recently stormed and taken by the French, called Porto Peak, was not to be occupied by either party. The French paid Kadattunad 2,000 pagodas presumably for the land taken by them.

The French also concluded peace with the Nambiars of Iruvalinad, who relinquished 14 cocoriut gardens to the French and received back their bonds 2 for 1 ,80,000 fanams for war expenses, but the bonds were to revive if they misbehaved themselves.

Having thus, in a very short time and in a very satisfactory manner, adjusted the affairs of the Mah6 factory with its neighbours, M. deLabourdonnais sailed on 13th January 1742 for the Island of Mauritius with one ship only.

It will be necessary now to revert to the 29th December 1740, on which day the Achanmar (fathers, chieftains) of a district, called Ran-dattara, repaired to the Tellicherry fort, bringing with them fanams 1,029 in part payment of the Prince Regent's debt to the Company and proposing to the factors to hand over the revenues of that district " for the remaining part of their proportion of said debt, and such a further sum aeˆwill make the whole 60,000 fanams which they will repay at the end of five years, and pay the interest thereon annually at the rate of 10 per cent." The factors' resolution thereupon was that "this being a matter that requires some time to enquire into, we defer giving them an answer for some few days."

On the 3rd January 1741 the matter was fully explained. The Prince Regent had assessed the district of Randattara with 1,00,000 fanams as its share of the Canarese war expenses in 1737. Of that sum 70,130 fanams 4 vis had been paid, and there remained a balance of 29,869 fanams 12 vis of the principal and 11,388 fanams 9 vis as interest, making in all 41,258 fanams 5 vis. " They now request that we lend them 18,741 fanams 11 vis, which will make their balance to be 60,000 fanams, for payment of which in five years and interest arising thereon they propose to make over the rents and revenues of their country to the Honorable Company, which now by moderate computation do not amount to less than 2,20,000 fanams per annum. Out of which they constantly maintain about 1,000 Nayars, which, with other officers and servants, amounts to upwards of 1,80,000 fanams, and pay

» Treaties, fe., i. XVII-XXXIT.

- *Con/. Treaties, fe., i. XLI.*

THB STRUGGLE FOR THE PEPPER, ETC., TRADE.

annually towards defraying Government charges in time of peace about 3,000 fanams, and more in war or on emergent occasions. The above-mentioned 1,00,000 fanams was their proportion of expense incurred by Government in the late wars with the Canarese. Whence there will remain in time of peace about 30,000 fanams and is what their families — in number now 13 — subsist upon.

" Their occasion for about 20,000 fanams is for repairing a place of worship, which sum the country people cannot now pay without over-burthening them at a time when the country requires cultivating to restore it to its former productive state destroyed by the Canarese war, and which occasioned Chattoo Chitty -to be in arrears with the Company, the country at present not producing half the quantity of pepper.

We could formerly depend on it for a yield of 800 to 1,000 candies annually.

It is observed that they will not go for a loan to shroffs and merchants who cannot protect them ; but if we do not comply they will have to mortgage their country to the prince,' who probably could not supply them, and if he could it would subject them to him more than is consistent with their privileges. The only other people they can apply to are the Honorable Company or the French, or the Cotiote. It would damage the Company's interest if the French or Cotiote were to supply them, as the pepper would be lost.

" Ttie secunty offered is undeniable, and if the President and Council should disapprove, then the money could be raised from others at Telli-cherry living under the Company's protection.

" Resolved, therefore, to accept their proposals by lending fanams 60,000 (inclusive of 41,258 fanams 5 vis now due by them) for five years, and to obtain their mortgage 1 ola making over to the Honorable Company the rents and revenues of their country."

This entry in the diary throws a good deal of light on the former relations between the ruling chiefs and the petty chieftains, who, under them, directly governed the country. The petty chieftains had to defray out of the pditam (or authority's share of the produce) the charges connected with maintaining the body of militia of the district Ihe pdttam as still in fact the public land revenue of the country* and was not rent as understood in Europe. This coincides with the views on the subject adopted in Chapter IV.*

The relations between the Honorable Company and the Randattara Actonmir thus inaugurated were afterwards more closely cemented and the bonds of union were of so much advantage to the respective p ties tha. no serious attempt seems ever to have been made by the Achanmar to pay off the debt and to recover their former independence.

12fh June 1741, in consequence of a son of one of the Achan-mar having sided with some members of Ockoo's gang of rebels, the

1 Treati «. fc., i. XLIV.

*necessity of having more control over them was felt, and the Achanmar agreed 1 to keep all intruders out of their distriot who were inimical to the Prince Regent or to the Honorable Company and to chastise any of their own number who might molest the prince or Company. The factors recorded in regard to this deed : — i * The intent of the above ola is to give the Honorable Company authority over the Achanmars, as also to interpose with the prince if he should oppress them by extravagant taxes which has heretofore happened." But the temples had not been taken into account in the bond, and it became necessary to include them formally.2 This did not, however, work well, and the Brahmans appear to have been jealous of English interference in their affairs. The principal of the bond was accordingly in 1749 reduced by 15,000 fanams by enfranchising,3 for payments to that amount, the lands in Randattara held by the temples. The Achanmar at the same time (7th September 1749) renewed4 their bond and gave additional security. On 16th October the principal of the debt had increased 5 to 65,000 fanams. On March 23rd 1765, after a period of disturbance during which the management of the district was conducted by the Kolattiri, the Prince Regent finally ceded6 the protection of Randattara to the Honorable Company, and from that year the Honorable Company became the virtual7 sovereigns of that district and began to levy a regular land revenue from it. Hyder's impending invasion of Malabar at this latter time also weighed with the factors in accepting this charge.*

Hyder at first respected the Honorable Company's rights m

the district.

It has already been stated that a large French ship belonging to Labourdonnais' squadron was captured in December 1741 by a fleet of country vessels belonging to the pirate chief Angria of Gheria. This important capture seems to have inflamed the imaginations of the coast pirates generally and to have incited them to renewed activity , for the records during the next two years are full of notices of them and of their exploits. On 30th January 1742 the gallivats of a Mahratta pirate known as " KempsanV' made a descent during the night on the coast near Cannanore and looted and burnt some houses. On 1 5th March one Kunhi Ahamad, a nephew of the pirate chief of Kottakal, who was generally known as " Cota 8 Marcar," was captured

Treaties , $c., i. XLV.-The house of the rebellious youth was pulled down by an elephant in the presence of one of the Kolattiri princes " as the utmost mark of disgrace

to his family."

i CIX.

. LVII, LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, and foot-note to LXI.

5 Treaties, $c., i. LXIV.

' I, XXXI, LXXXTI.

. LXXXIII, LXXXIV.

Ktitta (fori and name of river) and Mnrgpakkaran (lit. doer of the law

2 Treaties, $c.,

3 Treaties, $c.,

*4 Treaties, $c., * Treaties, i{C., 7 Treaties, $r.,*

*6 Cota Marcar = Aorta yon aim muiic …v, - - '_*

or rule, i.r., convert from Hinduism to some foreign religion, in this case, Muhammadan).

Conf. foot-note p. 332.

with a boat's crew of his men by the English boats employed in stopping the exportation of pepper from Cannanore to Calicut. It did not appear that he was piratically engaged at the time, so he resented the treatment and taking opium, ran amuck. He killed a sergeant with a knife and was then shot by the guard. Of his companions several escaped, of whom two were retaken, one of them being killed. The general opinioa was that the pirates had been badly treated, and this treatment seems to have led to an outburst of fanaticism both at Tellicherry and Calicut, in which several lives, including that of a Portuguese Padr4, were lost and other persons were wounded. Great honors were, it seems, paid to the tomb of Kunhi Ahamad, and to that of the man who killed the Padr4 at Calicut. After the monsoon of

1742 the pirates were again busy. Coompta was looted by Kempsant. In January 1743 Angria with 7 grabs and 11 gallivats appeared at Calicut and fired about 100 rounds at the shipping, driving some of them ashore. On the 13th this piratical fleet was off Mah6. In February the Company's armed gallivat " Tiger ," under Richard Richards, succeeded in capturing one of Kempsant's gallivats and three small vessels. Angria's fleet was meanwhile lying off Mount Deli, and Kempsant' s off Mangalore, intercepting the rice vessels. In March the latter took a French ship, which was however again taken from them by a Portuguese fleet off Mangalore. Angria also took another French ship, and appeared off Calicut in March, causing a great panic there and causing people to desert the place with their families and valuables. In April several encounters occurred between the pirates and various English ships and the " Tiger " gallivat on the voyage between Bombay and Tellicherry. The " Tiger " was kept busy in looking after the Kottakal pirates to the south likewise. After the monsoon of

1743 Angria again put to sea and came south to Calicut and Tellicherry. The " Montague " and " Warwick ," coming down the coast, were engaged from 8 p.m. till 4 a.m. during one night and from 6 a.m. till noon next day with a fleet of Angria's, consisting of 7 grabs and 8 gallivats, but 4 of the small vessels under their convoy were taken. In January 1744 a Portuguese frigate was engaged for two days-and two nights off "Pigeon Island" with 7 of Angria's grabs and 17 gallivats. She would likely have fallen a prize, for all her masts had been shot away, had not the Company's vessels above named, under Commodore Freeman, come to her rescue ; two of the piratical grabs were hauled off from this encounter in a sinking state. In July the Kadattunad Raja (the king of the pirates) asserted his right to the wreck of a French brigantine, which went ashore to the south of MahA

In 1744 war broke out in Europe between England and France. Unfortunately the records are incomplete at this time (August 1744 — 31st July 1745). But the war

had little effect at first on the Company 8 settlements owing to the great losses at sea sustained by the French. In Maroh 174t> the factors found there were " no buyers of

pepper now but us," and taking advantage of that fact they promptly proceeded to lower the price of the article. The following month they recorded that the French commerce was now carried in Dutch ships. It looked for a time as if the anticipations of the Bombay President and Council that the French would not be troublesome would be fulfilled. But on 17th July 1746 two ships came into Mahe roadstead, a b rench biigantine and an English prize (a country ship from Bengal) captured off Mozambique. On the 20th the factors heard with dismay of the activity of their quondam friend Labourdonnais on the Coromandel Coast. On the 24th the French at Mah6 began to make warlike preparations, giving out they would soon be saying mass in Tellicherry as their fleet was expected in October.

Matters thus suddenly began to look alarming, and it was well that the factors had just before this news reached them been successful in getting one of the Kolattiri princes, favorable to their interests, installed in Kolattunad. They had in August 1745 been obliged to recognise another of the Kolattiri princes and assist him with gunpowder and lead in order to check the Prince Regent " his arbitrary proceedings." The weakness of that prince was avarice, and Ali Raja of Cannanore, helped by the French, had been " spiriting up " the Prince Regent with money and creating dissensions between him and the English factory. A desultory war ensued between Ali Raja and the English about the mouth of the Yalarpattanam river and the English fort at Madakkara, but Captain Faudell with 300 men on 22nd October 1745 dislodged the enemy from their entrenchments with the loss of 1 soldier killed and 5 wounded. As a protection on the landward side, the factors enlisted 1 in their interest the Raja of Kotta-yam as it seemed not unlikely the Prince Regent himself would take the field against them. They next asked the Dutch for permission to attack Cannanore directly, but this was refused. In April 1746 there was a revolution in Kolattunad, and a prince favorable to the Company's interests obtained the reins of power after getting rid of an obnoxious minister, named Unni Chandu Kurup. Almost simultaneously there was a riot in Cannanore and two of Ali Raja's ministers were slain by the populace. In June the ex-Prince Regent died, so that in July, when the above ominous news came from the Coromandel Coast, the factors were in a position to raise all the important country powers (except Ali Raja) in their favor if there should arise a necessity for it.

Nor was the foresight thus displayed long in being justified, for, notwithstanding the indecisive naval action off Point Calimere, in which Labourdonnais was wounded, that indefatigable officer with his customary promptitude and decision brought matters speedily to a crisis by capturing Fort St. George at Madras. The first news that arrived was that it had fallen on the 8th September 1746, but

Fort St. David shortly afterwards corrected this date to the 10th and at the same time sent the factors the reassuring message that he had just completed a bomb-proof building, as the French used bombs, that the factors should follow his example, and that he had no doubt he could hold out in Fort St. David for twelve months against all the force the French could bring against him.

The French at Mah6 marked the receipt of the news of the capture of Madras with every demonstration of joy and with much expenditure of gunpowder from all their forts. The English factors at once set to work to prepare for a siege by the French fleet. Provisions and liquors were laid in, men were enlisted, the garrison was concentrated as much as possible, the Native Chiefs, the Prince Regent, the B'ednur Raja, the Nilesvaram Raja, the Achanmar of Randattara, &c., came forward with offers of assistance of men, some of whom were accepted. The French at Mahe enlisted 1,500 Mappillas, and the Mudaliyar (chief man) of the Yalarpattanam Mappillas joined the English. The English garrison was camped out between Tellicherry and Mailan forts to be ready at a moment's notice. But their services were not required, for Fort St. David not only stoutly held out, but even repulsed the enemy. And shortly afterwards the French fleet was reported as having passed Anjengo and Tanur on its way north to Mahe. It arrived in two detachments on 27th February and 1st March 1747, and consisted of the Centaur , Mars , Brilliant , St. Lewis , Princess Mar}/ and one other. Ali Raja repaired at once to Mahe with 500 men. But his reception seems to have cooled his ardour for the French alliance, and after this powerful French fleet had sailed away without even attacking Tellicherry, he soon sued the English factors for peace and stated his hearty repentance. The factors promptly tendered to him a bill for 3,10,556 fans., 12 tar. He offered to pay Rs. 15,000, which was declined at first, but after a day or two's delay accepted.

The French fleet had gone ; the factors knew not whither. They heard it was at Goa and awaiting Labourdonnais' return from the islands with another squadron. They were still in daily dread of being besieged. It was with no little satisfaction therefore that, about July 1747, they received the welcome news that the dreaded Labourdonnais had been sent an unhappy prisoner to France.

The departure of the French fleet enabled the English factors to reduce their military establishment, and to succour Fort St. David with 250 sepoys in June 1747 and with 130 1 more on the 19th August. These men afterwards proved unfaithful to their salt. Their commander, " a Moor " (? Mappilla) was tampered

with by an ex-interpreter of the Governor of Madras, who was in secret communicfcP'm with Madame Dupleix, the wife of the French Governor of Pondicherry. The commander s design to desert to the French in the first enga' r'-

1 Orme states this reinforcement at 400 men, but it seems that only 380 men were serf.

m

ment chat should happen was discovered, and he and ten of his officers were banished to St. Helena, where several of them helped each other

to end their lives rather than remain as prisoners in such a hopelessly remote island. ■ J

The naval warfare between the English and French still went on and after the monsoon of 1747, the English fleet appears to have kept to the Coromandel Coast and the French to the West Coast, and there was constant anxiety for the safety of the Company's ships. On 14th and 26th September, four French ships arrived at Mahe, one of them bringing in two prizes, one English and one Dutch, taken off Bombay. As they came into the roads they were flying English colours " with the union downwards." But after the reoeipt on 8th February 1748 of the news of Anson's victory off Finisterre, events took a different turn, and on March 29th, H.M.'s ships Exeter (Commodore Paulet) and Winchester (Lord Thos. Bertie) came into the Tellicherry roads, and took on board a party of men, with a design to destroy the St. Lewis, which was lying in the Mah<$ roads at the time. Accordingly, on March 30th, H.M 's ships ran into Mahe roads under Portuguese colours, which they hauled down about noon and the English ensign was hoisted in their place. The French were taken by surprise ; the St. Lewis fired signal guns and boats pushed off from Mahe to her assistance. They did not all arrive in time, however, and the action, whioh lasted only about an hour, resulted in the St. Lewis cutting her oables and getting under the protection of the Mah£ forts with the aid of her jib or jib staysail, the rest of her rigging having been torn from her yards, and her three top-gallant masts having been shattered ; she continued, however, to defend herself, and the engagement ceased at sunset. Next day the Frenoh unloaded their ship and hauled her in so dose under the forts that it was thought she was aground. She lost 50 men in the action, including her captain, while the English loss was only 2 men.

Meanwhile, the tables had been successfully turned on the French on the Coromandel Coast also, and the French at Mahe were obliged to despatoh men to help to defend Pondicherry, besieged by Admiral Boscawen.

On 24th October 1748 the news of the preliminaries having been settled of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle arrived, and orders came at the same time for a cessation*

of hostilities after 19th October. The French at Mah<$ were immediately apprised of the fact. It was not, however, until 24th September 1749 that H.M.'s proclamation of peace arrived. This proclamation was read to the military and artillery train drawn up outside the Tellicherry gates. The Chief (Mr. Thomas Byfeld) pr> eeeded thither in state, accompanied by two of the gentlemen f.-oji the Mah6 factory, with whom cordial relations had again been est ablished. Twenty-one guns were fired from the fort, and the day was " spent in other demonstrations of joy." The French and English

the struggle for the pepper, etc., trade.

factors had meanwhile likewise combined and had succeeded in reducing the price of pepper to Rs. 50 per candy, the lowest price it had ever

fetohed. . ,

The Prince Regent of Kolattunad during the time of the h rench

war (1744-49), by name Kunhi Raman, appears to have been jealous of the Company's interference in the affairs of Randattara, and to have impeded the Company's officers in collecting the revenues of that district. In 1747 he claimed the property of a Nambidi, who died without heirs, and interfered in two desums , " laying impediments on the ground," besides which, it was brought to the factors' notice, he had " tyed four or five elephants in Randattara and ordered the olaes and fruit to be gathered from trees belonging to themselves (the Achanmar) and others which used not to be done formerly." His alliance was of too much importance to the factors at this time for them to attempt to break with him, and so the Achanmars troubles continued, and the Prince Regent encroached more and more on their privileges. In August and September 1748 matters came to a crisis by the Prince Regent et laying an impediment " on one of the Company s merchants, and mulcting him heavily. On being remonstrated with for this and other similar behaviour, he strenuously asserted his right to take the half of every man's property, and the whole of it if he committed a fault. In November 1748 he had, it seems, portioned out his country to certain headmen in order that they might plunder his subjects, and the Commandant at Madakkara reported that soon the country would be ruined. Meanwhile, the cessation of hostilities with France had strengthened the factors' position, and they were able to deal with him with more firmness in regard to Randattara and other matters. The result was duly recorded in an agreement,1 dated 10th January 1749, by which he agreed to turn a number of people out of his dominions, to dismiss his customs master, and not to interfere except as agreed in Randattara affairs. But there were other matters remaining to be settled, particularly in regard to the island of Madakkara, and the Chief, Mr. Byfeld, took an early opportunity of visiting Madakkara fort and of personally conferring with the Prince Regent and others regarding them. He was

present at an affecting interview with a very old and bed-ridden lady, described as the prince's mother ; she expressed her satisfaction on being informed that everything had been amicably accommodated,2 and enjoined her son as her last parental counsel and advice never to give umbrage to the Chiefs of Tellicherry, who had protected the Palli branch of their family in its utmost distress.
Mr. Byfeld also seized the opportunity to obtain from the prince, who held the rank of Vadak-kalankur (Northern Regent) at the time, and who belonged to the Udayamangalam branch, a deed,3 dated 9th May 1749, transferring

1 Treaties, 8fc ., i. XLVI. 2 Treaties, i. XLVIII.

2 Treaties, Sfc., i. XLIX ; conf. i. XXXVIII and ii. (JCX. It was probably

under this deed that the Palli branch of the family virtually superseded the other (Udaya-

absolutely to the Prince Regent of the Palli branch all the property of his family lying to the south of a line drawn " from the river Quila-velly to Urbelli." This line appears to have coincided pretty closely with that of the Taliparamba river, and probably cut off the isthmus running south to Madakkara fort and lying between the river and the sea, the portion, in short, of North Malabar which was at this time tributary to the king of Bednur. This deed was cancelled and another1 signed two days later (11th May 1749), in which the southern limit of the Udayamangalam branch territory was fixed at " Cheria Kunnu " which appears to correspond with the amsam of Cherukkunnu, about a mile to the south of the Taliparamba river opposite Madayi. The Vadakkalankur, who signed these deeds, was at the time a prisoner in the Valarpattanam fort belonging to the Palli branch of the family. On signing the latter deed, which put the Prince Regent in a better position to pay off his debts to the Company, the Vadakkalankur was released from confinement at Mr. Byfeld's request. But the younger princes of the Udayamangalam branch naturally objected to being thus compelled to part with their birth-right, and as the Chief was unable to bring them to terms in any other way, he resolved to assist the Prince Regent vigorously with men and ammunition. The result was that their stronghold at Puttur was captured in June 1749, and they themselves were driven into the jungles and their followers dispersed.

Having thus for the time being enabled the Prince Regent to quell the dissensions in his own family, Mr. By f eld next turned his attention to strengthening the position of the Company in the Kadattu-nad territory, while maintaining therein, as far as a treaty could do it,2 the authority of the Prince Regent of Kolattunad. And that having been satisfactorily accomplished, a general settling up3 of accounts took place in September 1749.

The trade of the Company likewise received attention. The method adopted for

getting the pepper at a low figure was as follows A monopoly of the trade in the country having been secured from the various chiefs by treaty, the exporting of the article without permission was prohibited both by sea and land. This prevented, to a certain extent, sales being made to outsiders, but whenever the price of the article in a free market, as at Calicut, rose high, the merchants were tempted to run the risk of exporting for the sake of the extra prices obtainable. The Company, however, had much control over its merchants, for the latter obtained no protection anywhere outside the limits of the Tellicherry factory, and when the Chief found that they were exporting the

mangalam) branch, which arrangement still continues in force. The nominal Kolattiri is still the eldest male of both branches, but the de facto head of the family is the eldest male of the Palli branch, who is usually styled the Chirakkal Raja. The matter has been more than once before the British Courts. — Mr. Rickards' decree of 6th August 1803 and Sadr Adftlat Special Appeal No. 9 of 1821.

Treaties, Sfc. i. L.

J Treaties, Sfc., i. L1V to LX1I.

J Treaties, 8fc., i. LIII.

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pepper to a free market, and that they were consequently unable to fulfil their contracts, he took summary means to bring them to reason by incarcerating them.

The same influences which had so weakened and distracted the Kolattiri family in the past were still at work. The Prince Regent had married the Kadattunad Raja's sister, and had built a house for her in Iruvalinad, the country of the Nambiars. His object was to establish his son therein as ruler — (Vdlunnavar, the title held by the Kadattunad Raja). But to do this, it was necessary that the semiindependent Nambiars should either submit willingly or be compelled to it. The Chief seeing in this a means of counteracting French influences in that district, assented to the proposal, which also, of course, had the support of the Kadattunad Raja, whose nephew and heir this youth was. The Company were not, however, to take an active part in the operations ; indeed on the contrary, they just then took the opportunity of reducing their military to a peace1 footing. The design of the prince was not, however, carried through, but in March 1750 the Kadattunad ruler formally assumed the title of Raja, the Prince Regent being privy to it.

On 17th January 1750 Mr. Byfeld handed over charge of the Tellicherry factory to Mr. Thomas Dorril, as Chief, and immediately a change for the worse came over its management. Mr. Dorril appears to have been rash as well as narrow-

minded and weak. He was easily misled, and being weak, he mistook obstinacy for firmness. The Prince Regent's bad advisers, banished in Mr. Byfeld's time, returned and signalled their return by an outrage on a private servant of one of the English officers at Madakkara fort. The new Chief, nettled perhaps at this event, set his face against the designs of the Prince2 Regent, who had married Kadattunad' s sister ; and this estrangement speedily led to divers troubles, for, although the Chief and factors acknowledged an elder prince, who, by virtue of his age, ought to have been the ruling prince, the latter was powerless, and very probably at heart unwilling to help them. Of the Iruvalinad Nambiars, some adopted one side and some another. The Chief was warned from the Presidency not to allow the Company to be dragged in as principals in any of the country quarrels, but he blindly took the steps best calculated to bring this about. The cle facto Prince Regent finding himself thrown over by Mr. Dorril, naturally turned to the French alliance. Mr. Dorril in April 1751 proceeded to the Madakkara fort, and thence to Valarpatta-nam fort, and placed himself in communication with the nominal head of the house, the Kolattiri Raja himself, a frail old man, who had no

1 The establishment consisted of 400 military under a "Captain," who received 10 shillings sterling per day; 70 gunners under a " Lieutenant Fireworker," who received

£7o per annum, and 3G5 "militia," consisting of sepoys, Mftppillas and N&yars under various headmen.

2 There were two princes regnant at this time, and although the younger is styled the junior pnnee in the Diary, he was 'O' fncto ruler.

power in the country. He assented, at Mr. Dorril's suggestion, to the appointment of a junior prince, without any power in the country, by name Ambu Tamban, to be Prince Regent in supersession of the de facto ruler, and this arrangement was duly embodied in three deeds,1 dated the 21st April 1751. The Chief's eyes ought to have been opened to the fatal step he was taking, when, on proceeding strongly guarded to Cotacunna (Kotlakkunnu) to interview the elder Prince regnant , the latter, on learning his mission, abruptly withdrew inside his fort and prepared to fire at the Chief's party. The Chief's guard were ill advised enough to open fire at this threatIt was returned from the fort, and the Chief withdrew to Valarpattanam, where he received the news that the de facto Prince Regent, then in the south, was advancing with 1,500 Kottayam and Kadattunad men to attack Tellicherry. Next day (22nd April), as the Chief and party .withdrew from Valarpattanam to Madak-kara, they were again fired at. And to complete the list of his errors, Mr. Dorril made prisoner of the aged Kolattiri and of the young Ambu Tamban, and took them off with him to Tellicherry, presumably as hostages for the good conduct of the rest of the family.

It is difficult to understand what could possibly have been Mr. Dorril's object in acting thus, for it soon became evident that he had roused the country, and had no friend left among the chieftains, except Ali Raja of Cannanore, who only promised to remain neuter. Lest the Achanmar of Randattara should give him aid, the de facto Prince Regent threw 2,000 men into that district to overawe it and demanded 1,00,000 fanams from the Achanmar. Finding no friend near home, Mr. Dorril had perforce to seek them abroad, and on 7th July he advised the Bednur Governor of Mangalore that now was his opportunity to seize Nilesvaram fort. His real object in tendering this advice was to prevent its falling into the hands of the French, for it was only too obvious by this time that the French were stirring with a view to benefit themselves in the impending struggle, and the Nilesvaram country yielded sandalwood and cardamoms, which would be lost to the English if the French settled there.

The French were not slow to make use of the opportunity offered, and by the 17th July, they had hoisted their flag at Nilesvaram and the mouth of the Kavvayi river (Ayconna— Alikkunnu) and were busy fortifying both places. They had also thrown men into Valarpattanam

fort.

The Canarese under a Brahman who is described as an " inactive man," moved towards Nilesvaram in August, but' created very little diversion on that sideThe Achanmar of Randattara came to Tellicherry to seek protection, and reoeiving aid in military and militia, attempted to return to their district via Agarr ; after some smart skirmishes, the military had to return on finding themselves confronted

Trento- , $c., i. LXV, LX VI. au*1 (XIII.*

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by 5,000 of the Prince Regent's Nayars. Their loss was 2 killed and 9 wounded.

The Prince Regent on 25th September openly visited Mah6 and was received with a salute. And this was followed by fresh concessions to the French ; Ramdilly fort and the Ettikulam fort on the point of Mount Deli were placed in their hands.

Moreover, by this time, the Prince Regent was able to assume the aggressive. On 9th September he had attacked and been repulsed from the Company's post of Edakad. On 18th October he attacked Ponolla Malla on the outskirts of Tellieherry with 4,000 men. Being repulsed he set to work with French aid to erect a battery on a hill called Chimbra which commanded Ponolla Malla. On 21st October Tirimalla, another outpost on the Tellicheriy limits, was taken by surprise,

and (it was alleged) treachery. The garrison resisted, bravely headed by their corporal, but being taken unawares, they had not time to fix their bayonets and were all slain and their bodies placed on the chevauz defrise. Ponolla Malla was also hotly attacked. A panic ensued among the inhabitants, who all flocked into the limits commanded by the Tellieherry fort. Then a crisis occurred. The Nayars and Tiyars at Ponolla Malla deserted, and the sepoys refused to sacrifice themselves. Orders were sent to retreat from Ponolla Mflla after spiking the guns and destroying the ammunition and stores and this was done. The English loss in this day's engagement was about 100 killed, and 20 wounded were brought to hospital. How many more were not brought in does not appear.

The panic among the inhabitants continued ; families were sent away and the merchants deserted. The Prince Regent busied himself on the 23rd, burning the houses of the inhabitants within the Tellieherry limits, and threatening Morakkunnu, which was immediately reinforced.

On the 24th the Tiruvengad pagoda, another outpost, was in his hands and Melur and Kodolli were threatened. On the 27th a French ship of considerable force came in sight, and the most gloomy anticipations were indulged in by the beleagured factors.

In the straits to which he had so easily brought the settlement, Mr. Dorril turned, as already said, to the Raja of Bednur for help, and to this end he despatched the Company's Canarese linguist, as ho was called, by name Antonio Pires, to Mangalore to seek assistance. The linguist arranged two treaties,1 dated respectively 25th and 30th October 1751, but these were of little advantage beyond preventing the French from concluding terms with Bednur.

*On 29th October a welcome supply of rice from Mangalore arrived just in time to save the garrison fre** starvation.. And the Chief was on 2nd November at last successful in creating a split in the enemy's camp. From the position of the Kottayam Raja's territories abutting*

1 Treatiei, fe., i. LX VII and CLXVIII.

mland and extending thence into the Ghats an Wynad, the Raja and the Company combined could prevent the passage of troops and inter-communication between the Kolattiri's and Kadattunad's dominions. And any enemy attacking Tellicherry from the landward side was liable to have his rear attacked unless he had laid his accounts to have Kottayam as a friend. Kottayam ratified the proposals 1 on 12th November, and bargained for Rs. 40 per diem as his own allowance, payable fortnightly " so long as he acted as a faithful ally to the Honorable Company." He also agreed to lend the Company on payment, 1,000 men with arms and to stop the communication between the Kolattiri and Kadattunad dominions as soon as

the Prince Regent had gone north into Kolattunad and his wife (Kadattunad's sister) had gone south into her brother's territory.

It was well for the Tellicherry factory that this treaty was concluded, for the Company was beleaguered on all hands— Madakkara fort was also besieged. On 4th November the Morakkunnu redoubt within the Tellicherry limits was attaoked, and the enemy came up to the very gates of the Tellicherry fort itself. The cavalier bastion in the southeast corner of the latter was of great service on this occasion. On the 1 3th the communications with Mailan fort guarding the southern limits were intercepted, and a second unsuccessful attack was made on Morakkunnu redoubt. On the 16th the siege was pressed with great vigour and the batteries kept up an incessant fire with shot and shell on the besiegers. On the 22nd the factors resolved that if any advantage was gained against Mailan fort they would withdraw their forces from all the outposts. Next day came the crisis, and it fortunately took a favorable turn, for Captain Cameron; in command at Mailan fort, succeeded in destroying the opposing battery on Putinha hill, and greatly alarmed the French by sending a few shells into Ponolla Malla battery, where their gunpowder was unprotected. Kottayam, who had probably been waiting the turn of events, now came forward, and on the 25th November he managed that the Prince Regent should withdraw his forces from Narangapuram and Putinha and so free the Tellicherry limits.

The Bombay President and Council had had troubles of their own on hand just then and had been unable to send the succour urgently demanded for Tellicherry. On 14th December they at last managed to send ships to the assistance of Tellicherry, and with it came a letter expressing their utmost surprise at the turn affairs had so unexpectedly taken, and attributing it all to Mr. Dorrils' great want of judgment for reasons already set forth above.

Meanwhile the mediation carri d on by Kottayam went on slowly. He was in no hurry to arrange terms while being paid a personal allowance of Rs. 40 per day as may be imagined, and he appears not to have

- *Treaties, fc., i. CXIV.*

scrupled at declaring openly that he meant to make the most he coula for himself of the troubles in the country. So the war went on. In December the Oanarese met with a severe reverse when attempting to cross the Nilesvaram river. In January 1752, when terms of peace had been almost arranged, the Prince Regent " flew off " on hearing of another success in the north. On 19th March the French attacked Madakkara fort with big guns from a new battery, alleging they had acquired land there. On 22nd March the enemy returned to Putinha and began erecting a battery

there. Captain Mostyn offered to take it, and he appears to have succeeded. But a panic ensued consequent on Ensign Target's being shot through the head going up to the captured redoubt and a hasty retreat was made by the common soldiers, of whom it is recorded " happy was he who could run fastest." On the 1st of April an attack "was made on Madakkara, but the enemy were driven back with 100 to 150 killed and wounded. On 12th April the batteries op Putinha were enlarged, but on the 17th the fire from Mailan fort silenced them for a time. Up to 13th May the duel between these two places continued.

A week latˆr on (or 22nd May 1752) an armistice was concluded, and on the following day the terms 1 of peace were ratified by the Prince Regent. These were for the most part ver}' general. The Honorable Company and the Kdlattiri princes were not to meddle in each other's affairs, the grants to the Company being confirmed. They were to give each other mutual assistance if attacked. And finally the Tellicherry linguist (Pedro Rodrigues) and his family were not to be employed in any transactions between the parties.

But besides these terms there were others which did not appear : Rs. 50,000 was paid to the Prince Regent as compensation, and Rs. 10,000 to Kottayam as mediator. Madakkara fort was given back, and the prince was to destroy his redoubts on the outskirts of Tellicherry on the hills of Andolla, Ponolla and Putinha. Mr. Dorril objected tc the insertion of these terms in the treaty because they were disadvantageous to the Honorable Company and because he did not wish to have the facts entered on the "Prince, his records."

The records for some time after this' are full of the charges brought against the Company's linguist, Pedro Rodrigues. Mr. Dorril and the factors endeavored to make a scapegoat of him, but although he fled to Mahe and the factors gave out that his property was going to be seized, no serious steps were really taken against him, and on 16th September 1752 the Bombay President and Council sent orders forbidding the seizure of his effects, " this family having been so remarkably distinguished by the Honorable Company." And the despatch continued : " We peremptorily order you not to do it.,;

The French continued at war with Bednur in aid of the Prince Regent of Kolattiri during 1 753, and meanwhile a fresh combination

1 Treaties, fe.t i. LXIX.

of the country powers was brought about. The Zamorin was in April 1753 induced to visit the Tellicherry factory, and on his return journey he was escorted with great military pomp by sea as far as Quilandy. An alliance was formed between the Zamorin, Kottayam, and the Iruvalinad Nambiars, baoked of course by the Honorable Company, and their object was "to ward against the growing power of

the Prince Regent (Kolattiri) and Kadattunad backed by the French." This combination made the Prince Regent of Kolattunad exceedingly uneasy, and in June he wished to visit the factory. But on desiring the Chief to come out to meet him, Mr. Dorril declined and the prince then went to Mahe, where he was received with open arms by the French Chief. The war, however, had told on the French resources, and they began to be in straits for money, their new forts in the north costing them as much as Rs. 15,000 per mensem. Moreover, just about this time the Canarese gained an important sucoess over the French allies, the details of which were carefully kept secret.

In October 1753 the Kadattunad commenced hostilities in Iruvalinad against the Nambiars and Kottayam, who were backed of course by the Tellicherry factors. The Prince Regent would fain have come to his brother-in-law's help, but the factors and Kottayam together effectually blocked his way in the manner already described. The effect of this was that the Prince Regent, for the first time since Mr. Dorril commenced hostilities against him, came to the factory on the 17th November 1753.

Little time however remained for effecting a complete reconciliation between them, for on 3rd January 1754 there arrived from Bombay two gentlemen (John Sewell and Thomas Hodges), commissioned as " Su-pravizora," to enquire into Mr. Dorril's administration of the factory affairs, and after completing the enquiry one of them (Thomas Hodges) was commissioned to remain on as Chief of the settlement. The " supra vizors " completed their enquiry by the 15th March, on which date Mr. Hodges assumed the office of Chief. The enquiry resolved itself into a battle between Mr. Dorril and the linguist Pedro Rodrigues. The supravizors naturally held Mr. Dorril solely responsible for the misfortunes which had befallen the factory and Pedro Rodrigues was acquitted, and on 12th May 1754 restored to office as linguist.

In July the French Chief (M. Louet) managed to arrange a peace between Kadattunad and the Iruvalinad Nambiars and Kottayam. Kadattunad accepted M. Louet's intervention, but was disgusted at the French having secretly assisted the Nambiars.

Mr. Hodges' management of affairs was much more prudent than Mr. Dorril's and the factors began slowly to regain the ground they had lost in the latter's time. He avoided war ; but steadfastly set his face to turn the French out of Nilesvaram. To this end he succoured the third Prince of the Nilesvaram family in opposition to the first Prince, who was in alliance with the French, and a desultory war begun

in August 1755 kept the French employed in that quarter till after the news had

arrived (28th May 1756) that France was again at open war with England.

Meanwhile it will be necessary to revert to Dutch affairs. The important resolution taken by the Supreme Council in 13atavia in 1/21 not to succour their native allies, which has already been alluded to, began shortly afterwards to bear its natural fruit. In October 1733 Calli-Quilon was threatened by the energetic Martanda Varma of Tra-vancore ; the Dutch Governor, A. Mateu, was applied to for aid, and the result was a refusal to grant it, coupled at the same time with advice to join another chief who had refused passage to the Travancoreans and to drive back the invaders. In 1734 the territories of this latter chief and another were annexed by Travancore. In 1739 Mr. Van Imhoff became Governor. He was a most intolerant man, and directly he arrived he saw the necessity of curbing the rising power of Travancore if the Dutch were to retain their hold of the trade of the country and not allow it to pass into the hands of the English, who were backing up the Travancore Raja. Van Imhoff, it is said, carried to the Travancore Raja his own protest against the Raja's occupation of the territory acquired in 1734. His protest failed, and Van Imhoff nettled at this result spoke of invading Travancore. " The Raja replied 1 that doubtless he might do so, but there were forests into which he could retire in safety." Imhoff retorted that " where Travancoreans could go, Dutch could follow." The Raja then broke up the conference by sneeringly observing, he had "been thinking some day of invading Europe!" Unfortunately for Van Imhoff he had no sufficient force at hand to command respect and obedience to his wishes. W ar ensued, but it was not conducted with energy and vigour, and the successes obtained by the Dutch at starting were not maintained. They waited for orders from Batavia, and maintained a desultory war meanwhile. On October 18th, 1748, the Batavian Council at last approved of the terms finally accepted by Travancore, but it was not till nearly five years later that peace was finally established on August 15th, 1753.

The Dutch were mean enough to stipulate on this latter date that they " shall 2 recede from all engagements, which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes, whom the King of Travancore might choose to attack, and on no account interfere in their disputes, afford them assistance or shelter, or in any respect raise any opposition to the enterprises of the king." And what were they to get in exchange for such a pledge ? Just 4 annas on every 25 lb. of pepper to be supplied to them from Travancore and from the territories to be conquered by that State ! !

Such sordid meanness defeated its own end of course, and shortly after the treaty was signed, and after the Travancore frontiers had

3 Day's Land of the Prti/ianlt, p. 133.

1 Day's Land nf //,, t p. 131.

advanced as far as Cochin, the Travancore Baja of course turned on them and repudiated his obligations, telling the Dutch factors at Cochin they were no longer a sovereign power, but merely a number of petty merchants, and if they required spices they should go to the bazaars and purchase them at the market rates. They had eventually to pay market prices for the pepper they wanted.

This treaty gave the coup de grace to Dutch influence in Malabar.

The pirates too had meanwhile begun to give trouble once more. In 1753-54 the Tellicherry factors were kept in constant anxiety on account of the Honorable Company's shipping, and the Mahratta Angria's fleet was much feared. In September 1755, Ali Raja of Can-nanore organised a big buccaneering expedition in close alliance with Angria. He sent 3,000 men with guns in 70 native spall craft (man - chuas) and large boats to ravage the Canarese country. This expedition attacked Manjeshvar and obtained there a booty of 4,000 pagodas, besides 100,000 more from a private merchant. They also landed people to the north of Mangalore, marched 18 leagues inland to a very rich pagoda called " Collure " and carried off booty to the extent, it was reported, of no less than 4,000,000 pagodas. In this expedition the Mappilias killed some Brahmans who were greatly mourned at the Bednur court. And of course Bednur adopted the readiest means at his command for bringing everybody to their senses ; he stopped the export of rice from Mangalore, and thus put everybody, English, French, Dutch, Nayars, and Mappilias, all in a serious predicament. The Bombay President and Council, on 7th November 1755, sent Ali Raja a sharp letter of remonstrance on his conduct. He had not attacked the Company's shipping, else he would have been as summarily dealt With as his ally, Angria, shortly afterwards (January and February 1756) was at Gheriah by a squadron of H.M.'s and of the Honorable Company's ships under Admiral Watson and ColonelwClive. The Tellicherry factors were jubilant on this occasion ; the news of the capture of Gheriah on the 13th February reached Tellicherry on the 23rd and a royal salute was fired at once.

It had come shortly after this to the knowledge of the factors that affairs were again in a critical state in Europe between England and France, so like wise men they set all their energies to work to lay in a suitable stock of grain iri anticipation of hostilities, and in this Mr. Hodges was successful in the early part of 1756.

On the 28th May of that year authentic news arrived via Madras of the renewal of hostilities in America, but war had not been declared. All doubt, however, on this latter point was set at rest on 17th October 1756 on receipt of H.M.'s declaration of war against France. The news came via Bussorah and Bombay. The factors had not, when they got the news, oompleted their collection of stores, so they waited a day or two before publishing it till all their rice and store boats had come in. On 26th October a store of 12,000 bales of rice was on hand and the factors felt

themselves to be relieved of anxiety on that score.

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It has been said that the first news of the critical state of politics in Europe reached the factors on the 28th May 1756. Mr. Hodges had prior to this event been vigorously sending aid to his ally the third Prince of Nilesvaram in pursuance of his policy of driving the French out of that country and securing its cardamoms and sandalwood for the Honorable Company. The results of Mr. Hodges' action were soon apparent, for on 5th April news had come that the third Prince had defeated the French in two hand-to-hand engagements. On the 1st of May news of another victory came to hand : the French had again been defeated with the loss of 2 officers and 20 sepoys and others killed and 70 more wounded. Then on 23rd June came the still more important news that the French fort at Mattalye had been surprised by the third Prince of Nilesvaram. This fort maintained the French communications between their fort of Ramdilly (Alikkunnu) and their furthest post at Nilesvaram, so that its capture imperilled their line of communications. The garrison, consisting of 1 officer and 20 soldiers, was put to the sword ; all but the gunner, who was spared on the condition that he would point their guns for the captors. The fort mounted 20 guns, chiefly 18-pounders, and 1 mortar, and there were also 200 muskets with suitable ammunition. On the 4th July the third Prince was further aided by Mr. Hodges, both with money and stores, as news had come that the Prince Regent himself meant to take the field with 1,000 men in aid of the French. The French were very uneasy, as may be imagined, at the loss of the fort and at tho danger to their 'line of communications with Nilesvaram, and were ready to agree to any terms to have it restored. The Prince Regent intervened in their favor, and arranged that if Mattalye fort were restored to them they would evacuate Nilesvaram and some other small places, and the Prince Regent in return for his services was to have his bond for Rs. 60,000, advanced to him in the war with the Tellicherry factors, returned to him and cancelled. Moreover the Prince Regent guaranteed on oath that the French would perform their part of the contract and surrender Nilesvaram and the other places.

The French fired a salute of 15 guns at Mahe on being repossessed, on 22nd July 1 1 56, of Mattalye ; but they deliberately broke their promises of evacuating Nilesvaram and other places and of returninq the Prince Regent's bond to him.

' This was not unnaturally the turning point in the Prince Regent's friendship with the French. 6

When the declaration of war arrived therefore on the 17th October following, the English factory affairs under Mr. Hodges' able guidance were m a prosperous

condition, while the French at Mahe were exhausted with the protracted warfare in the north and with the heavy monthly expenses of their garrisons in those regions. J

Ihe Chief next directed his energies towards extending and consoli-ating good relations with the various country powers. Kottayam and

Ali Raja appeared inclined to join the Honorable Company against the Prince Regent and the French. And it was hoped that Kadattunad and the Iruvalinad Nambiars too would join. There remained the Prince Regent to be brought to terms, and matters were already arranging themselves in the desired direction because of his disgust at the broken promises of the French. On 2nd November he came to the factory and gave vent to his anger at Mr. Dorril having been let off so easily ; he had been dismissed the service : but that was punishment insufficient he thought for what he had done : he called him a " cullan 1 (which in Mallabars signifies infamous man, or more literally interpreted, robber)." At this interview it is noted that Messrs. Johnson and Taylor, from the progress they had made " in Mallabars," were able to understand the Prince without the aid of an interpreter, so that the linguist, Pedro Rodrigues, had not to be called in. A very important 2 step had consequently been taken towards freeing the Chief from underhand intrigues of the linguist. This interview was followed by a secret one on the following day, at which the Prince Regent promised to assist the factors against the French and to oblige Kadattunad to do the same. He would not, however, though pressed, give this in writing. He evidently wished to give the French a last chance of fulfilling their promises, and, accordingly, on 11th November, on his way to the south with his wife and family, he had a very private interview with the French Chief of Mah6.

The French too were on the alert, and on the very day after the Prince had thus gone to the south, the Honorable Company's fort of Meylure on Darmapattanam Island was attacked by three Mappillas, who killed two people and dangerously wounded the corporal in charge. They were however themselves slain, and Mr; Hodges, on informing the Prince Regent of the affair, learnt that, in the Prince's opinion it was an act of his enemies to embroil him with the Company. On hearing from him to this effect he was asked to send some of his people to he present to " assist ours in spitting them as they are not worthy of burial. This was accordingly carried out, and on the 25th November the bodies, after being " spitted " a sufficient time, were thrown into the sea to prevent others from erecting monuments and canonizing them for having slain others of a different religion. The factors, though in some doubt on the point, concluded that this attack was an artifice on the part of "Candotty Pacquey," the Mahe merchant, to embroil the Lnghsh factors with the Prince Regent. It will be recollected that, at the beginning of Mr. Dorril's term of office, a' somewhat similar event at Madakkara had led him into hostilities with the Prince.

- *This was followed up on 8th February 1758 by a formal examination, the its*

kind no doubt ever held in Malabar, conducted by the Chief in ˆ Johnson, Taylor, and Samuel Croes were tested as to their proficiency ui Mallabars.

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On the 15th Deoember 1756 the negotiations with Kottayam for a defensive alliance had progressed so far that a treaty 1 was arranged on a basis favorable to both parties. «He promised to let the factors have the services of as many as 6,000 Nayars, and he himself was to receive a douceur of Rs. 2,000 whenever war broke out and the French assumed the offensive ; but if the Company were going against the French he agreed not to assist the latter, but he would not act against them.

Meanwhile hostilities had commenced in November by the Honorable Company's Commodore capturing between Tellicherry and Calicut a French vessel, the " Indian " of 700 tons and 24 guns with 400 men, coming from Pondicherry and laden with military stores forMahˆ. No details of the fight are given, but the Commodore's loss was not great.

This capture must have crippled still more the French resources.

Mr. Hodges was still busy extending good relations with the country powers, and even the Kurangoth Nayar appears to have at this time been on good terms with the factory. The Prince Regent had fallen sick, and when he had recovered sufficiently, Mr. Hodges on 19th April 1757 set out for Chirakkal to pay him a visit. He was very handsomely received and the Prince sent his own chaise for him, and in it Mr. Hodges travelled as far as the road would permit. The result of this interview was embodied in an agreement,2 dated the 21st April 1757, though the terms had been arranged in the previous November. The Prince agreed to assist the Honorable Company agaiust the French or any other nation who might attack them, and to use his influence in the same direction with the other country powers. If a French fleet arrived, 1,500 musketeers and other armed men were at once to be sent to Tellicherry, and if the English wfere to go against the French, the Prince was to assist after settling what gain he was to get. He was in turn to be assisted by the Honorable Company if he required it, and his people, if killed or wounded, were to be treated like those of the Company. Finally the Company's trade was to remain on the same footing as formerly, and to be enlarged, if possible, and the Prince was to be assisted on his part as formerly.

This treaty, brought about in great measure by the broken promises of the Ficnch, restored English prestige in Koiattunad to its old footing and completed Mr Hodges' masterly preparations for the coming conflict.

But just as the factors — their preparations being completed — were settling

quietly down to await the anticipated conflict, an event happened which upset, for a time, their calculations of preparedness. For on 19th August 1757 the diary records that " Cotiote (Kottayam) demised of a bile in his arm," and of cmirse the agreement with him became mere waste paper unless ratified by bis successor. Who that suocessor was to be was fiercely contested, for the Prince Regent of

Treat in, ft i CXXI.

- *Treaties. fe.,i LXX.*

K5lattunad intervened in the dispute, and so did the French. It was not till the 28th June 17 >9 that the Vioe Regent of Kottayam was able to report that he had been crowned at " Yaenalt " (Wynad), and on 23rd August following the Chief obtained from him a ratification 1 of the former treaty in an amplified form.

Meanwhile, another similar event had happened, and in the diary of 9th May 1759 it is recorded that the Prince Regent too had " demised." The Chief had much difficulty in securing a suitable successor, but he decided at last to exercise all his great influence in favor of a prince who had already succeeded to the title of Vadakkalankur or Northern Regent of the Kolattunad, and who was senior in age to the late prince, and to oppose the claims of a junior prince, Unaman, who had married the late Prince Regent's daughter, and who was therefore likely to fall under the influence of the French exerted through his wife's uncle the Kadattunad Raja. The preliminaries took months to arrange, but at last, on 5th September 1760, everything was ready and a combination of the Kolattiri Northern Regent, of Kottayam, and of Ali Raja of Cannanore was formed. On 9th September the Northern Regent executed two agreements 2 ratifying the Company's privileges and extending them. On the 23rd hostilities commenced and were rapidly and successfully carried through, place after place being taken from Prince Unaman by the allied forces, while the Kadattunad Raja's forces were kept from passing to the north to assist his beleaguered nephew-in-law by the cordon drawn across the country from the sea-shore at Tellicherry to the limits of Wynad by the combined forces of the Honorable Company and of Kottayam. On the 8th October Prince Unaman sued for peace, but the terms he obtained were so little to his liking that he determined to go to the south, taking his wife, Kadat-tunad's niece, along with him. He was allowed to pass through the cordon on 16th October, and on the 17th the Northern Regent was in full possession of the country and the Honorable Company's forces were recalled. • Pursuant to his engagement in the previous treaty, the Northern Regent then transferred 3 " for ever " to the Honorable Company the " whole right of collecting the customs in all places in our dominions" for the sum of 21,000 silver fanams to be paid annually. The formal deed evidencing this transaction, though dated 21st November 1760, was not signed till 11th March 1761, the Northern Regent having in the meanwhile on various pretexts put off signing it.

So far the Tellicherry factory had not been disturbed by the French. On 4th July 1758 the factors heard with alarm the news of the fall of Fort St. David in the previous month. The Prince Regent shortly after this, actuated by the French, put on foot negotiations for a strict neutrality between the settlements, but after what had passed

*i Treaties, fe., i. LXXI1I. * * Treaties, fe., i. LXXIV andLXXV.*

- *Treaties, fr., i. LXXVI.*

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this had no chance of being listened to. On 11th March 1759 the factors were jubilant with 21 guns over the news of the siege of Madras having been raised, and on the 20th of the same month they fired 21 guns on receiving intelligence of the taking of Surat castle and of Admiral Boscawen's successful expedition against Louie-bourg. On the 24th they flouted the Dutch by stopping one of their ships from exporting pepper from Yadakkara. And things altogether seemed to wax prosperously with them : each of the ships despatched at this time to Canton with pepper and sandalwood was freighted by them up to £40,000 sterling. The Chief even found time to devote to such petty matters as the cloathing of our irregulars." The sepoys had " scarlet coats faced with green perpets " and a belt " oovered with green perpets." The Calli-Quiloners (Mappillas) had "blue ooats faced with green perpets " and thin belts like those of the sepoys. The artillery lascars had blue coats faced and bound with red, and no belts. The coats were made to reach just below the knees.

The English fleet had come up the coast in the end of 1759, and the Chief had thought of going against Mahe, but desisted for want of an Engineer officer to make the approaches.

In January 1760 the French again brought forward proposals for a strict neutrality between the settlements, which were of course rejected on the obvious ground that all the advantages of such an arrangement under the existing circumstances would be with the French. The French at Mahe were in fact in a bad way. On 13th April 1760 the factors wrote to Bombay that " Mah<$ had long been in a deplorable condition and was then without appearance of relief." On the 11th September 1760 the first ostensibly aggressive act of the factors against the r rench was an unsuccessful attempt to cut out a French " Snow " from under the guns of Mount Deli fort.

, DThjE,nglish °.n the East Coast were 6tiU engaged with the siege of Pondicherry, when on 27th December 1760 there occurs the following entry in the Tellicherry factory diary Imported the Honorable Company s ships Neptune , York and Earl Temple from England and Triton from Bengal and came ashore Major Hector

Munro, Commander of H.Mˆs troops on board." The troops belonged to Colonels Parslow's and Monss regiments, the former under Major Piers, and the latter under Major Hector Munro, the senior officer. There were pix hundred .and thirty-five rank and file, besides officers, and one hundred and three of them were down with scurvy.

On the following day (28th) the troops were landed and put under tents to await an opportunity of sending them to Fort St. George and at a consultation with the factors Major Hector Munro ezprefsed an opinion that Mahd could he reduced, since the French there were now m ˆreat straits and had even been selling their good arms to procure means of subsistence, and their European soldiers were kept on constant 'Ity to prevent their deserting for want of pay. On the 29th more

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troops arrived in the Honorable Company's ship London , and on the 30th there came H.M.'s ships Elizabeth , Baleine and South Sea Castle with a tender and a French prize, the Hermione — all from Trincomallee. On the 31st the fleet sailed for Bombay, all but the Triton. On the 3rd January 1761 the Company's ship Egmont arrived from England with the rest of the troops.

The factors now found themselves sufficiently strong to attack Mah6 and so prevent the French from exporting pepper, as they had been doing in Portuguese bottoms, but orders came from Bombay disapproving of this, as the place must fall on Pondicherry being taken. And Pondicherry, it was well known, had for some time been in an almost hopeless plight and provisions were so scarce in that beleaguered city that the poorer inhabitants had been reduced for some time back to the eating " of camels, elephants, dogs and cats." The Bombay authorities, therefore, directed that if the news of Pondicherry having been taken reached the factors before they had forwarded the troops to Madras, they were to employ them against Mah6.

These orders arrived on 19th January, and simultaneously came the melancholy news from Colonel Coote of a dreadful storm having occurred on 2nd idem at Pondicherry, which had driven ashore several of Admiral Steven's squadron, had dispersed the rest, and had blown down, with many casualties among the native troops, the greater part of his encampment, and damaged most of his gunpowder. He sent an urgent requisition for stores and gunpowder, and the factors at once began their preparations to aid him.

By the 31st their preparations were almost complete and everything was ready to start, when there arrived " the glorious news " of the surrender of Pondicherry on the 16th idem.

Messages were at once sent flying about the country informing the various chiefs of

what had happened, amidst thundering salutes from the batteries and ships and a feu de joie by the king's troops.

On February 1st the factors accordingly set to work in earnest for the conquest of Mah6. They prevented both by sea, and by land with Kottayam's help, the French from calling in their garrisons in the north ; whilst they themselves withdrew as many as possible of their outpost troops in order to oombine with H.M.'s troops under Major

Hector Munro for the reduction of Mah6.

On the 3rd M. Louet was called on to surrender Mah6 and its dependencies, to which he replied on the 6th that be the respective forces what they might, he could not "but defend and support H.M.'s colors." The factors' reply to this was the seizure of Chambra hill from which to attack Fort St. George at Mah6, and on the 7th orders were sent to Major Hector Munro to march, everything being

On the 8th accordingly the battalion of Colonel Tarslow's regiment marched with the Company's irregular forcos, all under Major Tiers, to

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the south end of Ponolla Mala to take the defences in flank, hut there was to be no fighting, for, on that same day a party of deserters came in bringing the news that the Mahe Council had decided to capitulate. Notwithstanding this, however, preparations continued and Colonel Moriss' battalion of Highlanders with the Company's regulars were ordered to join the other troops next morning.

And this movement was carried out although between 1 and 2 a.m. on the 9th, letters were received from M. Louet and his oouncil proposing terms of capitulation.

On this same date the French delivered over all their forts in the north, except Mount Deli and Ramdilly (Alikkunnu), to Prince Capu Tamban of the K51attiri family.

On the 10th two, topsail vessels came in sight flying Danish colors, but evidently intent on reaching Mahe. The blockading squadron however cleared them away. And a manchua, a schooner and a sloop mounting six swivel guns were driven on shore, one sergeant being killed and six others wounded in the latter operation, which was successfully carried out by Captain James Lindsay in the Success ketch.

On the 11th iili Raja of Cannanore, without giving any notice to the factors of his intention, surprised the French fort 1 on Ettikulam Point at Mount Deli and most barbarously massacred the gamson of 20 men.

The interval between the 9th and 12th had been taken up in discussing the terms of capitulation, and on the latter date the articles were received back duly signed by the French Chief M. Louet and his military officers. The terms were briefly as follows : — The Roman Catholic religion was not to be disturbed. " The garrison to march out with honors of war, drums beating, colors flying, each man with a ball in his mouthy four field-pieces with one mortar and twelve rounds to march to Tellicherry, &c.," the arms, &c., being delivered up at Tellicherry. The garrison was to be sent to the Island of Bourbon or to Europe. All deserters, except one, named Thomas Palmer of Colonel Parslow's regiment, were to be pardoned. Private property of various descriptions was not to be confiscated, along with that belonging to the French Company. All forts to the northward were to be surrendered on the same conditions. The French factory at Calicut was to be treated as neutral. Assistance was to be rendered to the*

garrison for transporting their effects and for treating the siok and infirm.

On the 13th, in pursuance of the above articles, Major Piers with about five hundred men went to take possession of Mahe, and about rioon the British flag was run up under a salute from the ships and forts. At 2 p.m. the French troops arrived at Tellicherry with drums

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Conf. Treatiei, $c., i. CV as to the terms obtained this and the Alikkunnu fort from Trtatut, fr., i. LXXVII.

on which the French had in Mr. Donil' the Kolattiri.

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beating, oolors flying, &c., and grounded their arms at the southern limit gate. M. Louet and the officers were received by the Chief, Mr. Hodges, who returned them their swords, and M. Louet was saluted with fifteen guns as he entered the fort.

1. *Louet publicly deolared that if the country powers had not been drawn off from the French alliance, Mahe would have made a better stand, which was a well-deserved tribute to the superior diplomatic powers of Mr. Hodges.*

On the 16th of February Major Hector Munro proceeded to the north to recover the French forts in Prince Capu Tamban's hands. He had some difficulty in effecting this service, and some experience, which has already 1 been quoted, of

the Nayar modes of fighting. By the 19th of March he had accomplished the task and proceeded to demolish the forts, of which Mattalye was reported to be of great natural strength. Their retention would have been of no use for the Company's trade in those parts. When, therefore, the fleet came round from Pondicherry in March, bringing with it the 79th Regiment of Highlanders and artillery to assist in the capture of Mahe, there was nothing for them to do and they were considerably disappointed.

On the 1st May 1761 M. Louet with his family and the other French prisoners were embarked for - Europe on board the Lord Mansfield under a salute of fifteen guns. And nothing else of importance, except an unseemly quarrel between the factors and Major Hector Munro in regard to the ownership of the French stores found in the Mah6 forts, occurred, until on 20th April 1763 H.M.'s proclamation of a cessation of arms was received and published.

In consequence of the destruction of the French influence and competition in trade the factors were enabled to withdraw a number of outposts and ' to concentrate their establishments with economy. In this way the Madakkara fort was blown up, and the island was restored to the King Regent on 28th August 1762, and other smaller posts were similarly relinquished, until on 1st August 1764 the only outposts kept up consisted of Darmapattanam Island and Mount Deli.

Section (F).

THE MYSOREAN CONQUEST.

A.D. 1766-1792.

Meanwhile, however, fresh and most serious trouble was brewing in a totally unexpected quarter.

On the 11th March 1761 the Kolattiri Regent wTote to the Chief to say that Ali Raja of Cannanore had given the greatest affront possible

1 Page 137.

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to the Hindu religion by putting a golden spire on the top of one of his mosques, it being contrary to their established rules to have a spire of gold on any edifice throughout the coast except on the principal pagodas ; and only those of Taliparamba, " Turukacoonotu " in Kottayam, and " Urupyachy Cauvil " at Agarr were entitled to the distinction. War ensued : the Court of Directors' orders were peremptory and forbade the factors from interfering, except as mediators, in the disputes among the country powers. At last on 28th August 1762 a hollow peace

was patched up between, the Kolattiri Regent and the Cannanore Mappillas.

Only a few months later, Mr. Stracey, the Honorable Company's Resident at Iionore, sent an urgent message, which arrived on January 9th, 1763, to say that a large Mogul (sic) army was threatening Bednur, and that he urgently wanted a ship to be sent to remove the Honorable Company's property from Honore. And on the same day the linguist at Mangalore wrote to the same effect, but informed the factors that the army belonged to " Hedder Naique " and not to the Mogul.

The factors were not kept long in suspense, for, on the 24th of the same month, the news of the taking of Bednur by " Hedder Naique " on the 16th arrived, and on the 28th this was followed up by an account of " Nabob Hyder Ally Cawn's " arrival at Mangalore on the 27th.

In the success of a Muhammadan like Hyder Ali, the Ali Raja of Cannanore saw hopes of future aggrandisement and of settling the long score he had to repay the Kolattiris. The factors received intelligence that even so early as January 1763 he was endeavouring to persuade Hyder Ali to the conquest of Malabar, but for a time it did not suit that potentate's schemes to comply with the request.

Before proceeding to relate the story of Hyder Ali's conquest of the province, it will be well to take note briefly of the changes brought about in the south in the last few vears.

When in 1753 the Dutch basely threw over their native allies and, more particularly, the Raja of Cochin in the manner already described, two important aggressive forces were let loose on the hapless Raja of Cochin and his allies and vassals. The Zamorin coming along the coast line from the north in 1755-56 attacked Chetwai, drove in the Dutch outposts, and rapidly possessed himself of Cranganore, Paroor, and Vorapoly. And the Travancore Raja advancing in like manner from the south, rapidly overran Tekkankur, Vadakkankur, Purakkat, and other places— allies or vassals of Cochin— whom their suzerain attempted but in vain to assist. The allied forces were completely routed by the Travtincoreans at Purakkat. The Dutch managed to recover their fort at Chetwai, and by a disadvantageous peace with the Zamorin in 17o8 they obtained three islands lying off Palliport, but otherwise these encroachments from the north and south were unchecked.

In his extremity the Cochin Raja turned for assistance to Travancore instead of to his hereditary foe the Zamorin, and on the 22nd and 23rd

MALABAB DISTRICT.

December 1761 articles1 of alliance passed between the two Rajas, providing for the expulsion of the Zamorin and for the cession of further territory to Travancore.

The Travancore troops were admitted to the Cochin territory for its defence, and the first act of the Travancoreans was to set about the construction of the famous Travancore lines stretching in an almost straight line from the shore of the backwater opposite the ancient town of Cranganore to the foot of the ghats. The lines consisted of an imposing earthen rampart, but of no great height, fronted on the north by a ditch formed by the excavation of earth required for the rampart. At intervals were placed flanking towers and at the western extremity a fort of considerable strength. Its weakness lay in the fact that so few of the points were closed on the rear or south side, and that if one such point were taken the whole line of defence, extending to nearly thirty miles, necessarily collapsed.

But however imperfect the Travancorean engineering was, the importance of such a line of works was not perceived by the troops of the Zamorin. The meaning of the trouble taken by the Travancoreans in constructing such a work was not seen until, with their right flank thoroughly protected by this work, the Travancoreans in 1762 launched themselves under their General Eustachius Benedictus de Lannoy2 in three divisions on the Zamorin's garrisons, extending in a long weak line into Cochin territory at Cranganore, Paroor, and Yerapoly. The defeat of the Zamorin was rapidly achieved and his troops were completely and finally driven from Cochin territory. This left the Travancoreans masters of the whole country from Cranganore to Cape Comorin, a small isolated portion of territory lying round the Cochin Raja's palace at Tirupunattara on the east of the backwater, and another portion to the north and south of Cochin on the west of it, being all that was left to the Cochin Raja of his dominions to the south of the Travancore lines.

But it was not alone in Cochin territory that the Zamorin was actively aggressive about this time. Some time previously, but in what particular year it is impossible to say, he had driven a wedge through the territories of his other hereditary foe, the Walluvanad Raja, and had cut the dominions of the latter in two by annexing a broad band3 of territory extending from his own country of Emad in the north to the previously conquered "Walluvanad territory of Nedunganad in the south. And by adopting similar tactics with the dominions of the -Palghat Raja, his neighbour on the east, the Zamorin had about 1/ 56-57 driven a similar wedge, to which he gave the name of the Naduvattam,3 through the

1 Treaties , 4'c *> CXXIV and CXXV.*

- *De Lannoy lies buried in the ruined chapel of the Udayagiri fort in South Travancore. His tombstone contains the following inscription " Hie jacet Eustathius Benedictus de Lannoy qui tanquam dux generalis militia? Travancotidis priefuit, aeperannos XXXVII forme' summa felicitate regi inserbiit, cui omnia regnaex Caiameolum usque ad Cochin vi armorum ac terrore subjecit. Visit annos LXII menses V et mortuus est die I Junii MDCCLXXVII. Rcquicscat in pace."*

- *See the map at paragraph 11, Section (B), Chapter IV .*

THE MYSOREAN CONQUEST.

Palghat territory and cut it in two with a view no doubt to eventual absorption of the whole.

The Palghat Raja turned in this emergency to his neighbour on the east, and despatched in 1757 a deputation to Hyder Ali, then Foujdar of Dindigul under the nominal sovereignty of the puppet Chick Kishen Raja of Mysore, desiring his assistance against the Zamorin. Hyder Ali sent his brother-in-law 1 Mukhdum Sahib with 2,000 horse, 5,000 infantry, and 5 guns to assist him : and this force aided by the Palghat Nayars carried their arms as far as the sea coast. The Zamorin's force retreated and the Zamorin bought off his opponents by agreeing to restore his Palghat conquests and by promising to pay in instalments a war indemnity of Rs. 12,00,000. Not relishing the presence of Muhammadan troops, while waiting for payment of the subsidy, the Zamorin opened negotiations with Deo Raj, one of the puppet Mysore Raja's ministers. This afforded Deo Raj an opportunity hfe desired of settling some other matters in dispute between himself and Hyder Ali, and the latter relinquished his claim to the Rs. 12,00,000 in favor of Deo Raj, who thereupon sent the Rajput corps of Herri Sing, the most zealous of his supporters, to collect it. Herri Sing failed to recover any portion of the money, and returned, on hearing of Deo Raj's death, which took place at Seringapatam on 19th June 1758, to Avanasi in Coimbatore. Here he was treacherously surprised and murdered at night by a force sent by Hyder Ali under Mukhdum Sahib for this special purpose, though the force was ostensibly detailed for service at Dindigul. The claim to this war subsidy was never relinquished, and to recover it was one of Hyder Ali's avowed objects in invading Malabar.

Shortly after these events, in June 1759 Hyder Ali successfully intrigued to remove Nunjeraj, the remaining minister of the puppet Mysore Raja. He was supplanted by Kunde Row, a creature of Hyder Adi's, and the latter became virtually the ruler of Mysore. TWo years later, in the beginning of June 1761, Hyder Ali finally overthrew Kunde Row and usurped the government, still, however, nominally recognising the Raja as such.

To resume the narrative of events. On the 7th May 1763 the Telli-cherry factors heard that hostilities had been commenced on the Canara frontier by the king of Nilesvaram. Hyder Ali threatened to come down to take the forts lately vacated by the French, and the Honorable Company 8 Agents considered it high time to come to some understanding with him. A treaty, dated 2/th May 1763, was accordingly arranged at Bednur in the shape of a " Phurmaund " 2 from the " Nabob Hyde Ali Khan Bahadur, permitting the Honorable Company to export rice*

from Mangalore for Tellicherry, and binding both parties not to assist each other's enemies.

'This was the first occasion on which a Muhammadan force ever entered Malabar

x vi v th° twoarlide of il relatiD& to the Tellicherry factory, see Tr,ati*', fc.A. LaJLIa.*

MALABAR DISXRICT.

Hyder Ali's plans were not yet ripe for the conquest of Malabar, and in the interval orders were, about April 1764, received from Bombay that the French were in accordance with treaty to be put in possession of all their places as they stood in 1749. To Captain Louis D. Plus-quellec, Commissary appointed by John Law of Lauriston, Commander-in-General of all the French Settlements in the East Indies, the factors accordingly in due course on October 20th, 1765, restored1 " Mahe and its dependencies and the places where the fortifications stood/'

During this interval also the Mappillas began to give trouble. The factors in exercise of their treaty rights had established round boats to prevent the export of pepper from Kadattanad. These boats were found not to be of sufficient strength for the purpose, as they were unable to cope with the Mappilla boats rowed by eight or ten men with four or six more to assist, all of whom (even the boatmen) practised with the " sword and target " at least. In retaliation for the pressure thus brought to bear upon them by the factors, the Mappillas took to committing outrages. In March 1764 two of .them entered a church on Darmapattanam Island, where a priest was saying mass, and murdered one man and severely wounded several. They were shot by the garrison " and spitted." A few days afterwards another Mappilla came behind two Europeans while walking along one of the narrow lanes leading to Fort Mailan and cut one of them through the neck and half way through the body with'one stroke of his sword. The other was mangled in such a way that his life was despaired of. After this the Mappilla picked a quarrel with a Nayar and was subsequently shot by the Tiyar guard. His body was " spitted " along with those of the others, and then thrown into the sea, to prevent their caste men from worshipping them as saints for killing Christians. Such outrages became frequent, and on July 9th, 1765, the Chief was obliged to issue a stringent order 2 to disarm them within factory limits.

The factors were fully alive to the fact that Hyder Ali's invasion of Malabar was only a question of time ; and with a view no doubt to obtaining a reliable estimate of his power the Chief had, so early as January 1764, despatched Ensign Parker on a long journey overland to Madras. The ostensible object of the trip was to survey the line of country " through Cotiote 3 to Synngapatam and thence through the pass in the mountains called Sautgurr to Vellour," with a view to marching

troops that way if necessary to Madras.

On the 8th October of that same year Hyder Ali sent a letter to the Chief by the hands of An ant How, who hinted that it was Hyder Ali s intention to invade Malabar as soon as he had settled with the Mah-rattas. Against this, of course, the Chief and factors protested ; but on the 6th November following came another letter from Hyder Ali, and

i Treaties, $<?., i. LXXX and CXXX. 2 Treaties, $c., i. CXXVIII.

s The Kottayam Raja's territory comprising the present taluks of Kottayam and

Wain&d.

THE MYSOREAN CONQUEST.

Anant Row asked the factors to offer no opposition when Hyder Ali's army entered the country as he had now made up his mind to make the Kolattiri, the Zamorin, and the Cochin and other Rajas tributary to him. Anant Row invited the Honorable Company to assist Hyder Ali in carrying out his designs or to at least remain neuter. The Chief and factors at first said they could not listen to such proposals, but on further consideration " that he might not in all probability be prevailed upon to desist from carrying his already projected plans into execution" by anything they might say or do,1 they finally resolved to make the best terms possible for the Honorable Company, They • accordingly informed Anant Row that it could not be expected that the Company would remain neuter unless Hyder Ali entered previously into engagements for preserving the Company's proper footing in any countries he might subdue, and they suggested the following as a basis for an agreement: — (1) The commodities dealt in by the Company to be solely appropriated to the Company on payment of the usual oustoms and no more. (2) Woollen goods and Europe staples to pass customs free on the Chief's certificate. (3) Goods (cloth, &c.) purchased inland for the Company to pass duty free, and that not for the Company to pay half the usual rates. (4) Any quantity of rice to be exported free of adlamy from the Canara ports.

Ali Raja of Cannanore, in view of the impending invasion, next proceeded to better himself by siding with the irreconcilable party of Capu Tamban in the K5lattixi family. The Prince Regent applied to the factors, and they tried to bring Ali Raja to reason, but without much success; for notwithstanding the engagement2 given by him to give back what he had unjustly seized and not to interfere further in Kolattunad affairs, the war went on, and dh 18th August 1765 the Ramdilly (Alikkunnu) fort was taken by a party sent from Tellicherry unde? Captain Lytton Leslie to aid the Prince Regent. The irreconcil-ables under Prince Ambu Tamban still, however, kept the field, and it was m ostensible aid of this prince, and also to collect an old Bednur outstanding of P agodas 2,00,000 against the Kolattiri and

his own debt against the Zamorin, that Hyder Ali eventually crossed the frontier.

The news of this event reached the factors on the 10th February 1766, and on the 12th Mr. Ashburner reported from Nilesvaram that Hyder Ali was there with a considerable army bent on subduing Malabar. In accordance with orders from Bombay two members of the Tellicherry Board set put for Hyder Ali's camp to point out to him what powers were in alliance with the Company and should not be molested. And the result of this mission is embodied in " a grant " 3 from Hyder Ali, executed at Madayi on the 23rd of the same month, confirming all the Honorable Company's trading privileges in Malabar.

1 Ensign Parker's mission had commanded.

1 Treaties, fc., i. CXXIX.

*no doubt opened their eyes to the power llyder Ali * TrtatUt, fc., i. LXXXV.*

Prior to this, Hyder Ali had been directing his attention to the formation of a fleet and Ali Raja of Cannanore, who already had a number of well-equipped vessels at sea, was appointed High Admiral, while his brother Sheikh Ali received the appointment of "Intendant of the marine, of the ports, and of the maritime commerce of his dominions." Reinforced by a number of the disciplined soldiers of Hyder Ali, the High Admiral, it is said, sailed for and conquered the Maidive Islands. After taking the King of the Islands prisoner, he had the barbarity to put his eyes out. Returning victorious to Mangalore, Ali Raja next proceeded to N agar with his unfortunate captive. -But Hyder Ali was bo irritated at the cruelty practised on the unfortunate king by his admiral that he instantly deprived him of the command of the fleet, which he afterwards, it is said, bestowed on an Englishman named Stanet. And it is a pleasing trait in Hyder Ali's character that he entreated the unfortunate king to forgive the outragecommitted, and that he provided sumptuously for the blind man's comfort. Thenceforward Ali Raja and his brother served on land, and aided by a body of their troops, stated to have been 8,000, and by a different account 12,000 in number, they acted as very efficient scouts to Hyder Ali's army in its progress through Malabar.*

Hyder Ali's own army consisted, it is said, of 12,000 of his best troops, of which 4,000 were cavalry and the rest infantry, and his artillery consisted of only 4 pieces, but the fleet accompanied him along the coast and afforded assistance as required. A general instruction was given to the army to grant no quarter.

On the 2 1st February 1766 the factors heard that the force had taken possession of a temple 1 and had laid siege to Madayi, which [the officer in command offered to deliver up. Hyder Ali would, however, oonsent only to an unconditional surrender. On the following day news came that the fort had been evacuated.

The Kolattiri family made no resistance, for simultaneously with Hyder Ali's advance Ali Raja and his men seized their palace at Chira kkal, and the old Tekkalankur prince with his attendants came to take refuge at the Brass Pagoda within Tellicherry limits. They were followed bv numerous refugees, fleeing probably more before the terror of the Mappilla scouts than before Hyder Ah's army.

On the 6th of March Hyder Ali, encamped at Ghirakkal, sent a message to the Chief (Mr. James Ryley) asking for a personal interview, but the Chief declined the honor unless Hyder Ali would consent to come to Darmapattanam Island, or on board a oountry ship then in Telli-oherrv roads.

On the 7th the armv entered Randattara and began to commit irregularities, whereupon the factors sent one Ramjee Purvoo to remonstrate. Hyder Ali changed his demeanour and told the messenger it

1 Probably that of Kuahimangalam.

was entirely the factors' own fault : " Why did they not hoist his

oolours instead of the English ones, which his peojfle did not know."

The Nabob had, by this time, come to the conclusion that the English were destined to be the masters of all India unless a change soon took place. They were already, he was heard to say, " masters of the whole of Bengal, of the greatest part of the Coromandel Coast, they are trying to get Malabar under them, and they have it in contemplation to send an expedition to China." He was, he added, determined to prevent this coming to pass. This conversation was reported to H. Kroonen-berg, the Dutch Commandant at Cannanore, when he, in great state mounted along with Hyder Ali on the latter's own elephant, returned the visit paid by the latter to Cannanore fort on the 15th of March. The Nabob said he looked to the Dutch to help him to drive out the English.

Being in this frame of mind, the Mysorean objected to the protection afforded by the Tellicherry settlement to the refugees who fled before his army. He also asked to be supplied with gunpowder and arms, and being refused, made another grievance out of this. The factors at the same time had information that Ali Raja was all this time urging Hyder Ali to attack the factory, but to this he would not listen. On the 15th March the army entered the Kottayam Raja's territory after some opposition and with some casualties , on both sides. The Kottayam Mappillas deserted the Raja and assisted the invaders.

On the 21st, at 6 p.m., an interview took place between Hyder Ali and the Chief,

Mr. Ryley, at a spot in Kottayam territory opposite to Daimapattanam Island, but no business was discussed, and it was arranged that Ramjee Purvoe should remain behind to settle all such affairs.

On the 25th the factors despatched the Achanmar of Randattara to their district, escorted by British sepoys, but the Mappillas refused them passage thither.

Ou the 26th came orders from Bombay counselling the adoption of a conciliatory policy towards the invaders, as opposing them would lead the Company into projects far too extensive, for which there was no sufficient force. These orders were subsequently modified by further orders from Bombay, ordering the factors when it was too late— the orders were received ouly on the 17th April,— to repel force by force if the invaders attempted to pass the Tellicherry limits, or to invade the Company's immediate property. The orders were accompanied by a letter to Hyder Ali himself, which was sent to him, upbraiding him for attacking the

The invaders met with the first serious opposition they had experienced when attempting on the 28th to enter Kadattanad. To do this they had to cross the Mah £ river in the face of the enemy stronglv posted on its southern bank. It is difficult to point to the exact scene of this battle, but it probably lay at or near the existing ferry of Perinkulam.

The fight is thus picturesquely, but, perhaps, not very accurately, described by the Mogul officer, whose work was subsequently edited by Prince Ghulam Muhammad, 1 Tippu's only surviving son.

To succeed in his attempt, in spite of this numerous army and the artillery, Hyder caused his fleet to enter the river. His vessels sailed up as far as possible ; and drawing up his infantry in order of battle in a single line in faoe of the enemy with his twelve pieces of cannon, he waited for the ebb of the water. When the river was at the lowest he entered it full gallop at the head of his cavalry, which he had till then kept out of sight of the Nayres : they were led on by fifty of the French Hussars lately arrived from Pondicherry. As the rapidity of the current was diminished by his vessels, he traversed the river without difficulty at a place where it was a league in breadth, sometimes swimming and sometimes wading : he soon came to the other river where the Nayres were busied in attempting to oppose the infantry, who pretended to be on the point of passing over. They were frightened at the sudden appearance of the cavalry and fled with the utmost precipitation and disorder without making any other defence but that of discharging a few camion which they were too much intimidated to point properly. Hyder foreseeing this event, had given orders to pursue the fugitives full speed, cutting down all they could overtake, without losing time either by taking prisoners or securing plunder.

■*" This order being executed with the utmost strictness, nothing was to be seen in'*

the roads for the distance of four leagues round but scattered limbs and mutilated bodies. The country of the Nayres was thrown into a general oonstemation, which was much increased by the cruelty of the Mapelets, who followed the cavalry, massacred all who had escaped, without sparing women or children : so that the army advancing under the conduct of this enraged multitude, instead of meeting with resistance, found the villages, fortresses, temples, and in general every habitable place forsaken and deserted. It was not till they were near the environs of Tellicherry and Mahe, French and Fnglish establishments, that they began to find people who had taken refuge near those places."

The factors information regarding this severe engagement was that it lasted twenty-four hours, that there were many casualties, including some principal officers, and that the Kadattanad Raja retired to a pagoda with his force not altogether beaten.*

The invading army remained at the spot, making good their passage for over a week, and on the 6th of April a force of 1,000 men entered and searched Mahe in an attempt to discover the Kadattanad treasures. On that same day another force of 6,000 men was despatched against Calicut. The invaders met with little further resistance, and as they proceeded they secured the country in their rear by a series of block-

1 London : Thacker & Co., 1,855, p. 69.

houses (called lakkidikottas or wooden forts). The Nayars, in their despair, defended such small posts as they possessed most bravely. " One of these which my manuscripts name Tamelpelly, was surrounded by Iiyder in the following manner : first, a line of regular infantry and guns with an abbatis ; second, a line of peons ; third, of cavalry. This disposition was made for the purpose of striking terror by not allowing a man to escape destruction. The Nayars defended themselves until they were tired of the confinement, and then leaping over the abbatis and cutting through the three lines with astonishing rapidity, they gained the woods before the enemy had recovered from their surprise." (Wilks' History, I, 291.)

The officer left in command at Kottayam wrrote on the 1 Oth to say he had instructions to maintain a friendly footing with the Honorable Company.

And next day the factors received news from Calicut that Ali Raja, at the head of 1,000 men, had reached the Zamorin's palace near Calicut, and on summoning it to surrender, had been refused by the second prince of the family. Calicut itself was quietly occupied by another party.

Another account says that the Zamorin himself met Hyder Ali in Kurumbranad, to

which the latter had advanced with his army from the Turasseri river. The demand made for a crore of gold mohurs was so extravagant thatthe Zamorin protested his inability to comply with it. He offered to deliver the. whole of his treasure and all his property, but this did not satisfy his adversary, who caused him to be seized and imprisoned. " He was sent 1 under a guard of 500 horse and 2,000 infantry to the fort of Calicut : the Raja was confined in his own house without food, and was strictly prohibited from performing the ceremonies of his religion . and as he thought that Hyder might inflict somei further disgrace upon him, either by causing him to be hanged, or blown from a gun, the Raja set fire to the house with his own hand, and was consumed in it."

At Calicut Dutch commissioners met Hyder Ali at his request and discussed with him the terms on which he would be prepared to enter imo an offensive and defensive alliance with the Hollanders. It is unnecessary to give the proposals in detail, for nothing came of the conference, and it was manifest that to have accepted his terms the Dutch would have had to fight the English both at home and abroad. He agreed not to molest the Raja of Cochin on certain conditions, but he would guarantee nothing in regard to Travancore. As there was delay in replying to his proposals he then modified his terms as regards these Rajas and demanded 4 lakhs of rupees and 8 elephants from Cochin, and 15 lakhs and 20 elephants from Travancore, in default of receiving which, he said, he meant to visit those countries. In reply to

Asiatic Researches, , pp. 30, 31. Several accounts of this event are extant That Riven in the text was obtained in 1793 from the then Zamorin by Mr. Jonathan Duncan. President of the first Malabar Commission, and afterwards Governor of Bombay.

this demand, the Cochin Raja placed himself unreservedly in the Dutch Company's hands, but the Travancore Raja, strong in the assurance of English support, replied that Hyder Ali had not commenced the war to please him or with his advice, that therefore he objected to contribute anything, that moreover he was already tributary 1 to the Nawab Muhammad Ali and could not afford to subsidise two suzerains at the same time, but that he would contribute a considerable sum if Hyder Ali would reinstate the Kolattin and the Zamonn, and ended by suggesting to the Dutch to do the same. And strangely enough, in spite of the ill-treatment which the Cochin Raja had quite recently received at the hands of the Zamorin, the Cochin Raja too in his reply trusted that the Kolattiri and the Zamorin would be restored. The Dutch did not care to send such replies to Hyder Ali, as in the case of Travancore they would have shown him how helpless in reality they were to conduct such negotiations, and how powerful by contrast their English rivals were'; the Cochin Raja eventually obtained immunity from conquest by agreeing to pay a subsidy of 2 lakhs of rupees and 8 elephants.

To the demand of Hyder Ali the Travancore Raja, on July 20th, 1766, made further significant reply by commencing on that date to extend the Travancore lines to within range of the guns of the Dutch fort at Cranganore and on to the territory of the Cranganore Raja. The Dutch, in tl/e > £ fear of offending Hyder Ali, required them to desist from this work within Dutch limits.

After engaging in these negotiations and in further preparations for securing, by means of fortified posts, the conquered country, Hyder Ali at length started eastwards, leaving a movable column of 3,000 regular troops aided by Ali Raja and his Mappillas at Calicut. He also left Madanna, an experienced revenue officer, as civil governor of the province.

He had remained too long on the coast, however, and was overtaken by the south-west monsoon on his fourth day's march. His march was rendered difficult in consequence, and it was only after sustaining a heavy loss of horses and cattle that his army debouched at last on the cool and pleasant plains of Coimbatore. At Madakkara he left Raza JSahib in quarters with 3,000 infantry.

While Hyder Ali was thus engaged in the south, the Tellicherry factors on the 17th April again attempted to recover Randattara, and a small force sent thither for the purpose had to retire. A boat sent to the Valarpattanam river at the same time to protect the Company's trade was captured by the Mappillas, two guns and three mortars were seized, and the sergeant in charge was made prisoner. The factors suspected that Ali Raja ("that Moor") was being secretly assisted by Hyder Ali, who, however, when appealed to, restored on 7th May the guns and

Conf. Treaties, 8fc., i. CXXXIN to CXLI.

mortars and other propertyAs regards Randattara, Hyder Ali told the factors to send only one Brahman thither to collect the revenue, and wound up ironically thus : " but if you do not choose to trust me, keep what people you please there."

On the 22nd June came a letter from Madras strongly advising the Bombay Council not to come to a rupture with Hyder Ali — first, because having command of the passes, he might send his cavalry and ravage the country ; secondly, because he was a check on the Mahrattas, who but for him would do the same thing ; and, finally, because the Mogul having recently given a grant of the Northern Sirkars to the Company, and the Nizam being inclined to oppose it, it would be a formidable combination if Hyder Ali were driven to join him. Moreover they pointed out that the Company's position on the West Coast put it in their power to disturb him at any time when he was not prepared to resist, or when troubles in qther parts of his extensive dominions called him away elsewhere. They recommended, however, that the factors should not submit to be insulted by him.

On the 24th June, after Hyder Ali had retired to Coimbatore, news reached the factors that the Kottayam and Kadattanad Nayars had risen and retaken many places, and next day it was reported that Ali Raja had been appointed civil governor and his brother, Sheikh Ali, military governor of Kolattunad. The former was at Uuilandy with 200 men and unable to pass through Kadattanad, being opposed by the Nayars. In September too Prince Ambu Tamban revolted, took two forts, and inflicted a defeat with a loss of 300 men on the Mappillas. The Kottayam Nayars also retook the Nittur fort close to the Tellicherry limits, and the country rose en masse.

The revolt was also general in South Malabar. No word of it, so effectually were messengers intercepted, reached the Mysoreans at Coimbatore until after the chief forts at Calicut and Ponnani had been closely invested. And even then the news was only conveyed by a Portuguese sailor, who, on promise of a handsome reward from the oflicer commanding at Ponnani, succeeded after many hardships, and with only a compass for guide, in reaching Madakkara and apprising Raza Sahib of the revolt and of the dangers to the garrisons at Calicut and Ponuani. Raza Sahib marched at once with his infantry alone in spite of the inclement weather and of the inundated state of the country. The absence of his cavalry enabled the Nayars to harass the force at every river-crossing, and at length it was drawn into a position at the junction of the Lutakal and Ponnani rivers, whence it could neither advance on account of the streams, nor retreat on account of the ravines strongly held by the enemy in the rear.

Prince Ghulam Muhammad's author gives the following interesting account of Hyder Ali's march to relieve his lieutenant

. " Raza Sahib having contrived to send advice of his situation Hyder

immediately marched with 3,000 horse and 10,000 sepoys or topasses.

He ordered his cavalry, both officers and men, to ride without saddles ; and commanded his infantry to quit their habits and march' naked, excepting a pair of light drawers and shoes. Each soldier was provided with a waxed cloth to wrap up his knapsack, and the 300 Europeans lately arrived from Pondicherry and Colombo, were offered parasols as they did not choose to quit their habits. Their refusal was the cause that they were almost the only persons in the army that were attacked by the dysentery.

" All the artillery of this small army consisted in twelve light pieces of cannon that were carried by elephants.

" It is scarcely possible to form an idea of the:species of war to which Hyder led his troops this campaign. Imagine an army of 15,000 men marching from the break of day through a mountainous country in roads or passages scarcely

admitting more than three men abreast, exposed from morning till night to a constant shower, equal to those that fall in the greatest storms attended with frequent thunder and lightning, excepting for three hours after noon in which the sun shone out with almost insupportable lustre and heat ; frequently obliged to cross rivers up to tbe chin in water and sometimes swimming ; and passing the night in towns or villages deserted by their inhabitants, where, however, they found plenty of the necessaries of life, Their path was everywhere marked by ruin and destruction, for then' orders were to burn and pillage, and they exerted themselves so much in this horrible work that they left behind them nothing but heaps of ruins where houses had formerly stood.

" Tliis unexpected march obliged the Nayars to collect all their troops and gave some relief to the troops of Baza Sahib, though not sufficient to prevent his losing many of his men for want of necessaries and in consequence of the hardship they were subjected to. The Nayar princes, though half defeated by the fear of the consequences of their revolt, nevertheless expected Hyder with confidence in a retrenched camp near Pondiaghari,1 which on its left wing had a village fortified with a ditch and parapet planted with pallisades well furnished with artillery and maintained by the most resolute, who had determined rather to perish than to yield. Hyder, for the attack of this retrenched camp, disposed of his army so that 4,000 of his best sepoys, forming the right wing, were charged to attack the village ; this corps was commanded by a Portuguese Lieutenant-Colonel lately arrived from Goa, with different officers of his nation. The left wing, composed 6f topasses, was commanded by an English officer, and Hyder himself commanded the main body, having behind him a reserve of Europeans, almost all French, with whom were joined those who are called the Bara Audniees or great men, a corps composed of all the young nobility and courtiers, without excepting even the generals who have not appointed posts or

1 Tbe place indicated appears to have been Vettatt Putiyangftdi in Ponnftni taluk. Ik is usually referred to as Putiyangftdi {lit. new bazaar).

commands on the day of battle. They were all on foot and armed with sabres and bucklers, having voluntarily put themselves under the command of the officer of Europeans, whom they promised to follow wherever he might lead them.

" The cavalry, that could not be of service till after the entrenchment was forced, was formed behind the corps-de-reserve. According to the orders, the Portuguese officer attacked the retrenched village with his 4,000 sepoys, by conducting them bravely to the edge of the ditch ; but without advancing a step farther, he contented himself with causing his troop to fire as if at their exercise. These unfortunate sepoys, totally exposed, were destroyed with impunity by their

enemies, who fired from pent-holes or from behind the hedges. This firing, which lasted upwards of two hours, highly enraged Hyder, who receiving every moment news of the state of the attack, learned with the utmost mortification the unavailing loss of his best troops. The French officer, commandant of the Europeans, who lately arrived, and had not yet had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, offered to advance with the corps-de-reserve and put himself at the head of the sepoys. Hyder answered that he might do as he 'thought proper ; and he immediately joined his troop, which was impatient for the combat and burned with a desire to revenge the French who were inhumanly 1 massacred at Pondiaghari. Headed by this active and courageous officer, and joined by the Bara Audmees , they ran with violent eagerness to the attack. The intervals between the battalions of sepoys afforded them a passage : they jumped into the ditch, and hastily ascending the retrenchments, tore up the pallisades, and were in the face of the enemy in an instant. They gave no quarter ; and the enemy, astonished to the last degree at their impetuosity and rage, suffered themselves to be butchered even without resistance. The flames of the village on fire, and the direction of the cannon now pointed on the distracted Nayars, evinced to Hyder that the village was carried. The whole army in consequence moved to attack the retrenchment ; but the enemy perceiving that Hyder's troops had stormed their outpost, and catching the affright of the fugitives, fled from their camp with disorder and precipitation.

" Hyder had supposed his enemies would have«exhibited more firmness on this occasion. This brave and fortunate attack, which was much exalted by the young nobility that shared the glory, gave him infinite pleasure. He created the French commandant Bahadur upon the spot ; and in the evening presented him with a patent appointing him general of 10,000 horse, which is the highest military post among the Moguls, at the same time declaring him general-in-chief of his artillery. He

1 This refers to the massacre at this same place a few months previously of five French deserters from Mahe proceeding to join Uyder Ali's army. This event occurred during the general revolt which followed Hyder Ali's withdrawal from the coast. Two women accompanying the deserters were, it is alleged, most barbarously mutilated and killed at the

likewise gave a gratification of thirty rupees to every soldier, and twice that sum to each of the wounded, of which there was a great number, though no more than one died. As the Nayars had no bayonets, the wounds were only cuts with the sabre, little dangerous where ready assistance is to be held. The Europeans inspired the Mallabars with a new terror by this exploit ; and Hyder, to increase it, spread a report that he expected many thousand men from Europe; he added that they were a cruel people and devourers of humau flesh, and 'that his intention was to deliver all the coast to their outrages. The rage and fury by which his small

handful of French were urged on to revenge their murdered countrymen gave much force to the belief the wretched inhabitants were disposed to afford to his reports. Wherever he turned he found no opponent, nor even any human creature ; every inhabited place was forsaken ; and the poor inhabitants, who fled to the woods and mountains in the most inclement season, had the anguish to behold their houses in flames, their fruit-trees cut down, their cattle destroyed, and their temples burnt. The perfidy of the Nayars had been too great for them to trust the offers of pardon made by Hyder ; by means of Brahmans he despatched into the woods and mountains to recall these unhappy people, who were hanged without mercy and their wives and children reduced to slavery whenever they were found in the woods by the troops of Hyder, severity and mildness being both equally ineffectual in making them return to their homes. Ali Kaja and the Mappillas, who saw themselves thus involved in the ruin of the Nayars, persuaded Hyder to return to Coimbatore in hopes that his absence might remove the timidity of the people; and it is highly probable that the dysentery that raged in his army was a much more effectual reason that induced him to leave the country. The officers and Europeans, who had retained their olothing and had more particularly abused the liberty of doing as they pleased, were the most exposed to this dangerous malady.

" Before he quitted the country, Hyder by a solemn edict, declared the Nayars deprived of all their privileges ; and ordained that their caste, which was the first after the Brahmans, should thereafter be. the lowest of all the castes, subjecting them to salute the Farias and others of the lowest castes by ranging themselves before them as the other Mallabars had been obliged to do before the Nayars ; permitting all the other castes to bear arms and forbidding them to .the Nayars, who till then had enjoyed the sole right of carrying them ; at the same time allowing and commanding all persons to kill such Nayars as were found bearing arms. By this rigorous edict, Hyder expected to make all the other castes enemies of the Nayars, and that they would rejoice in the occasion of revenging themselves for the tyrannic oppression this nobility had till then exerted over them.

" This ordinance being found to make the submission of the Nayars absolutely impossible, because they w'ould have thought death preferable to such a degradation, he made a new edict by which he re-estab-

listed in all their rights and privileges such Nayars as should embraoe the Muhammadan religion. Many of these nobles took the turban on this occasion, but the greater part remained dispersed and chose rather to take refuge in the kingdom of Travancore than submit to this last ordinance. Though the approach of the fine season and the terror he had spread might have left little apprehension of another revolt, yet he left several bodies of troops in the country distributed in posts so situated as to assist each other in case of necessity, and quartered the rest of his

infantry in the neighbourhood of Madigheri,1 taking only his cavalry with him to Coimbatore, which he was obliged to spread over the country on account of the scarcity of forage."

In addition to the measures described above Hyder Ali adopted other means of subduing the refractory Nayars. His troops spread over the face of the country after taking Yettattputiyangadi, and acting from Manjeri in the Ernad taluk as a centre, they brought in numerous prisoners. These were at first either beheaded or hanged ; " but 2 as their numbers increased, Hyder conceived the plan of sparing them for the use of his former territories. This cure for rebellion in one province and for defective population in another, of which such numerous examples occur in the Jewish history, was not successfully practised by Hyder. The captives were uncared for, and owing to privations and a violent change of climate, of 15,000 who were removed, it is supposed that 200 did not survive the experiment."

These violent measures produced a deceitful calm in the province, and Hyder Ali thinking he had permanently tranquillised the country proceeded to Coimbatore, giving orders en route for _the erection of the present Palghat fort, which, lying in the centre of the gap in the line of ghats, was judiciously chosen as an advanced post and depot to facilitate communications with the newly-subdued province.

Hyder Ali at this Juncture had to face a more formidable confederation than any he had yet experienced. The Mahrattas and the Nizam, aided by an English corps, were threatening him on the north and north-east. In the face of this combination, he accordingly resorted to measures likely to be pleasing to one of his antagonists, and on 3rd November 1768 the factors at Tellicherry had the satisfaction of learning that he had evinced a real desire to be on good terms with the Honorable Company, and in proof of it he had ordered all the pepper and other monopoly products of Malabar to be given to them.

But the seeming calm was not destined to last. Hyder Adi had not received the submission of Travancore, and only a week after the above event the factors obtained intelligence that he was preparing to invade Travancore and was seeking for a passage for his troops through the mountains. And, on 10th January 1767, came the further news that a force despatched for this purpose had been defeated, and this reverse seems to have been the signal for another general rising in Malabar.

- *Wilks' " Historical Sketches, &r.," I. 283.*

1 .

Malabar district.

A force of 4,000 men had been sent into the Kottayam territory It was attacked by

2,000 Nayars and defeated with great slaughter and loss of their camp and stores. . The Nayars all over the country again rose and shut up the invaders in their stockades (lakkidikotta).

Hyder AH bought off the Mahrattas, and the Nizam' was induced to throw over his allies and to join Hyder Ali in a campaign against the English on the east coast. The first act of hostility occurred on

25th August 1768, hut the news did not reach Tellicherry till the 13th October. J

It is unnecessary to trace in detail the operations which followed. The allies were beaten in the field, the Nizam made a separate peace, the English in conjunction with Muhammad Ali, Nabob of the Carnatic, o erran 11} der Ali s dominions, and planned, with an utterly inadequate force to carry out this resolution, an invasion of Mysore itself.

To aid the operations on the east coast an expedition under Messrs. Govin and Watson was despatched in February 1768 from Bombay to take or destroy Hyder Ali's fleet. The leaders of the expedition, on reaching Honore, wrote to Tellicherry for boats to assist in crossing the Mangalore surf, and Mr. Sibbald at Honore prevailed, on Hyder Ali's naval commander to join the expedition with one three-mast grab, one two-mast grab, and five gallivats. In Mangalore the expedition took the " Buckingham " and another three-mast grab. On 1st March the news arrived that Mangalore had been taken and that three .vessels of the expedition were being despatched to help the Tellicherry factors in an expedition they had planned against Ali Raja's town of Cannanore. On the 3rd of March the expedition against Cannanore was despatched. The force consisted of 2 captains, 5 subalterns, and 182 infantry, the commanding officer of artillery and 47 of his train — 232 Bombay sepoys, 80 of the Honorable Company's Narang-puratta Nayars, and 175 Tlyars —altogether 716 effective men besides officers ; and the Prince of Kolattunad and the Raja of Kottayam had agreed to join wdth 1,700 Nayars. The whole force was under the command of Captain Thomas Henry assisted by Mr. Robert Sparkes

Their first move was from Darmapattanam Island to Carly Hill on 3rd March. After reconnoitring the place Captain Henry determined to attempt the capture of a fort called Avarakotta 1 lying to the northeast of the town. Once in command of this fort the town would have been at his mercy. He accordingly proceeded on the 9th March to storm it, but the defence was desperate and the attacking column was driven back with the loss of 1 officer, 9 Europeans, 6 seamen, and 6 natives killed, and 1 officer, 16 Europeans, 4 seamen, 19 Bombay sepoys, and 8 Ndˆars wounded — altogether 70 men killed and wounded.

An application to the leaders of the expedition at Mangalore for assistance was

made, but only one artillery officer's services could be spared, and so on 22nd March, after a council of war had been held, at

1 Probably identical with the ruined fort now called the Sultan's Battery.

which it was estimated that a force of 2,200 men of all arms would be required to effect the reduction of the place, the scheme was finally abandoned. The factors were indignant at their native allies, Kottayam and Kadattanad, for not assisting them. The Prince of Kolattunad, on the other hand, was present and energetically assisted the besiegers.

On the 26th the news of the capture of Honore was reported, and on the same day came a Vigorous remonstrance from the Bombay council at the line of action taken by the factors. " This your precipitate and ill-judged conduct 1 in the present state of affairs lays us under the greatest embarrassment." And the despatch peremptorily directed operations against Ali Ra ja to be suspended in order that those against Hyder All might be carried on more vigorously.

Hyder Ali's rapid and secret march across the peninsula and his re-capture of Mangalore are matters of history. The Bombay force was driven out of Mangalore with such indecent haste that they even left their sick and wounded behind them, as well as their field-pieces and stores. Honore and other places were recovered with equal ease, and before the monsoon season commenced Hyder Ali's army had reascended the ghats.

In J une he was at Bednur wreaking his vengeance on the inhabitants who had favored the English designs, and on the 18th of the month he prevailed on a Madras officer there imprisoned to write to the Chief at Tellicherry, signifying his desire for peace. This letter was in due course forwarded to Colonel Wood, and on 20th August the Chief was instructed from Madras to reply as follows : — "I have communicated to the Governor of Madras what you wrote to me at the desire of Hyder Ally, the 18th June, to which I have received the following answer : — ' In the letter you sent me from the officer at Biddanora it is said Hyder Ally is desirous that a general peace may be effected through the mediation of Bombay. I have no objections to receive his proposals for peace ; if Hyder A lly has anything to propose on that subject and will write to me, I shall answer his letters. If he rather chuses to write to Bombay 'tis well, it will only prolong the negotiations, the end will be the same. It is said also in the same letter that Hyder Ally desires not to make war with the English but with Nabob Muhammad Ally only. The English are always true to their friends and faithful to their allies and therefore must look on the enemies of the Nabob Wallajah as their enemies. Whether the forts we have taken be of mud or stone 'tis not necessary to explain here, 'tis enough that Hyder

Ally knows what they were worth to him, and I know well their importance to us. As to his threats of laying waste these countries and destroying the inhabitants, of what avail are words — they cannot hurt and merit not a reply — 'Tis not my custom to threaten but to act,' "

The council s declared policy had been to assist the native powers against Ali Raja, but not to engage as principals in any warfare against him. — Despatch of 30th September 1766.

Hyder Ali's threats were not empty words, however, as the Madras council learnt to their oost when in November 1768, Fazlulla Khan in command of one column and Hyder Ali himself in command of another made a.rapid and unexpected descent on Coimbatore and Salem, and Colonel Wood's weak and scattered posts, designed more for the Nabob Muhammad Ali's extortionate exactions of revenue than for military operations, fell an easy prey to the Mysoreans, some by treachery and some by force. Lieutenant Bryant and his sepoys, being well apprised of treachery within their own lines, left Palghat by night, and marching south-west into Cochin territory eventually reached Madras by way of Travancore and Cape Comorin. Hyder Ali fulfilled his threat by scour ing the country up to the very gates of Madras itself and almost 1 dictated peace within sight of its walls on the 3rd April 1769.

The Tellicherry factors were not too well pleased with the terms obtained, although the Honorable Company's trading privileges were confirmed, and recorded their opinion that Ali Raja should either be obliged by Hyder Ali to restore Kolattunad to the Prince Regent, or be compelled to give it up by force of arms. The fact was that Hyder Ali had insisted, as a special condition in the negotiations which Madanna, the Civil Governor of South Malabar, had opened with the various Malabar chiefs in December 1768, that Ali Raja should remain undisturbed, and as Palghat was also studiously omitted, Hyder Ali had thus previously secured two points on the coast from which at any time he could resume his designs on the province. Excepting Kolattunad and Palghat, therefore, and perhaps Kottayam and other petty chief, tains, whose territories Hyder Ali's officers had never so far been able to command, the Malayali chiefs eagerly adopted the terms offered, and " Hyder's 2 provincial troops, whose escape would otherwise have been impracticable, not only retreated in safety, but loaded with treasure — the willing3 contribution of the chiefs of Malabar — the purchase of a dream of independence." The Malabar contingent of troops thus relieved in December 1768 formed a respectable portion of the army with which Hyder Ali and Fazlulla Khan a few months afterwards ravaged the Carnatic plains, and forced the Madras Government to accept the terms of peace above alluded to.

Ali Raja's territory did not however ia the factors' view, or in that of the native chiefs', extend to the south of the Anjarakandi river, and accordingly, in December

1768, the factors shelled his people out of a bamboo fort which they had erected on Nittur point close to the Tellicherry limits on the opposite side of the Koduvalli river. And this fort was in due course made 4 over to the Kottayam Raja, its rightful owner, and he in return finally w aived his claim to some land on the

1 Treaties, Sfr., i. CXLIV and LXXXVTII.

» Wilks, I. 333.

*« The Kadattanftd Raja paid as much as Ra. 80,000 —[factors' Diary, December 1768. * Treaties, $~c., i. LXXXVII.*

TH8 MYSOREAN CONQUEST.

Honorable Company's Island of Darmapattanam, regarding which he had from time to time been troubling the factors ever since 1735.1

At the conclusion of the peace with Hyder Ali in 1769, affairs in Malabar seem to have settled down into their usual quiescent state. In 1770 the factors were once more reinstated in full possession of the district of Randattara. And in the following year the Dutch, following out their policy of reducing the number of their fortified places, sold Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore to Ali Raja, and about this same time or a little earlier the equipments of their forts at Chetwai and Cranganore were materially reduced. Cochin fort too was in a ruinous state, and Governor Moens set to work to repair it'.

While the Dutch were thus still further reducing 2 their hold on the country, the English factors were busy, but in another way, in strengthening their position. On 12th March 1772 the factors began to levy a regular land revenue assessment. Private gardens were taxed at " 25 per cent, of the produce," rice lands belonging to the Honorable Company paid 40 per cent, of the gross produce, and the factors were at a loss to know what to impose on other lands of that description. A reference to Bombay brought back, on 24th April, an order that " the estates and verges 3 not yet assessed must be taxed at 10 per cent, on account the Honorable Company." The officer charged with collecting the revenue of Randattara was styled " Inspector of Randattara."

Hyder Ali had meanwhile after suffering many reverses been forced by the Mahrattas to make a disadvantageous peace. In a short time, however, his treasury was again replenished at the expense of his subjects and his forces were reorganized ; so that when dissensions broke out in the Mahratta camp consequent on the death of Madu Row in November 1772, Hyder was ready " for 4 whatever event the page of fate should unfold;" and in little more than six months, between September 1773 and February 1774, he managed to repossess himself of all the territories he had lost during the English and Mahratta wars.

Coorg fell to him in November 1773, and a force despatched under Said Sahib and Srinavas Row Berki pushed through Wynad and descended on Malabar about 27th December by a new and direct route via the Tamarassen pass. The Malayali chiefs yielded without striking a blow, and Srinavas Row remained as Foujdar (or military governor) assisted by Sirdar Khan, while Said Sahib returned to Seringapatani with the cavalry and other troops not required as a garrison.

About a year later (1775) Hyder Ali appears to have made up his mind that any idea of an alliance with the English was hopeless. The

*‘ Treat**, fa., o XXVII, XXVIII.*

2 Under the circumstances, it is rot a littlecurious to know that even at so late a date as 1790, the Dutch at Cochin passed a formal resolution that the English factory at

Anjengo should be destroyed.

- *Paddy flats. — Port.*
- *Wilks, I. 388.*

HAIwIrBAtt DISTRICT.

latter had agreed in the Treaty of 1769 to assist him against the Mah-rattas, hut Muhammad Ali, the Nabob of the Carnatic, had by intrigues in England effectually prevented the fulfilment of that part of the treaty in order to carry out an ambitious scheme of his own. Hyder Ali appears to have fathomed the Nabob’s designs, which, as a preliminary to still more ambitious schemes, required Hyder Ali’s own destruction, and he accordingly determined to break with the English. His relations with the Malirattas, however, led him to temporise for a time. Meanw hile if he could possess himself of Travancore he would not only replenish his coffers, but would secure an advantageous position on, his enemy’s flank for his contemplated invasion of the Carnatic.

In 1 76 then he demanded of the Dutch at Cochin a free passage through their territories into Travancore. The Dutch still held possession of their fort at Cranganore, which effectually protected the western flank of the Travancore lines, and which was regarded on this account, and also because it commanded the great natural water communications between north and south, as the key of the country. Hyder’s demand to be allowed to pass was refused on the plea that a reference had to be made to Batavia ; but ten years previously this very same request had been met by this very same reply. Hyder Ali knowing that the Dutch had had ten years to consider his proposal, not unnaturally regarded the reply as evasive, and threatened the Dutch with annihilation.*

Sirdar Khan .was accordingly set in motion at the head of about 10,000 men. He invaded in August 1776 the northern portion of Cochin and took the fort of Trichur. The Cochin Raja agreed to give a nazar of 4 lakhs of rupees and 4 elephants and to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 1,20,000 ; but the Travancore lines blocked a further advance southward of Sirdar Khan's force and the Dutch were beginning to hope there would be no more trouble.

" The Dutch now congratulated themselves on the disappearance of the Mysoreans, but a letter soon arrived from Sirdar Khan in which he claimed the Chetwai territory on the plea that it had formed a portion of the Zamorin's dominions wrested from him by the Dutch, who had promised to return it after a certain period. That time having elapsed, and Hyder being now by right of conquest the successor to the Zamorin, the Cochin council were requested to give up the lands, which they declined doing. On October 9th, Sirdar Khan crossed the Chetwai river near Poolicarra, a little to the north of the Dutch fort, and took possession of the customs-house, making a prisoner of the writer who was sent to him as the bearer of a message. The Mysore forces now divided into two bodies, one of which proceeded southwards towards Paponetty, from whence the Dutch Resident retired into the Cranganore fort, taking with him the company's treasure. Sirdar Khan now threw up strong works at Paponetty and despatched a letter to the Governor of Cochin, stating that Hyder Ali considered that he had met with a premeditated insult

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from the Dutch Governor, who had given no decided reply to his letter. Still he wished to he friends, but a free passage for his troops towards Travancore was essential ; and were such refused, it would be considered equivalent to a declaration of war.

" Governor Moens replied that he was glad to understand that the Mysoreans wished to he regarded as friends, and he should feel obliged by their evacuating the Dutch territory, and not allowing their people to approach the Cranganore fort. But before his reply could reach its destination, Sirdar Khan attempted to surprise this fort on October 11th, but failed. He then wrote another letter, stating that having taken the lands of Paponetty, he should feel obliged by the accounts of the last twenty years being forwarded. He also demanded the territory the Dutch Company had received from the Zamorin in 1758, as well as a nazar and a free passage towards Travancore.

" Without sufficient troops to hold their own by force, surrounded by native states outwardly friendly but secretly hostile, attacked by the Mysoreans, and awaiting instructions from Batavia, Moens' position was a yery difficult one. A common danger, it was true, bound the Cochin and Travancore States to the Dutch, but it

was feared that they did not possess sufficient forces to afford any effectual barrier against the advance of the Mysore troops. Still Moens considered it advisable to sound the dispositions of the two Rajas, so wrote and informed them that he was ready to commence offensive operations against ˆhe' Mysoreans, but he first required a categorical answer as to how far he could depend upon their support : he also proposed a plan on which all would have to act in concert against the common enemy. The Raja of Travancore replied that he had entered into an alliance with the Nabob of Arcot and the British, in which it had been stipulated that he was only to act on the defensive, and not to be the aggressor, otherwise he would receive no aid : so he regretted being unable to join the Dutch, except for defensive measures. Should the Mysoreans advance on his territory, British and Arcot troops were promised for his assistance.

" UˆentˆquestsˆwereˆdespatchedˆtoˆCeylonˆforˆmoreˆtroopsˆasˆthereˆwereˆonlyˆ200 effective soldiers present and the safety of Cochin itself was now endangered, for it was ascertained that a fleet, consisting of one three-mast ship, six two-mast grabs, and twenty well-armed gallivats were preparing at Calicut to take troops by sea past Cranganore to the island of Vypeen. It was suspected that the Ayacotta fort would be first attacked and should it fall, that Cranganore would be besieged from the south, whilst Sirdar Khan invested it from the north. An armed sloop was placed at the entrance of the Cranganore river, and two arnmd merchant ships further out to sea to'cover the coast. The Raja of Travancore and Cochin improved the lines, which commenced from the rear of the Ayacotta fort and were carried along the southern bank of

It, JIT "S ˆ g W8' The CranSa»°re and Ayacotta forts were rengthened, the first and most important by having a retrenchment thrown up under its guns, and the latter by being repaired.

" Some Travancore sepoys were now sent to Ayacotta, which the Mysore troops prepared to attack ; hut unwilling to come to blows, the Travancoreans retired to their own country. Fortunately at this critical time a Dutch detachment arrived by sea, and consequently the Mysoreans retreated. A strictly defensive policy was now decided upon, for fear of giving offence to the British and the Nabob of Arcot, hut in November, as a further reinforcement had arrived, the Dutch considered themselves strong enough to become the aggressors.

" The Muhammadans had invested Chetwai, the garrison of which place sent a message to Cochin, representing that they could not hold it much longer, so Governor Moens now determined to attempt its relief. Provisions and ammunitions having been packed in casks, 180 men embarked in the ship Hoolwerf, having some small boats in tow for the purpose of landing the men and stores. On the same afternoon, November 11th, they arrived before Chetwai, hut the surf being high, the wary Muhammadans had the satisfaction of perceiving that they delayed

landing until the next day. A chosen band of Sirdar Khan's troops was told off, and in the dead of the night placed in ambuscade close to the beach where the landing was most likely to be effected, and in silence awaited the disembarkation of their prey.

" The morning dawned, and the Dutch having examined the shore, could see no vestige of an enemy, all appeared perfectly quiet, and they congratulated themselves on surprising Hyder's troops. The landing commenced, the first boat upset, but the troops waded to the beach with their loaded muskets wet, and their ammunition of course spoilt. Suddenly the ambuscade rushed out, and finding advance impossible, the Dutch retreated in good order to the beach ; but their boats were gone, and the terrified native boatmen were pulling quickly away from the scene of strife. Some of the detachment were killed, and the remainder obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

" The Europeans were disheartened and abandoned the attempted relief, whilst the Muhammadans were greatly elated and the fort of Chetwai was compelled to capitulate on the 13th, one condition being that the garrison should be permitted to retreat to Cranganore, a promise which was of course broken. The prisoners were plundered of everything, even to their very clothes, and with the women, children and slaves, were sent to Calicut. From thence the military were despatched loaded with chains to Seringapatam, where all took service with Hyder, excepting the Commandant of Chetwai and the Resident.

" The whole of the island including Chetwai, Ayroor or Paponetty, and the territory of the Raja of Cranganore (excepting the Dutch fort), all of which were tributary to the Dutch, now succumbed to Hyder's general ; but he found his further advance impeded by the Travancore lines. The Cochin council now decided upon still further strengthening the Cranganore fort and on not again breaking up their troops into detachments.

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" On January 9th, 1777, the answer to Ilyder's letter arrived from Batavia, and with it the customary presents, which with an apologetic letter from the Governor of Cochin, were forwarded to Hyder's camp. On February 25th the Commandant and Resident of the Chetwai fort arrived in Cochin from Seringapatam and informed Governor Moens from Hyder that most of the prisoners, including the women and slaves, were set at liberty (some soldiers were induced to remain in Hyder's service) and that they were commissioned by Hyder to say that he was still anxious to enter into a treaty of friendship with the company, upon which subject he would shortly write. Hyder's letter disowned Sirdar Khan's proceedings, and stated that he had only despatched him into the sandy 1 country to inquire after some of the Zamorin's lands ; that he had no unfriendly feeling towards the

Hutch, and whilst returning the prisoners trusted all matters of dispute between them would be rapidly and amicably settled.

" Hyder Ali in a secret correspondence became very pressing to carry into effect his former propositions for entering into an alliance with the Hutch. He now reduced his requirements to 400 European infantry and 100 artillery men. Governor Moens evaded this application without declining it, and held out hopes which were never carried into effect. He foresaw that neutrality with the English and Travancore must cease should he join Hyder. The Hutch council also wished to prevent the Travancore Raja, who was becoming alarmed at Hyder's increasing power, from forming too intimate relationship with the British, so they tried to induce him to believe that from Hyder he had nothing to fear.

" On January 8th, 1778, the Hutch planned an expedition to recover their lost ground. They stormed and took the Cranganore Raja's palace, which had a garrison of 300 men, and pursued the enemy to Paponetty. The succeeding day the Hutch forces reached Bellapattoo, and' on the evening of the third day arrived before Chetwai. At once the guns began to play upon the fori, and continued all that night and throughout the next day. On the third day they unsuccessfully attempted to storm ; the attack was continued seven days, but the enemy commencing to assemble in force on the opposite side of the river, the Hutch were obliged to retreat to Cranganore on January 19th with the loss of some guns. On the morning of March 3rd the Mysoreans attacked the Cranganore palace with 3,000 men on foot, 150 horse and 4 guns. After ten hours' fighting the Hutch retired to the Cranganore fort with the loss of 6 men.

" In March the Hewan of Travancore came to Cochin to have an interview with Governor Moens, who ponded out to him the necessity of preventing Cranganore from falling into the hands of Hyder, and urged

1 Chetwai Island is sometimes called Manapuram, i.c.. sandy place, from the nature, of the soil.

that it was to the interest of the Travancoreans to join the Dutch as they were running a risk of losing their country, whilst the Dutch could only lose a little strip of territory, which Moens hinted might even be avoided should he join the Mysoreans.

" About this time Ilyder, who was now most indignant with the Dutch, was obliged to go to war with the English and the N4bob of Arcot. On his way he found time to plunder the Dutch store-house at Porto Novo and make a prisoner of the Resident."

" In 1783 the Raja of Chetwai was peaceably reinstated in his dominions by the Dutch when they retook the place from Tippu's forces ; but in the following year

orders arrived from Batavia to return

this territory to Tippu, Hyder having died in December 1782." _

Day's Land of the Per man Is, pages 149 7o 155.

Meanwhile in North Malabar, in consequence of Ali Raja's failure to pay the stipulated tribute, the Prince Regent of Chirakkal (Kolattunad) had been restored to his dominions and a Mysorean officer had been sent to administer the revenue. On 25th April 1775 the Prince Regent, backed by the Mysoreans, forced the Kurangoth Nayar, backed by the French of Mahe, to come to terms, and on 5th May the French paid Rs. 80,000 and procured the withdrawal of the enemy. In June the Prince Regent proceeded into Kottayam to reduce various forts : all guns taken were sent to Hyder Ali. The Prince Regent however during all this time continued to supply the Tellicherry factory with pepper, and thereby the factors incurred the jealousy of the French Settlement at Mahe. ^1. Law de Ijaunston wrote to Warren Hastings, complaining of the entire ruin of French trade on the coast through the factors' " new treaties " with the Prince Regent " for all the pepper and other productions of the country."

Notwithstanding this aid, however, in their mercantile pursuits, the Tellicherry factory had not for some years past been a paying investment. On 8th January 1776 advices were received by the Gatton that what had been impending for some years had at last been ordered to be carried out. The factory was to be reduced to a residency and the troops removed. At this juncture the principal inhabitants of all classes came forward voluntarily and presented a petition, " representing the deplorable situation they will be reduced to in case the Honorable Company withdraw their protection from them, and as they learn that the great expense of this settlement is the cause of the Honorable Company's resolution to withdraw their troops, they have agreed to raise a sum sufficient, with the present revenues, to maintain a force for their protection by a tax on their oarts 1 and houses as specified at the foot of their petition. The officer commanding estimated that the force required would cost Rs. 60,000 per annum, and the new tax and other revenues

1 Tort. Horta = fardpn.

we/e estimated likewise tp produce that 6um. The petition was accordingly sent to Bombay for orders, and the factors pointed out that, unless the settlement was kept up on a more respectable footing than a residency, it would be impossible to provide for the annual investment in pepper and cardamoms, except at exorbitant rates. It remained as a residency— with an establishment of a Resident, and one or sometimes two factors until 2/th January 1784, on which date the chiefship

was re-established, and jt continued on this footing down to 1794, when the factory was finally abolished.

On March 18th, 1778, the French recognised the declaration of American independence and thus brought on another war with England. The news reached Tellicherry via Anjengo on the 29th July, shortly after a French reinforcement for Hyder Ali had been passed on to him through Mah6.

Mahe was at this time of more importance to Hyder Ali than even Pondicherry itself, for it was through that port that he received his guns and ammunition and French reinforcements. He was busy -wresting from the Mahrattas the territory lying between the Tumbadra and the Kistna rivers, when the English laid siege to Pondicherry on August 8th, 17/8, and he failed to make a diversion in their favor. Pondicherry fell on 18 th October. The news reached Tellicherry on 3rd November, and shortly after that date the factors heard that it was in contemplation to reduce Mah4 also. But the reduction of M!ahe would have cut off Hyder All from his base of supplies, so, although not yet prepared finally to break with the English, he appears directly Pondicherry fell to have sent orders, which resulted in the Prince Regent of Kolattunad joining the French at Mah6 with 1,500 of his Nayars. Besides which 200 of Hyder Ali's own sepoys were thrown into the place ; and orders were sent to Kadattanad to reinforce Mahe with 2,000 more men, and Kolattunad was to send a like further number. Kadattanad, however, inclined to the English alliance, and so did the Zamorin and Kottayam! The factors at Tellicherry took every possible means to secure these aˆies, and as the event turned out, the Kolattunad Prince was the only

chief who remained faithful to Hyder Ali's interest until after Mah<$ had fallen.

On January 3rd, 1779, the siege stores for Mah<$ came in from Bombay. On February 6th the Kolattunad force 1 in defence of Mah6 was reinforced by 2,000 men from Coorg. On February 21st the first division of Colonel Brathwaite's exprditionary force, 800 sepoys under Captain Walker, reached Tellicherry. On February 24th there arrived another battalion under Captain 'Fraser. On March 2n<J there came the Terrible bomb ketch Asia, man-of-war, and on March 12th H.M.'s ships 8(a Horse and Coventry , with the Resolution in convoy carrying Colonel Brathwaite and a European battalion. At 4 p.m. on that day the colonel landed under a salute of 15 guns, and at 5 p.m.

- *1,500 men and 2 gum.*

the first gun was fired by the French at the British advanced posts. On March 15th the Royal Charlotte brought Major Clifton and three companies of artillery. And the force being now complete, Colonel Brathwaite, on the 16th March at 3 p.m., summoned M. Picot to surrender the place. Lieutenants Bate and Williams, his

messengers, returned with M. Picot's refusal at 8 p.m. on the same day.

But meanwhile the Prince of Kolattunad had, on February 27th, thrown a cordon round Tellicherry and stopped the import of provisions. The factors, however, effectually replied to this move by supplying Kottayam with military stores and despatching him on March 1 1th to recover his country. The Prince Regent thus found himself with Kottayam and the British actively hostile on his rear and right flank, and Kadattanad and the Iruvalinad Nambiars passively hostile on his left flank, and it became at once apparent that he was helpless to assist the French unless they could feed him and his men.

The position was hopeless for the French, so on the 19th March, at 7 a.m., proposals of capitulation were received from M. Picot. Brath-waite's reply was accepted 1 the same day, and at 4 p.m. the British colours were hoisted on " Currachee redoubt." Chimbrah and Fort St. George were handed over next morning under a salute of 21 guns, and the British colours were flying in Mahe itself at 6 p.m. on the evening of the 20th. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, but all arms, stores, &c., were surrendered, and the forts, &c., were placed at the disposal of the Honorable Company.

The Prince Regent of Kolattunad effected his retreat from Mahe through Nittur after suffering defeat from Kottayam and sustaining considerable loss, and both Kottayam and the Zamorin for a time recovered most of their dominions from Hyder Ali's troops.

The Company was, however, still nominally at peace with the latter, and no overt encouragement, beyond the grant of supplies of arms, &c., was held out to the country powers, though the circumstances might have justified the adoption of active measures, for Mr. Wm. Freeman, the Company's Resident Factor at Calicut, had, by order of the Governor, been obliged, on March 18th, summarily to leave that place, and the Company's goods and some of their employes bad W left behind by him at the mercy of Hyder Ali's people there.

The Mysorean provincial troops had consequently no difficulty in putting down the rising in the south, and the Kolattunad Prince, after joining Bulwant Row, returned to the Kottayam country, dispersed the Kottayam force, and then proceeded to Kadattanad, where the Senior Raja/who had sided with the English, was deposed in favor of a young

The effect of these measures was soon apparent at Mahe and Tellicherry On June 24th young Kadattanad's force closed in on Mahe and began erecting fortifications. On August 20th a washerman belong-

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ing to Brathwaite's force camped at Mah6 was carried off. Restitution was demanded, and in a collision which occurred in consequence eight of the Kadattan&d Nayars were slain. Hyder Ali approved of young Kadattanad's conduct, and the latter beheaded the unfortunate dhobi in the presence of a peon of Brathwaite's, who had gone with a message, and of a horsekeeper who had also been entrapped. The two latter, with their hands cut off, were permitted to return to Mahe.

It soon became apparent in short that Hyder Ali, by means of the Malabar chiefs in his interest, meant to become actively hostile. The country powers intercepted letters and stopped the supply of provisions, and in October still more active measures were undertaken by them — first against the British outpost at Mount Deli in the beginning of that month, and towards the end of it the British district of Randattara was overrun by the Kdlattunad Prince with his force. The Mappillas of this latter district undertook to assist the British to maintain their hold of the province, but when it came to the push their hearts failed them. A small force sent out to assist the Randattara Achanmars was obliged to retreat before overwhelming numbers to Darmapattanam Island. On October 24th the factors recorded their opinion that Hyder Ali intended to break with the Honorable Company, and that the native chiefs were acting under secret orders from him.

On October 31st young Kadattanad attacked the British outpost at " Moicara " and seized it and Andolla and Tira Malas, and as the factory was now attacked on all sides, the factors sent a requisition to Colonel Brath waite to come to Tellicherry to assist in its defence.

On November 1st, 1779, the factory diary thus runs : — " As the enemy seem to be gaining ground — resolved that, agreeable to the Company's orders, we deliver the keys of the fort to the Militarj' Commanding Officer, who is to take all possible means for the security of the fort and districts." From this date till January 8th, 1782, the town was in a state of close siege on the landward side, and the keys were only returned to the Resident on the 24th of this latter month.

Colonel Brathwaite accordingly evacuated Mahe and brought his Madras troops to assist in the defence of Tellicherry. Part of the British Island of Darmapattanam was seized by the enemy so early as November 3rd, but the rest of it was held till July 18th, 1780, two days prior to the date on whioh Hyder Ali finally threw off the mask and descended on 4he Nabob of Arcot's territory with his army of 90,000 men in pursuance of his plan with the Mahrattas of annihilating the English power. And it was on that very day, July 20th, 1780, that the factors were at last authentically apprised by a deserter that Hyder Ali was at war with the Company. The only remaining outpost at Mount Deli was evacuated in November 1780.

Prior to these events the state of siege was maintained ostensibly by the Kolattunad and Kadattanad Princes ; for Kottayam was throughout the siege firmly attached to the Honorable Company's interests, and

mala bam district.

helped materially, with a body of from 1,000 to 1,300 of his Nayars, to enable them to hold the town successfully. The post was not a strong one, although it was protected on three sides by the sea and the river with redoubts 1 on all positions of importance, but there was cover available for the enemy up to within 200 yards of the main fort itself if

they had once broken through the " extensive,2 but indefensible " outer line of defence.

Into this small and insufficiently protected area flocked every one who had property to lose. Hyder Ali's " Buxy " {Bakshi = paymaster) at Mahe, in a letter of May 29th, 1780, to the Resident put the matter very forcibly thus : " I know perfectly well that you have been guilty

of giving an asylum to people that ought to pay to the Nabob lacks and lacks of rupees, and given assistance to the vassals of the Nabob. A ou also keep in your protection thieves, who ought to pay lacks and lacks of rupees." Hyder Ali himself, too, in a letter to the Kesident received on February 4th, 1780, complained of the protection afforded to the Nayars and their families and of the assistance given to them in arms, &c., in order to create disturbances, whereby " my country of 20 lacks of rupees revenue is entirely ruined, and I cannot get the same increased." This security of property and perfect trust in the Company's officers probably did more than anything else to bring the siege to a successful issue, for there was no other spot on the coast, not excepting the Dutch settlement at Cochin, where such perfect security to person and property could be found. The persons who flock/d into Tellicherry from all the country round accordingly fought and watched with the courage and vigilance of despair, and every effort of the enemy to break through the slender line of scattered outworks was defeated.

On December 6th, 1779, Sirdar Khan, accompanied by some European officers, minutely reconnoitred all the posts, and on January 17th, 1780, the factors reported to the Governor-General (Warren Hastings) that Sirdar Khan was expected shortly with a large force from Seringapatam. On February 17th, 1780, the news arrived that he had reached Tamaras-seri and wished to treat with Kottayam, the Honorable Company's only native ally at this time, for the restoration 3 to him of his country below the ghats. The negotiation took place : a demand was made for five lakhs of rupees, of which two lakhs were to be paid at once. Kottayam could raise but one lakh ; an application to the factors for the

loan of another lakh was of course refused, although it woilld have gone hardly with the besieged had the Kottayam Nayars been withdrawn. Eventually Kottayam paid Rs. 60,000 to Sirdar Khan, but this was not enough to satisfy the latter, and his request to be restored to his

1 " Cucbicundy," Koduvalli, Pallikkunnu, Morakkunnu, Chirakkalkandi, Tiruvengad temple, and Mailan were the principal outworks.

2 Wilks' "Historical Sketches," II. 1.

j It appears that' Kottayam had previously received from Hyder Ali a " Phirmaund for Vaenatto " (WainAd).

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dominions was accordingly refused. 3 ho result of these negotiations was to attach Kottayam more strongly than before to the Company's interests.

On December 23rd, 1779, Bxathwaite was relieved of the command of the town by Major John Cotgrave, another Madras officer. On July 8th, 1780, Sirdar Khan appeared at Mah6 with a large force, which three days later he began to pass across the river, and on the morning of the 12th the force reached " Mellure." This led to the evacuation of Darmapattanam Island and to the concentration of the Honorable Company's force within the lines of Tellicherry. Sirdar Khan refused to assign any reasons for his action, but it was no lopger doubtful that Hyder Ali had finally broken with the Company.

As soon as the state of the season permitted, Sirdar Khan commenced operations by sea as well as by land, and on October 1st, 1780, the factors reported that they were " blocked by sea by a ketch and a great number of armed manchuas and toneys." But this did not last long, for on October 6th came the " Drake " and " Eagle " cruizers, which disabled the enemy's ketch and drove away the smaller vessels into the creeks and rivers, where, however, they lay ready for future operations.

When the news of Bailey's defeat by Hyder Ali arrived on November 1st, matters assumed a very serious aspect, as it was supposed the Madras troops under Major Cotgrave would be withdrawn, and the evacuation of two redoubts called Whippey's and Connor's created shortly after this quite a panic in the town. But a day or two later (November 27th) matters began to look brighter when Sir Edward Hughes with H.M.'s ships Superb , Exeter, Eagle , Worcester, and Burford and others in convoy put into the roads.

Just about this time the Mahratta Angriah, in command of Hyder Ali's fleet, consisting of two ships, two snows, six ketches, and two gallivats, sailed south as

far as Cannanore to attack the ships in the Tellicherry roadstead, but he did not like the aspect of the shipping when he arrived there and wisely retreated.

Directly, however, Sir Edward Hughes sailed north to Bombay, the enemy's fleet again began to give trouble, and to remedy this Captain LeMesurier of the Ponsborne was appointed Commodore of the Tellicherry roads.

In March and April 1781 the enemy's exertions were redoubled, but the garrison reinforced by two 12-pounder guns and 60 marines from the ships successfully repelled the attacks. The following singular account of one of the modes of attack adopted by Sirdar Khan is given by Wilks 1 on the authority of Sir Barry Close, " one of the besieged " : — " Sirdar Khan had no acquaintance with the European science of attack aud defence, but, after failing in several assaults which were repelled

1 Wilki' " Extltrieal Sketehet , &c.,M II. 2.

by the bravery of the defenders, and finding every- ordinary battery opposed by corresponding and more skilful defensive means, or destroyed by sorties, adopted a species of offensive work, which from its height should enable him to see and counteract the designs of the besieged, and from its construction be exempt from the dangers of assault. An immense extent of base served as the foundation for several successive storeys, constructed of the trunks of trees in successive layers, crossing each other and compacted by earth rammed between the intervals ; the contrivances in the rear for raising the guns were removed when the erection was complete, and enormous inaccessible towers rearing up their summits by the successive addition of another storey as the besieged covered themselves from the proceeding, exhibited a system of attack too curious to be dismissed in silence, -but too imperfectly impressed by distant recollection to be well described."*

Shortly after this, on May 7th, Sir Edward Hughes' squadron again came into the roads with troops and stores and Major Abington as " Major Commandant " in succession to Major Cotgrave, who with the Madras troops sailed with the fleet on May 16th.

On May 17th and 18th ineffectual attempts were made by the enemy to set fire to the Sea Horse in the roadstead, nor were their efforts by land more successful.

On August 6th, however, they opened a fresh battery of 5 guns against Morakkunnu, a redoubt by the river side, and in consequence of the incessant firing kept up in reply, the gunpowder supply of the garrison began to run short and became " very alarming." An urgent requisition was sent to Anjengo, and Mr. Firth, one of the factors, proceeded by sea to Cochin to endeavour to get a supply from the Dutch.

A day or two after he had gone (August 27th), the news arrived that England was at war with the Dutch. Mr. Firth was accordingly detained as a prisoner of war at Cochin, and the money and other things that he carried with him were seized.

As the British fire slackened, the enemy came closer to the lines, and in spite of the news of Sir Eyre Coote's victories on the East Coast in J uly and August, the enemy were no whit less assiduous in the siege On October 11th they had, Major Abington reported, mined "under and even within our lines." But on that day also arrived the first instalment of the long looked for supply of gunpowder and hand grenades from Anjengo, and the anxiety so long felt was removed.

On November 22nd Mr. Firth was released at Cochin in exchange for a Dutchman, a relative of the Dutch Governor Van Angelbeck.

With the beginning of December 1781 came the news from the East Coast of the retaking of Arcot and of Hyder Ali being in " a very perilous situation at a place called Convy." And by this time the Bombay authorities had matured their plans for relieving the settlement. Accordingly, on December 18th, the Resident and Major Abington

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had a consultation and agreed on a plan of operations to be put in force directly the expected reinforcements arrived.

The plan appears to have been much the same as that already long before proposed by the Kottayam Raja in December 1780, and then warmly approved by Major Cotgrave, Kottayam was to advance from the fastnesses of the ghats in rear of the enemy opposing the Morak-kunnu redoubt. The garrison were to join hands with him there and thus cut the besieging army in half and afterwards vanquish it in detail.

Besides this, the cruizers were to be stationed to the south of Mah6 to prevent a retreat of Sirdar Khan's force by sea. The cruizers protecting the roadstead at this time were the Morning Star and the Drake , and as a preliminary to the further operations, they, on 21st December, set upon Hyder Ali's gallivats, took one of them, and drove the remainder in a very shattered condition into the Valarpattanam river. On the same day the enemy sprung two mines at Fort Mailan, but without doing any damage, and that post was made stronger than ever. On 'December 28th the Travancore and Zamorin Rajas were addressed to assist in crushing Hyder Ali's force on the coast as soon as the Tellicherry siege was raised. It was necessary to maintain the strictest secrecy in regard to the intended movements, and hence the addresses to these Rajas were not sent sooner.

On December 30th, 1781, the expected reinforcements arrived from Bombay,

consisting of the 2nd and 8th battalions of sepoys and 40 artillery men with four 6-pounders, besides lascars.

With this force, and as many of the troops in garrison as could be spared, Major Abington left his trenches at 5 a.m. on Monday, 8th January 1782, and " stormed and carried the enemy's batteries, took their cannon, ammunition, &c., and a number of prisoners, &c." And the further results were thus described by him in a note addressed to Mr. Freeman, the Resident, written from " Guerechee " at 1 1 o'clock:— Sir, I congratulate you on our success, and I believe our whole loss does not exceed 30 killed and wounded. We are in possession of Guerechee, Putney , Bench Hill, and I hope by this time of everything under Moylan, all the guns and 2 brass field-pieces. Scirdar Caun is now setting with me, and all his family ; he is wounded and seems very ill ; the Buckshee of the irregulars is killed, and they have suffered very considerably. Poor

Woodington is the only officer wounded. Yours very sincerely— William Abington."

Fort George at Mah6 surrendered at 9| p.m. on the 8th, and Mah6 at 5 a.m. next morning.

The left attack being thus annihilated, the remainder of the besieging

army on the point of Nittur and on Darmapattanam Island evacuated their positions on the 9th.

*0 .,Jhe key*of the fort were re-delivered to the Resident on January . th' rhe » N&yars rose all over the country, and Major Abington pushing on southwards took Calicut on February 13th, and by the 20th of that*

month " Palicatcherry " was reported to be the only place of important, though this fact is doubtful, remaining in Hyder Ah's hands in South Malabar. " Sirdar Caun departed this life at 9 o'clock this morning," (February 26th).

Hyder's affairs at this time were in a very unprosperous state — Sirdar Khan's army destroyed at Tellicherry ; disappointed and, as he thought, deceived by the French, foiled in every battle by Sir Eyre Coote. Rebellions in Malabar, in Coorg and in Bullum, and finally threatened by a Mahratta invasion from the north, " he determined 1 to concentrate his force, to abandon his scheme of conquest in Coromandel, and to direct his undivided efforts, first, for the expulsion of the English from the Western Coast, and afterwards for the preservation of his dominions, and for watching the course of events." He had to reduce has army in the Carnatic considerably in order to despatch the three expeditions required to put down the rebels. Mukhdum Ali was sent to Malabar, Woffadar (a Chela) to Coorg, and Shaikh Ayaz (Hyat Sahib,2 another and more

1 Wilks' " Historical Sketches ," II. 9.

- *The story of this man is remarkable. Wilks gives the following account of him : — Among the prisoners carried off in the first inhuman emigration from Malabar, was a young Nair, from Chercul, who had been received as a slave of the palace, and to whom, on his forced conversion to Islam, they had given the name of Shaikh Ayaz.* * The noble port, ingenuous manners, and singular beauty of the boy attracted general attention ; and when at a more mature age he was led into the field, his ardent valour and uncommon intelligence recommended him to the particular favor of Hyder, who was an enthusiast in his praise, and would frequently speak to him, under the designation of ' ' his right*

hand in the hour of danger." . In the conversation of Muhammadan chiefs, a

slave of the house, far from being a term of degradation or reproach, uniformly conveys the impression of an affectionate and trustworthy humble friend, and such was Ayaz in the estimation of Hyder. To the endowments which have been stated, incessant and confidential military service had superadded experience beyond his years; and Hyder selected him for the important trust of civil and military governor of the fort and territory of Chittledroog. But modest as he was, faithful and brave, Ayaz wished to decline the distinction, as one to which he felt himself incompetent ; and particularly objected, that he could neither read nor write, and was consequently iqcapable of a civil charge. " Keep a corla + at your right hand " said Hyder, " and that will do you better service than pen and ink," then assuming a graver countenance, " place reliance " added he, " on your excellent understanding ! act for yourself alone ! fear nothing from the calumnies of the scribblers ! but trust in me as I trust in you ! Reading and writing ! ! how have I risen to empire without the knowledge of either ?" In addition to this Hyder Ali was in the habit of publicly drawing very invidious comparisons between his son Tippu and his favorite Shaikh Ayaz. Reprimanding the former on one occasion for attempting secretly to embezzle some plunder, he called him " a thief and a blockhead " ; observing that he had not the common sense to perceive that he was stealing from himself . for unhappily, said he, " you will be my successor ; would that I had begotten Ayaz instead of you ! " Directly therefore Tippu assumed the reins of government on th'e death of Hyder Ali, he despatched secret instructions to the second in command at BednOr to put Ayaz

• The same person afterwards Governor of Bednur at the accession of Tippu, and called in most

English accounts Hyat Saheb. . .

t A Iona whip of cotton rope, about an inch and a half in diameter at the thick

end, where it is rasped and tapering to a point at the other extremity ; this severe instrument of personal punishment is about 0 feet lomr ; and Hyder was constantly attended by a considerable number of persons

too constantly practised in its use.

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remarkable Chela) was ordered from Bednur (of which he was appointed governor) against Bullum.

Shortly after Major Abington had, on 13th February 1782, taken Calicut, there arrived at that place from Bombay, under the command of Colonel Humberstone, a portion of the force despatched from England under General Medows and Commodore Johnson. Col. Humberstone's force consisted of about 1,000 men, and it appears that the original plan was for General Medows' whole force to co-operate with Sir Edward Hughes' squadron in an operation against the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. But it was diverted from this object through instructions received from Mr. Sullivan, the British Resident at Tanjore, and Colonel Humberstone accordingly proceeded to make a diversion against Hyder Ali by advancing from Calicut against the approaching army of Mukhdum Ali.

The following is Colonel Wilks' narrative 1 of the events which followed : —

to death and assume the government. What follows is thus narrated by Wilks : _

" Whatever may have been the ultimate intentions of Ayflz at this period, it is certain that apprehensions of treachery were mixed with all his deliberations : he had taken the precaution of ordering that no letter of any description from the eastward should be delivered without previous examination j and being entirely illiterate, this scrutiny always took place with no other person present than the reader and himself, either in a private chamber, or if abroad, retired from hearing and observation, in the woods. On the day preceding that on which the ghauts were attacked, and while Ayaz was occupied near Hyderghur, in giving directions regarding their defence, the fatal letter arrived and was inspected with the usual precautions ; the Brahman who read it, and to whom the letter was addressed as second in command, stands absolved from all suspicion of prior design by the very act of reading its contents ; but in the perilous condition of Ayaz he durst not confide in a secrecy at best precarious, even for a day ; without a moment's hesitation, he put the unfortunate Brahman to death to prevent discovery ; put the letter in his pocket, and returning to his attendants instantly mounted, and without leaving any orders, went oft at speed to the citadel to make the arrangements for surrender which have been related. It may well be presumed that this horrible scene could not have been enacted without some intimation reaching the ears of the attendants, arid, the very act of abandoning the scene of danger contrary to his*

usual habits, spread abroad among the troops those rumours of undefined treachery which abundantly account for their dispersion and dismay."

He accordingly surrendered to General Matthews the fort and country of BednOr, of which he was the governor, on the condition that he was " to remain under the English as he was under the Nabob (Hyder Ali)." Of the unhappy results of General Matthews' expedition it is unnecessary to say anything. Shaikh Ayaz fled precipitately from BednOr on hearing of the approach of Tippu with the whole of his army, leaving General Matthews and his army to its fate, and his flight was so sudden that he lost the small remains of property belonging to him. He appears to have fled to the protection of the Company's settlement at Tellicherry, and there "on the 7th of the month Kany," in the year 1783, he obtained under pretence of using his influence with the English to' procure for his quondam sovereign, the reigning Kolattiri Prince, the restoration of his country a grant for his family of three taras or villages in the Chirakkal taluk (Treaties , fc i XCI). The grant was subsequently pronounced invalid as having been obtained by fraud. Tippu tried in vain to persuade the English to give up his enemy Ayaz under one of the conditions of the treaty of peace executed in 1784, which provided for a restitution of prisoners captured. Ayaz eventually retired to Mazagon in Bombay in enjoyment of a money allowance granted to him by the Supreme Government. It would appear that ho was originally a Namhiar by caste belonging to the Valia Putiya house in Chirakkal

- *Wilks' " Historical Sketches II. 28. wurakkm.*

" The naval and military officers commanding this portion of the armament having received the communication from Mr. Sullivan, which has been described, and deeming the attempt to reach the opposite coast, while the French were understood to have the superiority at sea, as a precarious undertaking, determined that the troops should be landed at Calicut in aid of the proposed diversion, and that the ships should return to Bombay in furtherance of the same design. Colonel Humberstone, as senior offioer, assumed also the command of the troops which had hitherto served under Major Abington, and being joined by a body of Nayars anxious to emerge from & long and cruel subjugation, he moved about twenty miles to the southward (of Calicut) and close to Tricalore,1 came in contact with Hyder's detachment under Mukhdum Ali, already adverted to. That officer, confident in superior numbers, estimated at 7,000, waited the result of an action in a strong but most injudicious position, with a deep and difficult river in the rear of his right ; from this position he was dislodged, and the retreat of the left being interrupted by a judicious movement of the English troops, a large portion of the Mysorean right was driven into the river with a loss, in killed alone, estimated by Colonel Humberstone at between three and four hundred men, and among that number Mukhdum Ali, their commander ; 200 prisoners and 150 horses were secured, and the total loss in killed, wounded and prisoners may thus be estimated

at from 1,500 to 2,000 men, while that of the English was inconsiderable.

" Colonel Humberstone followed the route of the fugitives as far as Audicota, but finding pursuit unavailing, he resumed his plan of proceeding to the attack of Palghautoherry by the river Paniani, which passing near to that fort discharges itself into the sea at a town of the same name with the river, distant about sixty miles, and is navigable for boats to distances fluctuating with the season, but sometimes for thirty miles. While moving southward for that purpose and waiting the arrival of the boats which conveyed his stores, a violent gale of wind, attended with five days' inoessant rain, dispersed the boats, spoiled the provisions, and damaged the ammunition ; and the soldiers, from exposure to the inclemency of the season, becoming sickly, he was induced, as soon as the violence of the weather would allow, to march his troops to the towns of Tanoor and Paniani. During these events, the Mysoreans rallied at Ramgerry,2 a place situated about half way from the coast to Palghaut-cherry, whence detachments of cavalry were advanced for the usual purposes of annoyance. Colonel Humberstone being himself seriously indisposed, direoted Major Campbell, in an interval of fair weather, to advance towards the enemy, who again awaited the attack in an injudicious position and were defeated with the loss of two guns. Experience of the nature of the season already commenced compelled Colonel

- *On 8th April 1782.— (Tellicherry Factory Diary, 13th and 15th_ April 1782.) The place appears to be identical with Tirurangftdi in Emftd taluk.*

On the cross road between Pattambi and Cherupullassflri.

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Humberstone to seek for better cover to shelter his troops during the monsoon, and be availed himself of the first favorable interval to return to Calicut after a short course of operations highly creditable to his energies as au executive military officer, but founded on views neither sufficiently matured nor combined by the Governments, who were to supply the means necessary to the execution of the service and finally

undertaken at an improper season.

" In contemplating the policy of such diversion, the Government of Bombay were wisely of opinion that no middle course was expedient between measures purely defensive on that coast, and an armament capable not only of penetrating into the interior but maintaining its communications. Previously to the departure of Colonel Humberstone from Bombay, the Government had distinctly objected to a project which he had suggested for employing the troops under his command in the reduction of Mangalore or Cochin, and urged his proceeding to Madras where the reinforcement was expected. The operations which have been described are

*therefore to be viewed as resulting from a coincidence of oircumstances, and not the effect of digested measures, for we shall hereafter have occasion to see that the combinations which might have rendered them safe and efficient were never practically adopted. On receiving intelligence, however, of his landing at Calicut and sending baok the ships, although the Government of Bombay state this determination to have * disconcerted their measures,' they nevertheless resolved ' to take the proper means to assist him afterwards however expressing their regret that ' while General Coote is in want of every European we can collect, as appears by the Madras letter received on the 13th ultimo, the force under Colonel Humberstone should be shut up at Calicut in the utmost distress for many necessary articles ; in no situation to render any service to the public ; and out of the reach of support or supply from hence at this season of the year.'*

" Sir Eyre Coote, however, judiciously converting his own disappointment with regard to this reinforcement into the means of effecting a secure diversion, plaoed Colonel Humberstone under the orders of the Government of Bombay, recommending to them such a concentrated and powerful attack on Hyder's western possessions, as should have the effect of compelling him to return for their defence and thus leave his French allies in Coromandel to their own separate resources. Before, however, these measures could be matured, or the season oould admit of conveying to Colonel Humberstone the requisite orders for his guidance, that officer was again in motion for the prosecution of his original design. The river Paniani afforded conveyance for his stores as far as the post of Tirtalla, thirty miles inland, and he soon afterwards obtained possession of Ramgerry, a place of some capability, five miles further up the river. Fortunately the extreme peril of the expedition was here tempered by the consequences of local inexperienoe, and apparently inadequate means of communication with the natives ; he describee

himself to be ' ignorant of the road and situation of the country, and could place little dependence on the information of theNayars,' natives of that part of the country, and deeply interested in his success : he consequently determined to leave under the protection of a battalion of sepoys at Ramgerrv the whole of his battering train and heavy equipments, and marched with six 6-pounders, two 1 - pounders, and the remainder of his force 'to reconnoitre the country and fortress of Palghautcherry, before he should undertake to attack it.' The remains of the Mysorean troops appeared to make a stand in a position not far from the place, but suffered themselves to be easily dislodged, and retreated into the fort. The colonel proceeded under cover of his troops to reconnoitre the southern and western works; he moved on the ensuing day to the northward of the fort, and after finding by a complete examination that it was ' everywhere much stronger than he had reason to apprehend,' he returned to his first ground to the westward of the place, but in this movement, a judicious and well-timed sortie produced the loss of nearly the whole of his provisions and the discomfiture of all his Nayars,

*who seem to have gone off in a panic in consequence of being attacked in a morass during a thick fog. On the ensuing day he fell back to a little place named Mangaricota, eight miles distant, where he had left some provisions. An attack in force upon his rear repelled with judgment and spirit, was of less importance than the distress sustained by rains which fell from the 21st to the 24th with as great violence as during any period of the monsoon, and rendered impassable for several hours a rivulet in his rear. It appears by letters, not officially recorded, that on the 10th November he received at Mangaricota orders from Bombay to return to the coast ; he commenced his march for that purpose on the 12th. On the 14th he was at Ramgerry, about half way from Palghaut to the coast. A chasm occurs in the materials which the public records afford from the 30th of October till the 1 9th of November, when Colonel MacLeod, who had been sent by Sir Eyre Coote to assume the command, landed at Paniani. * On the 20th Colonel Humberstone with his whole force came in, having made a rapid retreat before Tippu and Lally, who followed him by forced marohes with a very superior force the last march being from Tirtalla, thirty miles. The public despatches are silent with regard to his numbers and the fate of the battering train, but the circumstances whioh led to this attack are better ascertained.*

" After the defeat of Mukhdum Ali, Hyder had made all the requisite arrangements for endeavoring to repair that misfortune as soon as the season should permit. Tippu's usual command including the corps of M. Lally had been reinforced and improved, and towards the close of the rains in Malabar, affected to be meditating some blow in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly in order that when the 'state of the season and of the roads should be reported favorable, and above all when Colonel Humberstone should have advanced a sufficient

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distance from the boast, Tippu1 might be enabled by a few forced marches to oome unexpectedly upon him. The receipt of orders from Bombay for his return to the coast, considered by himself as a publio misfortune, may be deemed the efficient cause of the preservation of the troops under his command. Tippu commenced his forced march from the vicinity of Caroor in the confidence of finding Colonel Humberstone at Mangarioota advancing his stores fot the siege of Palghaut. Tippu arrived at the latter place on the 16th, when his enemy had receded to Kamgerry ; it was not, however, until the 18th,2 at night, that he had any intelligence which satisfied him of the necessity of retreat at four o'clock on the ensuing morning ; but from an official neglect to send the order to a pioquet of 150 men stationed at the extraordinary distance of three miles, five hours were lost ; incessantly harassed and cannonaded throughout the day, he attempted without success to pursue his route on the right bank of the river which was not fordable, but found himself stopped by impenetrable swamps. The early part of the night was passed in anxious search for a practicable ford, and at length one was

found so deep as to take ordinary men to the chin ; yet by clinging together in silence, the tall assisting the short, the whole got acioss without the loss of a man. Tippu supposing the river to be everywhere impassable, employed the night in making dispositions for destroying his enemy in the snare in which he supposed him to be entrapped ; but by daylight on the 20th the detachment had performed the largest portion of the march and was only overtaken within two miles of Paniani. The hope of intercepting him was thus frustrated by an unexpected event, but Tippu determined to persevere in the attack.

" Colonel MacLeod, on examining his position 3 at Paniani, began to strengthen it by some field works, and on the 25th attempted to surprise Tippu's camp by night, an enterprise from which he desisted on forcing a pioquet and discovering regular military arrangements and a strong position. On the morning of the 29th, before day, the field works being still unfinished, Tippu attempted the strong, but weakly occupied position of Colonel MacLeod by a well-designed attack in four columns, one of them headed by Lally's corps ; but such was the vigilance, discipline and energy of the English troops that the more advanced picquets were merely driven in on the out-posts, not one of which was actually forced; support to the most vulnerable having been skilfully provided and M. Lally's corps having fortunately been met by the strongest, ea' uks

" Historical Sketche» ," 11. 80.)

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retire within the limits held Ipy the English on the 26th July preceding. But thb orders received confirmation from Madras, and Fullarton on 28th December began reluctantly to obey them. Hardly however had he reached Dindigul once more, when the government of Lord Macartney changed its mind and he was told to stand fast in his possessions.

It was too late, however, the evacuation had been carried out and as Mr. Swartz, the famous missionary, forcibly expressed it, " they had let go the reins and how were they to control the beast !"

Palghaut had been occupied by the Zamorin of Calicut as soon as the British force retired. Fullarton applied for and received four battalions of Travancore sepoys, which he despatched to the place to help the Zamorin to hold it till further assistance could arrive, but before the succour arrived, the Zamorin's force despairing 1 of support had abandoned the place and retired into the mountains. Tippu's forces, thereupon, speedily re-occupied all the south of Malabar as far as the Kota river, at which point a detachment of troops from Tellicherry was stationed to prevent the enemy from encroaching on the Kadattanad country to the north of the river.

Meanwhile, an independent expedition had been planned against Cannanore, " that nest of enemies" as the officer in command, Brigadier-General Norman MacLeod, styled it. The reason for attacking it was that some 300 sepoys on their way from Bombay to join General MacLeod's army had been wrecked on the coast in a storm. Two hundred of them had been detained by Tippu as prisoners, and the rest had similarly been detained by the Bibi of Cannanore. There are very few particulars in the records regarding this expedition, of the reasons for which the factors were not informed until after the place had fallen. General MacLeod arrived at Tellicherry on October 12, 1783, almost simultaneously with the detachment of French troops under Colonel Cossigny, which had taken part in the earlier operations against Mangalore, but which had left Tippu's service on the conclusion of peace between the Euglish and French. On October 20th there arrived the squadron of H. M.'s ships under Sir Richard Bickerton bringing with them from Madras " 800 of H. M.'s troops " for General MacLeod's oommand. More troops came from Bombay shortly afterwards, and by 11th December General MacLeod reported "everything in great forwardness in the siege." And three days later, or on 14th December, the place was carried. The 42nd and 10oth regiments and two companies of the Tellicherry grenadiers took part in the operations.*

1 Fullarton, in his narrative, gives the following curious account of the reasons for abandoning the place " The Zamorin and his followers of the Nftyar caste are rigid Oentoos and venerate the Brahmans. Tippu's soldiers, therefore, daily exposed the heads of many Brahmans in sight of the fort. It is asserted that the Zamorin rather than witness such enormities, chose to abandon Palghautchern

MALABAR PI8TRICT.

On the 8th of January 1784 the General and the Bibi of Cannanore entered into an agreement 1 of peace and friendship, stipulating for repossession of all the countries, of which the Bibi stood possessed before the English army entered the country (thereby including 2 3 the greater portion, if not the whole, of the Kolattiri northern dominions), for a war indemnity of 1 1 lakhs of rupees, for an annual tribute of another lakh, and for the Bibi's protection against the Nayars, retention of

the forts by the English, and offer of the pepper crop at a reasonable price.

This engagement was however disavowed subsequently by the Bombay Government as having been -concluded without authority, but afterwards it was temporarily confirmed during the armistice with Tippu or until peace should be concluded.

And peace was now near at hand, although it was not a peace of which the English could be proud ; for Tippu, already in possession of all the territory which

*the English held as guarantees of peace, excepting Cannanore and Dindigul, was in a position to flout the peace plenipotentiaries, and he on the 11th March 1784 acquiesced eventually in the articles * only when he learnt that the English were again preparing in earnest for a further conflict.*

In the first article the parties stipulated for peace on behalf of their " allies and friends," among whom the English particularly cited, as theirs, the Raj as of Tan j ore and Travancore and the Nabob of the Carnatic, and among those whom Tippu similarly cited were "the Bibi of Cannanore and the Rajas or Zemindars of the Malabar Coast."

The peace plenipotentiaries were not in a position to protect their friends. Warren Hastings pertinently remarked that the proper place for the plenipotentiaries to have arranged terms with Tippu would have been at the head of Colonel Fullarton's force instead of which they went as suppliants to Tippu's camp at Mangalore. The Tellicherry factors addressed them at that place under date the 16th February, begging earnestly that the dominions of the Coorg, Kolattiri, Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas and of the Iruvalinad Nambiars might be secured independence, inasmuch as the welfare and trade of the company's settlement, and their China investments, depended upon the degree of independence which might be secured for these chieftains. They pointed out that Coorg had been independent since the close of the siege of Tellicherry, that the company through their conquest of Cannanore were now in a position to reinstate the Kolattiri prince, that

1 Treaties, $•<;., i. XCII.

- *The reigning KOlaCiri prince, while a vassal of Tippu's, had in 1782 joined General Matthew's force. This was the sighal for the Cannanore Mftppijla family to rise and re-possess itself of the territory which it had held under Hyder Ali from 1766 till 1777.*

3 Treaties , fc., i. XCU.I. — Which contains only those articles relating to Malabar affairs.

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the Kottayam 1 family had never bowed their necks either to Hyder Ali or to Tippu's rule, had preferred exile in their mountain fastnesses to submission to the conqueror, had in company with Kadattanad rendered " very essential service to the company during the siege of Tellicherry," and had, since January 1782, been in independent possession of their country, and finally that Kadattanad,1 though a feudatory of Hyder Ali's from 1774, had in 1779 evaded his demand to assist the F rench at Mah4, had on being driven out in favor of his nephew taken refuge in Tellicherry, rendering also good service to the company during the siege of that place, and had since the raising of it been in independent possession of all his own

territory. Tippu was admittedly in possession of South Malabar, but from the Kota river northwards the chiefs and the company were exclusively in possession.

On the 17th March, Messrs. Staunton and Hudleston, two of the plenipotentiaries, arrived by sea at Tellicherry, bringing news of the peace, and of the Malabar chiefs having been included by Tippu among his " friends and allies"! !

The fourth article stipulated that Cannanore should be evacuated by the English and restored to the Bibi " as soon as all the prisoners 2 are released and delivered." On Tippu's inhuman treatment of his prisoners, it is unnecessary to dwell. Beginning with the brave Captain Rumley , he had already poisoned, or destroyed in other ways, all whom he thought from their gallantry or abilities would be dangerous opponents m a future struggle. But he was not without a grievance himself owing to the summary manner in which the fort of Cannanore had been evacuated in April by General MacLeod in express breach of this fourth article. Without waiting to hear of the release of the remaining prisoners, MacLeod in April disbanded his force which included the 42nd and 100th regiments, sending some to the east coast, some to Bombay, and some to garrison Tellicherry, and he himself left Tellicherry on the 27th of that month. There were doubtless reasons— near approach of the monsoon, difficulty in obtaining transports, and difficulty in feeding the force— lor evacuating the fort 80 soon; but these ought to have been set aside in favor of strict adherence to the terms of the treaty. Tippu complained bitterly of this

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to the extent of Re. 1,00,000, Rs. 60,000, and R8."25 000 respectivelyˆ " Ual,tnbute of ˆ countenance and protection" of the Honorable Company (See

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*traders, whose only obiect was to hnv ˆ • * bumˆe company of foreign*

cheaply as they could. P®PPer> ginger, cardamoms and piece goods as

180 officers, 900 soldiers, 1,600 sepoys — British

evasion, and, on the 25th May, the Chief at Tellicherry had a letter from him complaining 1 farther that the Cannanore fort had been looted of everything, "and the said fort made empty as a jungul, and then your troops went away. By this it is certain that the heart is not clean : — What more is to write ! ! "

The eighth and ninth articles renewed and conBrmed the Honorable Company's trading privileges in Malabar and stipulated for the restoration of the fort and district of Mount' Deli and of the Calicut factory.

Among other prisoners taken at the raising of the siege of Tellicherry in 1782, the Kurangoth Nayar, chief of a portion of the petty district of Iruvalinad, lying between the English and French settlements, had ever since remained a prisoner at Tellicherry. When the peace with Tippu above cited was concluded, all the English acquisitions along the coast were relinquished, except this Nayar's territory. He continued to pay tribute to the Honorable Company for some time. The French on receiving 2 back, on 15th August 1785, their settlement of Mak6 iu pursuance of the treaty of Versailles (3rd September 1783) claimed the Nayar as their ally, not as their dependent. The Nayar appears to have been set free, but in 1787 he was seized by Tippu, who hanged him and in spite of French remonstrances annexed his territory to the Iruvalinad collectorship.

Tippu's affairs were not well managed in Malabar when he recovered possession of it. The exactions of his revenue collectors appear to have driven the people into rebellion. Ravi Varmma of the Zamorin's house received in 1784 a jaghire in order to keep him quiet, and even Tippu's Mappilla subjects in Ernad and Walluvanad rebelled. In 1784-85 Tippu unwisely separated the civil from the military authority of the province. The latter was entrusted to Arshad Beg Khan, " a Mussulman of rare talents, humanity and integrity," who had previously, since Hyder All's death, been sole governor, and the former was bestowed on Meer Ibrahim. The civil governor broke through all the engagements with the Malabar chieftains, imposed new exactions, and of course rebellions broke out on every baud.

Foreseeing the evil consequences, Arshad Beg Khan, in 1786, tendered his resignation of his post, and asked to be permitted to visit Mecca. And some time afterwards he earnestly requested Tippu to come in person and avert the threatened destruction of his authority in Malabar.

This request was eventually complied with after Tippu had succeeded in making peace with the Mahrattas and the Isizam. It was, on the 4th April 1788, that the factors at Tellicherry heard that Tippu

1 It is clear that Tippu expected the guns and stores to be handed over with the fort and district ; " but there is nothing in the article to countenance such an interpretation of its clauses.

2 Treat us, $c., i. XCIV.

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was shortly coming 1 to the coast and that a great magazine of rioe was being laid in at Calicut, and next day they received the " alarming intelligence" of his being actually "this side of the Tamalcherry (Tamarasseri) Ghaut." The Calicut governor was meanwhile engaged with the " insurgent Moors." The Calicut Resident was at the time at Tellicherry, but he was sent post-haste back to his appointment at

Calicut, with instructions to beg for the removal of the embargo laid on articles entering the Tellicherry settlement from the districts lying round it, which appeared to have been in force more or less ever since the treaty of Mangalore, and in spite of the specific terms of that treaty.

Various alarming rumours were current as to what Tippu's intentions were, and the factors set earnestly to work to repair their defences which had fallen considerably into disrepair since the close of the siege ; but more re-assuring news came from the Resident directly he reached Calicut. Tippu had only 5,000 men and 100 field pieces and no battering train.

Calicut was not well placed for the operations then in hand, the subjugation of the " rebellious Moors," and shortly after having had an audience with Tippu on 14th April, the Resident sent word that " the Nabob has been twice to Beypore, where on the 12th he began the construction of a strong fort, and it is supposed he intends to transfer the trade of Calicut thither," and next day he reported that the Nabob was to proceed that day to Beypore to select a site " to build his new city."

On April 25th the Resident (Mr. Gribble) had another audience of Tippu, but failed to extract any promise from him in regard to trade. Tippu's formal reply to the factors' letter, with the delivery of which and of the customary present the Resident had been charged, was given into Mr. Gribble's own hands, and Tippu insisted that he himself should convey it to Tellicherry. Thi£ very unusual request was complied with. When the reply was opened it was found that Tippu referred the factors to Mr. Gribble for full details of business, and Mr. Gribble had none to give, his conversation with the Nabob having been of the most general character !

On May 3rd, Mr. Gribble was sent back to Calicut with another letter from the Chief, and another audience produced no better results although on this occasion some verbal promises were made. On the 11th it became quite certain that the Nabob was preparing to leave the place and on the 12th the report was — " The Pasha is now in the country lately infested by the rebel Moplas (Mappillas) to the southward of the Beypore river, from whence, it is said, he will proceed to Panany (Ponnani) on his way to Palacatcherry (Palghaut)."

Aa matter of fact, Arshad Beg Khan had told the Resident at Calicut six previously of Tippu'a intended visit, but the fact had been overlooked.

The monsoon was on him before his journey was completed, and he arrogantly said that he would order the clouds to cease discharging their waters till he should have passed, but the rains showed no respect to him and his army suffered the greatest hardships on their march.

On the 25th May 1788, the factors at Tellicherry received proposals from the Bibi of Cannanore to take her under their protection ; and her message stated that

Tippu had advised her to make up her quarrel with the Kolattiri prince and to pick one with the English.

The reason for this seems to have been that the Kolattiri prince was just then in high favor with Tippu, and had been confirmed in his tenure of his own dominions. The Bibi and her ministers had, on the other hand, desired to be reinstated in the position of Governor of Kolattunad conferred on the Cannanore chieftain by Hyder Ali in 1766, and had been disappointed, and so, for the time being, they leaned to the English alliance.

*On May 27th the Kolattiri or Chirakkal * prince began to show his zeal for Tippu's cause by demanding a settlement of accounts with the factors, and by asking for an immediate payment of one lakh of rupees, for which purpose he sent one of his ministers with orders to remain at Tellicherry till he was paid that sum. The factors were astonished at the demand since the accounts showed that the prince was over four lakhs in the debt of the Honorable Company. The Chief stopped the minister's " diet money," invariably paid while such officers remained in the company's settlement, and the minister after some demur departed.*

The factors were not long left in doubt as to the next step. The prince had three years previously resumed possession of the district.of Randattara, on which the Honorable Company had a mortgage claim to a large amount. The factors and the Bombay Government did not consider it necessary actively to oppose this occupation, as the company's claim was not that of full sovereignty ; but on June 4th, 1788, the factors reoeived information that the Chirakkal prince meant to seize Darmap-

1 The old name of the dynasty, Kolattiri, had by this time becomo pretty well forgotten, and in the records the prince is invariably styled as of Chirakkal. There had been a split in the family at the time of the Bednur Raja's invasion (1733-40). At that time the Kolattiri had conferred heirship on Odeormen of the Palace of Pally" (Treaties , 4c., i. XXXVIII), and ever since the princes of this Palli branch of the family had been recognised as having taken the place of the head of the family — Kolattiri. In fact the Utayamangalam branch had been shutout from the Kolattiri sovereignty (Conf . Treaties, 4c., ii.CCX) although, as matter of fact, one of that branch might still have claimed, if he was the eldest male of both branches, the empty title of Kolattiri. The title of Kolattiri thus fell into disuse, and the ruling family (Palli branch) gradually began to be known as that of Chirakkal from the KOvilagam of that name, which was the headquarters of their branch of the family. The Palli branch claimed "such part of the kingdom as had not been dismembered " by the Ikkeri (Bednflr) Raja, and as the ruling family they obtained and still enjoy Rs. 23,600 out of the Rs. 24,000 malikana allowance from the British Government. The remaining Rs. 600 is enjoyed by the Utayamangalam branch.

pattanam Island, which ever since 1733 had been the company's undisputed possession. On June 7th, accordingly, the prinoe ocoupied the island with his troops, and the garrison of Tellicherry being inadequate to defend the island as well as the main settlement, the factors prudently resolved not to oppose the occupation.

The faotors plainly saw that Tippu was the real aggressor 1 in these instances. The monsoon season had just commenced, communication with Bombay was consequently cut off, and the factors wrote urgent letters to Madras and via Madras to Calcutta of the dangers threatening.

On the 17th of June they heard that the Chirakkal prince had met with an honorable and flattering reception from Tippu at Coimbatore and that he had been sent hack with orders to molest the English settlement. On the 25th came further news that the prince meant to seize Muicara on the south-east of Tellicherry as his nephew had been appointed by Tippu Governor of Iruvalinad and Kurangoth. There was every prospect, therefore, of the settlement being put at an early date in a state of close siege, as it was from Iruvalinad that supplies of country provisions, &c., were chiefly obtained.

Happily for the factory this latter design was never carried out, for on his return journey the Chirakkal prince was suddenly taken ill and died on June 19th at Palghaut, and his brother, who succeeded him, though he still pressed his money claims on the notice of the factors, was not inclined to be aggressively hostile.

Meanwhile the factors were busy looking to the state of their lines. Captain Paul Daser of the Engineers reported, on the 30th June, that the limit lines had been very nearly completed. The weak point still was, as it had been during the siege of 1779-82, the " very open and exposed " portion stretching from Chirakkalkandi round Morakkunnu by the river side which was insufficiently protected by a stockade along the river bank.

Both the Madras and Supreme Governments meanwhile remonstrated with Tippu for his Chirakkal feudatory's unauthorised invasion of the Honorable Company's territory, " in a manner very little short of actual hostilities " as the Madras Government chose to put it But Tippu put them off with a false representation of the facts pretending that the Honorable Company had merely a mortgage claim to DannapattA-nam Island, and that the company was deeply indebted to Chirakkal.

Jt was, on July 14th, that the next most important item of news reached the factors. They wished to send an express messenger overland with news of their situation to the Anjengo settlement for communication to Madras and Calcutta. Such messages had heretofore been. safely entrusted to Brahmans who, from the

sanctity of their

1 Indeed Tippu did not disguise the fact, but he chose to impute to the factors that they had taken Darmapattanam Island "by force" from his feudatory of Chirakkal, and as he had given back Chirakkal with all its territories to the prince, Darmapattanam Ieland, he wrote, must also be restored to him.

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cast©, had hitherto been permitted to come and go without hindrance. But the factors now learnt that Brahman messengers were no longer safe) a Brahman selected to convey the message refused to go: and assigned as his reason that there was " a report prevailing that the Nabob had issued orders for all the Brahmans on the coast to be seized and sent up to Seringapatam." And on the 20th confirmation of the fact was received from, Calicut, where " 200 Brahmans had been seized and confined, made Mussulmen, and forced to eat beef and other things contrary to their caste."

The effect of this on the country powers became speedily apparent, for, on the 27th August, the factors received identical notes from the Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas saying they could no longer trust Tippu, and beseeching the factors in the most earnest way " to take the Brahmans, the poor, and the whole kingdom under their protection."

But it was not only the Brahmans, who were thus put in a state of terror of forcible conversion, for, in this same month, a Raja of the Kshatriya family of Parappanad, also " Tichera Terupar, a principal Nayaj of Nelemboor," and many other persons, who had been carried off to Coimbatore, were circumcised and forced to eat beef.*

The Nayars in desperation, under these circumstances, rose on their oppressors in j;he south, and the Coorgs too joined in. The Mappillas likewise, though in their case, fiscal oppression and intrigues to be presently alluded to must have been the causes, rose in rebellion. The movement was headed by Ravi Varmma of the Zamorin's house, on whom, to quiet him, a jaghire had already been conferred by the Mysoreans. This chieftain, between July and November 1788, took the field, and being victorious 1 made himself master of the open country. He then proceeded to invest Calicut. Tippu, in December, sent down Lally and Mir Asr Ali Khan, who succeeded with 6,000 native troops and 170 Europeans, in driving him away from Calicut, but never quite succeeded in ˆriving him out of the field.

While these operations were in progress no less than 30,000 Brahmans with their families, it is said, fled from the country, assisted by Ravi Varmma, and took refuge in Travancore.

The factors in the interval were left in peace at Tellicherry. No further aggressive movement of the Chirakkal prince took place, and the factory having been reinforced from Bombay after the rains, was strong enough to take the field. On December 23rd, the Chief demanded restitution of Darmapattanam Island within ten days, failing compliance with which, he said, " I shall be under the necessity, conformably to my orders, to resume possession of the said island by foroe." No heed was taken of this threat, so on the appointed day (January 2nd, 1789) at 7 p.m. a force of one battalion of sepoys, with artillery men

1 The Tellicherry merchants living under the Honorable Company's protection, it seems, supplied the insurgents with gunpowder and " shott," and the Governor of Calicut wrote in September an angry remonstrance to the factors regarding this.

and two field pieces, was despatched to carry out the orders. Next day the Prince's Nayars quietly yielded up possession of the island to the force, and the Chief wrote to the prince to say he was now ready to come to a liberal adjustment of his accounts with him.

So early as October 30th, 1788, the factors heard of Tippu's intention shortly to revisit the coast, and Sir Francis Gordon, Bart., the Company's Resident at Calicut, when reporting, on January 1st, 1789, the arrival of Laity's troops, indicated pretty clearly what Tippu's mission was ; for Lally and his coadjutor had already received " orders to surround and extirpate the whole race of Nayars from Cotiote (Kottayam) to Palacatcherry (Palghaut)."

Shortly after this the Bibi of Cannanore again sought protection from the company and stated positively that Tippu was shortly coming to the coast with the whole of his force. The Bibi was probably at this time playing a deep game. The Mappillas of the coast generally recognised her as their head, and the Mappillas of the south were in open rebellion against Tippu's authority. Her reinstatement in possession of the country of her hereditary enemy, the Chirakkal prince, would doubtless have induced her to quiet the troubles in the south, and as events turned out this appears to have been her object all along. Meanwhile she again turned to the English alliance.

On the 11th of February there was a report at Calicut that Tippu had descended into the low country by the Tamarasseri ghaut, and on the 15th he sent a formal request to the factors not to give protection to any Nayars, who might flee to Tellicherry. Next day Sir Francis Gordon's letter from Calicut stated that Tippu was then at " Anjacudde-chaveddy," some four leagues from Calicut on the Tamarasseri road.

Tippu's first object on reaching the coast was to try to reconcile matters with his

rebellious subjects. This piece of information came from Sir Francis Gordon at Calicut. But Tippu had already broken with the Nayars, so that it would appear it was his rebellious Mappijla subjects and fellow-religionists whom he wished to reconcile. It is no where stated that, to accomplish this object, he found it necessary as a preliminary step to secure the good will of the Bibi of Cannanore, but it is almost oertain that this was the reason which impelled him to his next move ; for, on February 27th, after leaving a force at Calicut " to surround the woods and seize the heads of this faction," that is, Nayars, he turned his steps northwards.

This move was the signal for a general exodus of the Ilindu chiefs in North Malabar. The Fouzdar of Kottayam wrote angrily to the factors, on the 7th of March, to say that both the Kottayam 1 and Kadattanad Rajas and other principal people had taken refuge in Tellicherry. The

1 Prior to his retreat to the south, the Kottayam Raja had. in December 1788, extorted from the Coorg Raja, while a refugee in Kottayam pursued by Mysoreans, a grant of Kig-gatnad, one of the countries composing Coorg. But when shortly afterwards Kottayam ascended the ghauts to take possession of Kiggatnftd, the Coorg Raja turned the tables on him and forced from him a deed relinquishing Wainftd as far as Kalpati.

Chief replied that he had given orders to put out all the people belonging to Tippu's Sirkar, and the Fouzdar was at liberty to come and see if they were there. The fact was, as Tippu afterwards pointed out in a very angry letter to the Chief, that the Rajas had come into Tellicheny and taken boat thence to Travancore, carrying with them, so Tippu alleged, ten lakhs of rupees each. But Tippu was not convinced that they were really gone until, with the Chief's consent, he had on March 10th and 11th, sent an officer and six other persons to search for them in Tellicherry.

It was time for the factors to bestir themselves in looking to their defences, for, on the 12th March, theˆad authentic information from a spy that the force now at " Oootypore " (Kuttippuram in Kadattanad) within a few hours' march of the settlement consisted of between 20,000 and 30,000 regulars, namely : —

Men.

Guns.

Lally's corps . .

5,000

Field pieces.

Mir Kamr-ud-din's corps . . . .

10,000

do.

Said Guffar's corps . . . .

2,000

do.

Ch§las ,

2,000

do.

Near Nabob's tent

do.

Totals

19,000

do.

Besides some other " Russalas " and a great number of " Camattys and Comattys " irregulars. There were but 400 horse of the " Khas-paga."

It was at Kuttippuram, the head-quarters of the Kadattanad family, that this force surrounded 2,000 Nayars with their families in an old fort which they defended for several days. At last finding it untenable they submitted to Tippu's terms which were " a voluntary1 profession of the Muhammadan faith, or a forcible conversion with deportation from their native land. The unhappy captives gave a forced assent, and on the next day the rite of circumcision was performed on all the males, every individual of both sexes being compelled to close the ceremony by eating beef."

This achievement was held out as an example to the other detachments of the army.

There was no doubt that Tippu was bent on carrying out to the letter the substance of the proclamation, which, he himself in his autobiography says, he addressed to the people of Malabar. " From 2 the period of the

1 Wilks' " Historical Sketches," II. 126.

2 Wilks' " Historical Sketches" II. 120.— It appears that circularorders for the conversion of the Hindus were issued to all the different detachments of his troops. The original of one of these orders found in the records of Palghaut fort, after its capture in 1790, ran as follows: — "It directed that every being in the district, without distinction, should be honored with Islam, that the houses of such as fled to avoid that honor should be burned, that they should be traced to their lurking places, ard that all means of truth and falsehood, fraud or force, should be employed to effect their universal conversion." — Ibid., II. 132, footnote.

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oonquest until this day, during twenty-four years, you have been a, turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom — Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner ; dwell quietly, and pay your dues like g£>od subjects : and since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all bom in adultery, $nd are more shameless in your connexions than the beasts of the field : I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows to honor the whole of you with Islam and to march all the chief persons to the seat of government."

The factors at Tellicherry redoubled their efforts to get their lines into a proper state of defence. The length of the lines which had been successfully defended against Sirdar Khan was no less than over 3,000 yards from Mailan Fort to Chirakkalkandi, and 5,500 yards more from the latter place to the Coduvalli river mouth, besides upwards of three miles of sea shore. The factors set to work at an inner 1 line of defence stretching from the river north and west of Horakkunnu to the beach at the south end of the bazaar.

But they might have spared themselves the trouble, for Tippu's plans were not yet ready for breaking with the Honorable Company. He was bent on his proselytising mission for the present. On March 22nd the Chirakkal prince, who had been till lately in hostile possession of Darmapattanam Island, and who was still in hostile possession of Ran-dattara, next claimed the protection of the factors, but as the receiving of him would probably have diverted Tippu's whole force against the settlement, and as moreover his recent conduct had been so unfriendly the Chief gave him a stern refusal. Next day however his sister and the rest of the family made their appearance uninvited on Darmapattanam Island. On being told to go they refused both that day and the next. In the following night they appear to have

set sail in a boat for Travan-core. Tippu made another grievance out of this against the factors ; this party was also said by him to have carried off ten lakhs of rupees with them in their flight. Some 10,000 to 15,000 Nayars came with the family to Darmapattanam Island and provoked the angry letter from Tippu to which reference has already been made. The island was crowded with them on the evening of March 26th, but during that night, after their Chief's family had sailed, they most mysteriously disappeared,2 and the

1 This line was afterwards completed by special orders of Lord Cornwallis.

v lx.1™1 kdt"kd nH'U Vl-dkd i8 a Saying sti11 turrent regarding the hardships endured by the Nayars at this time. It was only at night that they could with safety visit their houses ; during the day time they had to conceal themselves in the jungles. Another conquering race had appeared on the scene, and there is not the slightest doubt that but for the intervention of a still stronger foreign race, the Nayars would now be denizens

o the jungles like the Kurumbar and other jungle races whom they themselves had supplanted in similar faahion.

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Commanding Officer of the Island, who h,d received orders to send them

away , found, to his surprise, on the morning of the 27th that they had already gone. J

There are different accounts of what befel their unhappy prince. Wilks says that he " had been induced by the most sacred promises to pay his personal respects to the sultan, and was for several days treated with considerable distinction, and. dismissed with costly presents to his little principality." But after his departure malign influences came into play ; he was accused of a secret conspiracy to revenge the cruel indignities committed on his countrymen ; two brigades were sent to take him; his attendants prepared to defend themselves; and, in a skirmish, he was killed. The factory diary records that "he was killed in attempting to escape. Another account says he shot himself on finding that escape was hopeless. However that may be, it is certain from Tippu's own account, as well as from the factory diary record, that his body was treated with the greatest indignities by Tippu. He had it dragged by elephants through his camp and it was subsequently hung up on a tree along with seventeen of the followers of the prince who had been captured alive.

On April 18th, the factors requested Tippu to carry out one of the stipulations of the treaty of Mangalore, which had provided for the restitution to the Honorable Company of their fort and district of Mount Deli, whence the settlement used to be*

supplied with timber and firewood ; but Tippu was too incensed with the factors to listen for a moment to such a request. Being furious, he was not unnaturally also illogical, and in his reply of the 21st he accused the Chief (Mr. W. Lewis) of something like a falsehood, and wound up his Jotter with — " Therefore I believe you are not a good man, but whether good or bad what can I say ? I have many lacks of people like you in my service and so have the company." And he desired that the Chief would not write to him again.

Tippu, when he sent this reply, had again turned his face southwards. But previously to doing so he had visited Cannanore and solemnised the preliminary ceremonies of a marriage between the Bibi's daughter and one of his sons, Abd-ul-khalie.

There can be little doubt that the main object of his visit at this time to North Malabar was to appease the Cannanore chief tainess. Having made friends with the Bibi by handing over 1 to her a portion of the Chirakkal district, as well as by the projected marriage, the trouble from rebellious Mappillas in the south rapidly disappeared, and in the future this turbulent race ranged themselves on the side of Tippu's troops.

1 Treaties, fc., i. CLI, CLII.— The Malabar Commissioners subsequently refused to recognise these sanads. As, However, part at least of the grant had been made in consideration of the Ameni, Chitlac, Kiltan, and Kadamat Islands of the Laccadive group having been taken from the Bibi and annexed to Tippu's Cutcherry of Mangalore, the claim to compensation was afterwards recognised, not however as of right, and a deduction was made to the extent of 1,500 pagodas per annum in her annual payments of revenue to the Honorable Company — Treaties. &o.. ii. CLXXIII.*

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On April 22nd Tippu, his mission to the north having been accomplished, quitted the Kottayam territory and was expected at Calicut on the 27th. Before leaving the neighbourhood of Tellicherry, he drew the cordon of troops round the place still closer and stopped all supplies, even the most trifling, from entering the settlement.

The Bibi still professed friendship for the English, although the factors remarked, on March 10th, that in spite of her professions 6he had in an unfriendly way sent two of the company's European deserters to Tippu at Calicut. The fact was that her maritime trade was so great that she dared not to oppose the Honorable Company openly for fear of the reprisals, which would certainly have been made at sea. She professed friendship for the Honorable Company, but did all in her power in an underhand way against them.

The final act in the drama was now about to commence. From a state of scarcely

veiled hostility against the English at Tellicherry, Tippu rapidly passed into one of active aggression against the Honorable Company and its allies.

The conquest of Travancore had been the goal of Mysorean ambition ever since Hyder Ali's first raid through Malabar.

How that conqueror was stopped by the Dutch from passing into Travancore round the flank of the Travancore lines has already been related.

The Travancore lines again barred Tippu's path, and nothing but the entire subjugation of that country, whither so many of his imhappy " friends and allies " (Mangalore Treaty, Art. I) had fled with their " tens of lakhs of rupees " would satisfy him.

He was anxious to conquer the country without appearing as a principal in the war, for the very good reason that the Travancore Raja had been included in that same article of the Mangalore treaty as one of the special " friends and allies " of the Honorable Company. In 1788 the Zamorin was accordingly induced by a promise of the restoration of a portion of his territory to put forward some rather antiquated claims to suzerainty over Travancore. But being disgusted at the forcible conversions which followed the sultan's advent, he drew back from the arrangement.

In this same year and in the following year (1789) there occurred the combination, which resulted in the complete isolation of the Mysore State. The Nizam took umbrage at the assumption by the Honorable Company of the government of the province of Guntur, to which their reversionary right was, in Lord Cornwallis' opinion, " no longer doubtful owing to the death of Basalut Jung. And he accordingly sent embassies, both to the English Company and to Tippu, with a view to forming an alliance with either the one or the other, and so protecting his own interests. To Tippu he sent an ambassador bearing a splendid

• TaJ. accePtance and a return of a similar present by Tippu was intended to mean the establishment of " the most sacred and solemn

obligations of friendship and alliance." Tippu had, unfortunately for himself, by his insolent letters to the Nizam in 1784 after the conclusion of peace with the English at Mangalore, shown that he contemplated the early subjugation of the Nizam himself. And now (May 1789) just after the events above related, when Tippu reached Coimbatore for the rams and found the Nizam's ambassador awaiting his arrival, he, instead of accepting the proffered friendship, had the insolence, as the Nizam viewed it, to propose an intermarriage between the families as a preliminary condition to the acceptance of the Nizam's terms. The Nizam publicly repudiated the counter proposal, and accepted instead the proposals of the English Viceroy as conveyed in his famous letter of July 1st,

1789, the substance of which was that the treaty of 1768 was to be carried into full effect with the aid of the Mahrattas and the Nizam. One of the provisions of that treaty provided for the conquest of Mysore. An English subsidiary force was to be organised and furnished to the Nizam, and Lord Cornwallis, in enumerating the powers against whom that force was not to be used, studiously omitted the name of the My sorean ruler, and as studiously included the name of every other power in the Deckan and the south. The omission of Tippu's name could not be misunderstood, and the sultan, therefore, directly the monsoon season was past, set himself to the conquest of Travancore as the most efficient preparation he could make for the struggle which he now saw was impending.

He had not meanwhile been inactive in his preparations for the subjugation of Travancore, but he made the mistake of thinking that it was easy of accomplishment. He had about June — August, 1788, minutely investigated the routes leading into Travanoore both from the north by way of the coast, and from the east by way of the Cumbum valley and the pass of Gudalur. The Travancore Raja fearing a simultaneous attack from both directions, had communicated with the Madras Government, and Sir A. Campbell, the Governor, had intimated to Tippu that aggression against Travancore would be viewed as equivalent to a declaration of war against the English. Tippu's plans were not sufficiently matured at the time, and he merely replied that the interposition between him and Travancore of the dependent Cochin State prevented the possibility of a collision.

About the same time, June — September 1788, he further proceeded to moot to the Dutch at Cochin Hyder Ali's old policy of forming an offensive and defensive alliance with them, but his intentions were suspected, and nothing came of it. Nor was he more successful some time later (in 1789) in his offer to buy from the Dutch the fort of Cochin, together with the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, which flanked the defence of the Travancore lines.

TWcad of selling their possessions to Tippu, the Dutch consulted with Travancore on the best means either of stopping the Mysoreans, or of committing the English as parties in the impending struggle. And

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as the best means to this end, a sale which had been talked of for the previous two years was carried into effect on the 31st July 1 »89.

On that date " the Illustrious and Mighty Netherlands' La < t India Company " sold 1 to " the Illustrious and Mighty King of Travancore, Wanjie Walla Martanda Rama Warmer" " the foil of Cranganore and the outpost of Ayacotta with the plantations and fields belonging thereto " also the cannon and " thereto belonging ammunition " and gunpowder, for the sum of Surat silver Rs. 50,000 ready money

and a further sum of Rs. 2,50,000 to be adjusted afterwards or three lakhs of rupees in all. The chief exceptions made in the conveyance of all the Dutch possessions in that quarter were in respect to " the Lepers' house at Palliport with its adjoining buildings, gardens, and other grounds belonging thereto," which were to remain in the " company's full aud free possessions," and in respect to " the Roman churches at Cranganore and Ayacotta," the Christians of which were " to remain vassals of the company " and were " not to be burthened with any new taxes."

*On November 13th, 1789, Lord Cornwallis issued clear and explicit instructions to the Madras Government in regard to the attitude to bo assumed in regard to the above transaction, as soon as it became known that Tippu had put forward a claim of sovereignty on behalf of his Vassal Cochin to the places thus sold by the Dutch. If they had belonged to the Raja of Cochin subsequently to his becoming tributary to Mysore, the Raja of Travancore was to be compelled to restore them to their former possessor. If not, then the Travancore possession of the places was to be supported. If Tippu had actually taken possession of the places he was not * *to be forcibly dispossessed of them without the sanction of the Supreme Government, unless he had also attacked the other territories of Travancore; but if such attack had occurred then the Madras Government was positively ordered to deem it as an act of hostility to be followed up vigorously by war.*

These instructions, instead of being obeyed by the Government of Mr. Hollond, were animadverted on and disregarded to such an extent that Lord Cornwallis accused them subsequently of " a most criminal disobedience of the clear and explicit orders of this Government, dated the 2.hh of August and 13th of November, by not considering themselves to be at war with Tippu, from the moment that they heard of his attack " on the Travancore lines.

It was not till October 1789 that Tippu left his monsoon quarters at Coimbatore ; and the first intelligence of his being on the move reached the fellicherry factors on the 6th November from Mr. Powney, the Honorable Company s Resident in Travancore. He reported that lippu, with his army,2 had reached Palghaut, that it was supposed that

1 Treaties, CLVII

- *Regular infantry 20,000*

Spearmen and — atch-lock men 10,000

Hor»e . 6,000

Field gum

he meant first to take Tellicherry, and then proceed against the south ; hut the Resident himself anticipated that the south, that is, Travancorej would be his first object of attack. Some design was certainly on foot as provisions, ammunition, &c., were being sent about the country.

Ihe factors first care on receipt of this news was to prosecute vigorously the construction of their inner line of defence, cutting off the Morakkunnu, Chirakkalkandi, Tiruvengad temple, and Mailan redoubts for the purpose of enabling the garrison to concentrate, if necessary, in the Tellicherry fort itself, and in the comparatively short line of defence extending from the end of the main bazaar to the Kodu-valli river along the line of paddy fields, and thence along the river bank to its mouth. This scheme of 'Captain Paul Daser, Engineer, had recei ed the sanction of Lord Cornwallis, and the importance of the Tellicherry settlement as affording a secure point of attack against the Mysorean dominions was at this time fully recognised, and as the sequel will show its advantages were fully utilised in the operations which followed.

Tippu, it seems, was still inclined not to appear as a principal in the attack on Travancore. During the monsoon months, before setting his army in motion, he had sent a message to his tributary, the Cochin Raja, to proceed to his camp at Coimbatore. It is understood that Tippu really wished to avail himself of the Cochin Raja's name and services in his attack of Travancore. The Raja, however, having the fear of forcible conversion to Islam before his eyes, replied that he paid his tribute regularly, and that he had already paid 1 a visit to his suzerain. Tippu on receiving this message temporised, and sent an envoy to the Raja accepting his apology for not complying with the request, desiring that the Raja's son or a minister might he sent, and he would not detain him two days, and stating that he wished the Itaja to arrange for him with the Dutch for the purchase of their Cochin fort. A second refusal on the part of .the Raja roused Tippu's wrath, and he is reported to have said that " if they did not attend his summons, he would come and fetch them by force."

The Travancore lines were constructed originally, as has been already stated, on the territory conquered for the Travancore State by the enterprising Flemish General D'Lanoy. In the negotiations 2 which succeeded the conquest, the Cochin Raja was left in possession of the territory immediately surrounding and attached to his two palaces of Tiruppunattara and Mattancheri both in the immediate neighbourhood of Cochin. But between this territory and the Raja's other dominions not conquered by D'Lanoy, there extended, and there still extends, to the east of the backwater a wide belt of Travancore territory, near the northern limit of which the famous Travancore lines were constructed with their left resting on the backwater opposite Cranganore,

1 This was on May 26th, 1788. at Palghaut.

1 Treaties, Sfe., i. CXXIV, CXXV.

and their right extending right np into the jungly hills, a distance of close upon 20 miles.

Tippu's tributary Cochin State, therefore, lay partly to the north and partly to the south of the lines, and it was with no small show of reason that Tippu now demanded a passage through the lines to his own tributary territory lying round the Dutch town of Cochin.

On the 30th December, the Tellicherry factors were at last apprised, as a certainty, that Tippu's armament was not in the first instance to be launched at them. Mr. Powney's letter of the 20th reached them on that date and conveyed the news that Tippu had formally demanded of the Travancore Raja.

That his troops holding the recently acquired fort of Cranganore should be withdrawn.

That the Malabar Rajas, Tippu's " friends and allies" of the Mangalore treaty, should be surrendered.

And that the Travancore lines should be demolished.

And it was formally intimated that, if these demands were not complied with, Tippu's force would come against Travancore.

To these demands the Travancore Raja made answer that he acted under English advice, and that he would be guided by that advice in this case. As regards the lines he further asserted, what was the fact, that they had been in existence long before Cochin became tributary to Mysore.

In reply to this, Tippu, on the 24th December, sent another embassy with two caparisoned elephants, ostensibly meant for the conveyance to his presence of the two Rajas, Cochin and Travancore. The latter viewed this as a gross insult, but Tippu's rocket-men and scouts, who came up to within musket-shot of the walls for the purpose of inviting an attack, were nevertheless unmolested. The main body of the force was then some 10 miles distant, but the vanguard was camped within 2 or 3 miles of the lines.

On the 5th January 1790, Mr. Powney followed up the above intelligence with the exciting news that the lines had been attacked and that the attack had been

repulsed. His account, written from Parour, on the 1st, ran as follows : —

" Tippu has met with a repulse from the Raja's troops. He breached 1 a weak part of the lines and filled the ditch with bales of cotton 2 and earth for his cavalry to enter. He made the attack with 7,000 men. They carried it and possessed the lines for 3 miles in extent, but reinforcements' of the Raja's troops coming from the right and left, the enemy were hemmed in between two fires, and were drove out with great slaughter. Near a thousand were left dead within the lines,

1 The attack was made on a part of the lines close to the hills, and a thick jungle running close to it allowed him to bring his men to the attack almost as soon as they were discovered. The battery was soon carried. From a subsequent letter, dated the 6th January.

- *The use of bales of cotton for this purpose is contradicted by other accounts.*

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some horses and prisoners were taken. Zemaul Beg, commander of a cussoom, was killed, likewise another person of consequence; it is said to be a son of the late Meer Saib. The euemy, as soon as he fell, cut off his head and carried it with them. About 200 of the Raja's people were killed and wounded. By all accounts they behaved very gallantly. A Brahman of some consequence is among the prisoners ; he says that Tippu 1 was at the attack, and had a horse shot under him. We apprehend he is meditating some grand attack. Report says he has crossed the Chitwa river and is advancing along the sea-side with the intentions of attacking Cr&nganore and Ayacotta. I think we shall be prepared for him at these places. He has certainly drawn off his armv from the lines. " y

Tippu had counted on securing an easy victory, and. had made his preparations accordingly, and the above result made him determine that his preparations should be adequate on the next occasion. He sent to Seringapatam and Bangalore for battering guns and recalled a detachment from Coorg and the troops employed in Malabar in hunting down the Hindus and making forcible converts of them. He withdrew his force to a distance of only 4 miles from the lines and there awaited his reinforcements.

The news of this attack decided Lord Cornwallis to prosecute the war with vigour and on the 4th March the Tellicherry factors heard that the Nizam and the Mahrattas were to join the English in their onslaught on Mysore, and that Lord Cornwallis was coming in person to conduct the operations.

Mr. Robert Taylor had, on 25th December 1789, relieved Mr. Lewis, as Chief of the Tellicherry factory, and on the Sth of the following month of March instructions came from Bombay that he and the other members of the Tellicherry

factory were to take an oath of secrecy for the conduct of the warlike operations then imminent. And among the first affairs, to which after taking this oath they were directed to turn their attention, was the holding out of hopes to Tippu's " friends and allies " the Malabar Rajas, that they would not be deserted in the event of the Honorable Company coming to an open rapture with Tippu. Accordingly, on the 20th of the same month, " general assurances of protection " were issued by the factors. On the 24th Mr. Powney was requested secretly to send up from Travancore, where he had taken refuge, the Raja of Kadattanad, and an armed vessel was despatched thither for his conveyance. On the 28th, the ministers of the Kottayam and Chirakkal Rajas received hints that they might expect protection. On April Gth, Lord Cornwallis' despatch, promising to confirm any " reasonable promises " the Chief might make to the Rajas, "was received.

1 Another account says that in tho confusion of ro-crossing the ditch in front of the linos 16 feet wide and 20 feet deep, the Sultan escaped with great difficulty and chiefly by the exertions of some Chelas, and the injuries he received on this occasion made him lame for life.

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And on April 9th, the factors finally received intelligence from the Madras Government, through Mr. Powney, that " the sword was drawn " and that the Chief was at liberty to hold out hopes to the country powers that they would in any future treaty with Tippu be " rendered independent " of their " friend and ally. " Accordingly on the 25th April, on the occasion of a force under Major Dow proceeding from Tellicherry to clear the neighbourhood of Tippu's garrisons and patrols, which had for so long put the settlement in a state of virtual siege on the landward side, Mr. Taylor issued a proclamation 1 to all the inhabitants guaranteeing to all who joined the Honorable Company's forces that they would be protected and included " as allies of the Honorable Company in any future treaty they may enter into with the Nabob," and warning those who would not join that they would be considered " as enemies of the Honorable Company aiod acted against accordingly." The Hindu chieftains very readily accepted the terms, and on the 4th of May Mr. Taylor under his hand and the seal of the Honorable Company assured2 the Chirakkal Raja, who is styled as " Reviwarma, king of the house of Palliculam of the kingdom of Colastri, " that if he entered heartily into the war against Tippu and fulfilled his contracts for supplies granted to him, he would in any future treaty writh that prince " be included and considered as an ally of the Honorable Company." And the same terms were offered to, and accepted shortly after this by, both the Kottayam and Kadattanad Rajas. On the 9th of May Lord Cornwallis' second despatch of 8th April was received, promising on similar conditions as above that the Honorable Company would do their utmost " to render them (Malabar chieftains) in future entirely independent of Tippu, and at the conclusion of a peace to retain them upon reasonable terms under the

protection of the company." Again on the 1st of June Lord Cornwallis wrote that, subject to the same conditions, " we will do our utmost to force that prince (Tippu) to relinquish his claim of sovereignty over them at the conclusion of a peace. " And finally in a letter written by Lord Cornwallis to the Bombay Government, on the 31st May, he promised on the same conditions " to force that prince (Tippu) to relinquish all future claims upon their (Malabar chiefs') allegiance, and to agree to their becoming the subjects and dependents of the Honorable Company. To which we shall add that, in order to secure a willing obedience from the Malabar chiefs, we should be contented with their paying a very moderate tribute, provided they will give the company advantageous privileges for carrying on a commerce in the valuable possessions of their country."

It is necessary to be thus particular in regard to the terms offered and accepted, for the intentions of the Honorable Company in coming to the above agreements with the North Malabar chiefs were afterwards ihuch discussed.

1 Treaties, |c., i. CL VIII.

- *Treatiet, fyc., i. XCV.*

MAXAfiAR DISTRICT.

Meanwhile in the south matters had gradually been coming to a crisis. On the 2nd and 8th March, Mr. Powney reported a skirmish having taken place m front of the lines, and that Tippu after opening fare from his batteries with only a few guns had discontinued the cannonade— for what reason it was impossible to say or even to guess. On March 14th, the Madras troops (two battalions) marched into the lines to help the defenders. On the 22nd March the factors heard from Mr. Powney that Tippu's approaches were within 100 yards of the ditch in front of the lines, but still the assault was delayed ; and on the 25th that the approaches were 50 yards closer ; and that the assaulting batteries then ready covered a distance of from 1 to 1| miles in extent. On April 2nd he again wrote that the enemy had made regular approaches within a few yards of the counterscarp of the ditches and added " I am afraid the lines must be carried." A week later the approaches were reported to be within a few feet of the ditch, and on the 18th Mr. Powney wrote that the approaches were then through the ditch, and probably under the wall, twenty feet of which had been knocked down by the batteries and had been rapidly filled up again by the defenders.

*The first overt act of the war by the Honorable Company on the west ooast was the taking, on the 28th March, by Captain Byron of H. M, s frigate Phoenix * of an armed grab with Tippu,s " commodore of the fighting craft • on board. The grab mistook its adversary j she was found with her guns loaded with canister and shot, matches burning, and each sepoy with 30 rounds of hall in his pouch. " I am*

persuaded," Captain Byron wrote, "they intended to take me, so I thought it proper to take him."

On the 31st March, Tellicherry received a reinforcement of another battalion of sepoys, besides 60 Europeans and 10 gunners for its defence during the approaching monsoon.

But a few days later news came that a larger force consisting of H. M. s 75th Begiment, two battalions of sepoys, and one company

1 Later on in the war this frigate took part in arcurious episode, which is fully described by Major Dirom. While Commodore Cornwallis was anchored with his fleet at Tellicherry at a time when Tippu was known to be expecting supplies from France, a French frigate of 36 guns, La Resolu , came out of the Mahe roads with two merchantmen in convoy. The commodore thereupon despatched the Phoenix and Perseverance frigates, each mounting 36 guns and commanded by Captains Sir Richard Strachan and Smith to chase and bring to the merchantmen and overhaul their cargoes. A gun was fired to bring to the merchantmen, and an officer from the Phoenix was sent on board La Resolu to acquaint the French captain with the commodore's orders. As the officer was returning, La Resolu poured two broadsides into the Phoenix. Sir Richard thereupon manoeuvred his ship and raked the Frenchman. The Perseverance joined in and in half an hour the French vessel struck her colors. The Phoenix lost 7 men and La Resolu 21 killed and 44 wounded, including her captain, who said he acted under the orders of his commodore, who had sworn he vould fight the English commodore wherever he met him. The merchantmen did not after all contain any.goods contraband of war, and tne French and English nations were at peace at tho time !

of artillery was on its way down the coast under command of Colonel Hartley, with orders to co-operate with Travancore against the enemy.

It was extremely doubtful if they could arrive in time to be of service in defending the Travancore lines, for the approaches had already been reported as within a few feet of the ditch. And Air. Powney, who had been informed of its coming, was very desirous that it should arrive before Tippu's force had crossed the Cranganore river. He requested that it should be ordered to proceed to Alikkotta (Ayacotta on Vypeen Island) as rapidly as possible. On the 20th April it reached Tellicherry, and on the 22nd it again sailed southwards.

It arrived too late, however, to be of service in saving the lines, for off Beypore Colonel Hartley was met by news from Mr. Powney that the long-impending stroke had fallen and that the lines had been taken by the enemy. Writing from Alikkotta on the 1 5th Mr. Powney reported : " The enemy all last night kept up a heavy

cannonade,

and this morning at daybreak stormed. It is said that 6,000 of Tippu's dismounted horsemen made the assault. Some of the Raja's troops withstood them for some time, but some Poligars giving way caused a general flight. In short the enemy are in possession of the lines ; the company's battalions this day have been covering the retreat of the Raja's troops across the Cranganore river, after which they are to take post at Ayacotta " (Alikotta). The Travancore commander had arranged that the Raja's force should re-assemble upon the Vypeen Island, but the extreme consternation caused by the loss of their vaunted lines had upset this arrangement, and the whole of the force had dispersed for refuge into the jungles or had retreated to the south. " We are in that confusion that I scarce know what to recommend respecting the detachment " (Colonel Hartley's force). The consternation of the Raja's people was so great that they could not be trusted to procure supplies. The whole of the inhabitants, including the boat people, had gone off with their boats which had been collected for conveyance of Colonel Hartley's detachment, so that the principal means of transport were also awanting.

Colonel Hartley nevertheless determined to push on and take post at Alikkotta. The news of his force being on its way had greatly quieted the inhabitants, and " the consternation which had seized all ranks of the people " had considerably abated when Mr Powney again wrote on the 20th and 22nd of April urging strongly that Colonel Hartley should push on to Alikk5tta with his force to restore confidence. The Raja's forces encouraged by these hopes of assistance were beginning to return, and Mr. Powney had been able to lay in a large stock of grain.

Colonel Hartley duly arrived and joined Mr. Powney at Alikkotta, and after this junction had been effected, the Travancore troops were on May 8th withdrawn by Colonel Hartley's orders from the Cranganore fort, which was no longer of use when the Travancore lines had beˆn forced. It was, however, dismantled before being thus thrown open to Tippu.

4CG

With the combined Bombay and Madras troops, consisting of one European and four native battalions placed at Alikkotta in such an advantageous position on his Hank, it was clear that Tippu could not dare to make any considerable forward movement into Travancore territory.

He accordingly busied himself in demolishing the famous lines. " The whole army 1 off duty was regularly paraded without arms, and maiehed in divisions to the appointed stations ; the sultan, placed on an eminenoe, set the example of striking the first stroke with a pickaxe ; the ceremony was repeated by the courtiers and chiefs, the followers of every description, bankers, money-changers, shopkeepers,

and the mixed crowd of followers were all ordered to assist the soldiers." And some considerable breaches were made in the wall.

After this exploit, and without penetrating farther to the south than Yerapoly, the head-quarters of the Carmelite mission, Tippu, on the 24th May 1790, turned again towards the north with a view to avoid the monsoon and to re-equip his army for the storm already gathering in his rear. General Medows, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras, assumed command of the army at Trichinopoly on that same day and made his first march northwards from Trichinopoly on May 26th.

It was thus that Tippu left Malabar, destined never to enter it again.

Fra Bartolomaeo,2 who was on the coast for some time before Tippu thus left it, gives a graphic account of his doings. In all his expeditions Tippu thus arranged his force— First, a corps of " 30,000 barbarians," who butchered everybody " who came in their way next, Lally with the guns ; then, Tippu himself riding on an elephant, and finally another corps of 30,000 men. His treatment of the people was brutal in the extreme. At Calicut he hanged the mothers, " and then suspended the children from their necks." Naked Christians and Hindus were dragged to pieces tied to the feet of elephants. All churches and temples were destroyed. Christian and pagan women were forcibly married to Muhammadans. His information was obtained from Christian and heathen refugees fleeing before the face of the " merciless tyrant," and while being helped by the author to oross the Yerapoly river — Yerapoly itself (the farthest point to the southward reached by Tippu's force) — was visited by a " few marauders " from the Mysorean army shortly after Fra Bartolomeeo left it. They " converted our church, our seminary, and our convent into real dens of thieves. They plundered and destroyed whatever they could lay their hands on, for it had been almost impossible for us to remove anything out of the way."

The Tellioherry factors had meanwhile bestirred themselves to clear the country about that settlement of Tippu's posts and patrols, by which they had been placed in a state of siege for many months previously. Ten days after the Travancore lines had been forood in the manner

- *Wilks' " Historical Sketches II, p. 154.*

" Voyage to E. Indus" — Forstur's Translation, London, 1800, pp. 14142.

above narrated, and before the news of that event had reached the factors, Major

Alexander Dow, the Officer Commanding the Tellicherry garrison, moved out of his entrenchments on the 25th of April with a a force consisting of 3 battalions of sepoys, 3 companies of Europeans and 4 field pieces with their complement of gunners. As auxiliary forces he had also with him 1,500 Kottayam Nayars under "one of the princes " of Kottayam, and 1,300 Chirakkal Nayars under 'eone of the Chirakkal family." With this force he attacked a stockaded encampment of the enemy at Katirur, some four miles from Tellioherry. His force took the encampment easily but a stockaded house, probably the Kottayam Raja's palace at that place, held out against his assaults. His guns were not heavy enough to force an entrance, and he had to send back an officer to bring up an 18-pounder gun from Tellicherry. Before, how'ever, this gun was despatched, the enemy had on the 26th surrendered their position.*

While Major Dow was thus engaged on the east, Captain Murray, with some parties of the 6th battalion of sepoys, cleared the Kurangoth country and some small forts on the south of the settlement.

In these operations, 500 prisoners were taken including 8 killa-dars, and the British loss was " two sepoys killed, a very few wounded, and Lieutenant Lamb slightly in the shoulders." Two guns were also captured.

The Kadattanad Raja arrived from Travancore in the Shark gallivat, which brought the news of the fall of the Travancore lines, and setting out for his country he was able, in this same month of April, to clear it of the enemy who appear to have evacuated all their forts and retreated southwards. Kottayam too was busy, and in May he took the Kuttiyadi fort, mounting 4 guns, and some other places later on.

The east and south of the Tellicherry settlement being thus in a fair way of being cleared of the enemy, attention was next directed to the north, and in particular to the Honorable Company's mortgaged district of Randattara. On the 28th of April, Major Dow with his force endeavoured to cut off Tippu's garrison in a fort erected at Agarr. But some Cannanore Mappillas gave information of his movements to the garrison who evacuated their post and retreated before Major Dow's force into the shelter of the posts defending the Bibi's town of Cannanore. On coming within range of the Carley fort, the guns opened fire on the British troops, and Major Dow in consequence drew off his force.

The Bibi's attitude at this time to the British was very unsatisfactory and enigmatical. Ever since Tippu's visit to Cannanore in the preceding year, she had ostensibly lent to an alliance with the British, but had in reality secretly worked against them. The proclamation warning the country powers that those, who did not join the British, w'ould be treated as enemies was in great measure disregarded. The factors now thought it high time to act, so on the 27th April one

of the Bibi's vessels wras seized, but still she hung back. The bearer of a letter to her from Mr.

Taylor was turned back. Major Dow's force was fired upon, as already stated, on the 28th, and on the 3rd of May the Drake , an armed vessel of the company's, stood in towards Cannanore to test the depth of water for a naval attack and drew on herself the fire of the fort on the south-east of the bay ; one shot struck her and carried away a main topmast backstay.

But the force at th£ settlement was not strong enough to deal effectually with her. The safety of the Tellicherry settlement had been very strongly impressed on the factors, both by the Bengal and Bombay Governments, as a matter of supreme importance at the then juncture in affairs, and Major Dow's instructions were not to proceed beyond 24 hours' distance of the place. The factors accordingly ordered him back to head-quarters as soon as it was seen that the Bibi meant to resist, and the posts captured by him were made over to the country powers to protect.

But Chirakkal could not proceed to his dominions, as 8,000, it was said, of Tippu's troops were still in and about Cannanore. The factors had to give him leave to remain with 200 of his men in Tellicherry during the monsoon, for, he said, it would be a disgrace to him if he were to return to his districts and remain in hiding in the jungles as he had done before. Moreover he could not now count on maintaining himself in the jungles in the manner he had done before, namely " by plundering and making occasional depredations."

It was also now becoming evident to the factors that causes of discord between Hindu and Mappilla were likely to cause the latter to favor Tippu rather than the British, because they were afraid of letting the " Malabars " have " authority over them " after what had happened, and particularly after the forcible conversion to Islam of so many Hindus, and after the fearful retribution which had been wreaked by the Hindus in many places on their oppressors, when the tide of victory turned in favor of the English. On the 28th of June, the Chief reported to Bombay that the Bibi was still holding aloof from an alliance with the company, and that the reduction of Cannanore was necessary.

Meanwhile, however, events to the east of the ghauts had shown that the British were likely to carry matters all their own way. On July 24th, news of the taking of Karur by General Medows on the 15th June arrived, and with it also came information of the triple alliance between the Mahrattas, the Nizam and the English having been ratified. And on August 6th, a letter from General Medows arrived stating that he was at Coimbatore, that nearly all the south of Tippu's dominions was in his hands almost without the loss of a. man, and that the enemy had retired up the ghauts into Mysore.

It was now high time for the Bibi to declare herself, and two days later (8th August), she accordingly signed " the preliminaries 1 to a

1 Treaties, $fc., i. XCVI.

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future treaty of firm alliance and friendship " with the Honorable Company. It was done, however, under the strictest secrecy ; two officers (Lieutenants Lewis and Hunro) proceeded to Cannanore by sea at night, landed secretly there and obtained the Bibi s signature to it. The terms were that she was " whenever called upon " to admit the company s troops to garrison the fortress of Cannanore and to give as hostages for such performance the husband of her eldest daughter, and one of her ministers. On these and other conditions, which it is unnecessary to detail, as they were never carried out, the Bibi was to be considered as an ally of the Honorable Company " in the same manner as the other Malabar princes,

their allies."

Ten days later Mr. Powney reported that the Raja of Cochin had thrown off allegiance to Tippu, and had joined 1 the British.

And on 27th September 1790, General Medows, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Madras, entered at Coimbatore into an agreement2 with "Kishen, Zamorin Raja of Calicut," investing him with the sole management of all the countries heretofore included in the province of Calicut, which are or may be conquered by the British troops." Palghaut fort and district and certain adjacent districts had just then been taken after a short siege of this fort by the same officer, Colonel Stuart, who, on proceeding with an advanced force of General Medow's army to invest and summon the place in the July preceding, had been driven back by the violence of the south-west monsoon. Wilks3 gives the following account of his second and successful attempt to take the place : —

" After retracing his steps to Cgimbatore, this officer was, without joining head-quarters, ordered, with augmented means, to proceed to Palghaut. Officers who had served in the siege of .1783 spoke in high terms of the strength of the works, as being composed of long blocks of granite, so built as to present the end instead of the side to the shot, and thus resisting the ordinary means of effecting a breach ; the ordnance was therefore prepared on a respectable scale and placed under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Moorhouse, an officer of distinguished reputation. The preparations were made with corresponding care, and at daylight, on the 21st September, two batteries opened at distances under 500 yards, one for enfilade and the other for breaching ; the latter, consisting of eight 18-pounders, dismounted at their first discharge six of the guns opposed to them. In less than two hours the fort was silenced, and before night a practicable breach was

effected. The opinion above stated appears to have arisen from attempting a breach

1 The formal treaty with this Raja was not, however, signed for some months, 6th January 1791 — See Treaties, Sfc., i. Cl. But he had previously to this entered into an agreement with Mr. Powney for the lease of the Island of Chetwai, which was cleared of the enemy by Colonel Hartley in the September preceding — See Treaties, Sfc., i. XCIX & C.

2 Treaties, Sfc., i. XCVII. — This "Kishen Raja" was in reality not the Zamorin at all. hut only the second of the house.

2 " Historical Sketches ," U, pp. 163-64.

malahar district.

in a circular tower, and the reflection of shot from indirect incidence was ascribed to direct resistance. In the present instance,, the breach was made in the curtain, and the error was practically discovered. Among the recent improvements was the completion of the ditch across that causeway which led the assailants of 1783 to the gate ; but although the covered way had been improved, it was still without palisades, and in a considerable extent immediately opposite to the breach, the glacis was so imperfectly finished as to leave cover immediately under its crest : of these defects the proper advantage was taken the same night. On reconnoitring the covered way, it was found that the besieged retired every night into the body of the place, drawing after them a rude wooden bridge, which was replaced every morning. The defective spot was immediately seized : a circular place of arms, in a salient angle oi the covered way, was next occupied, and its defences reversed ; the musketry from the crest of the glacis opposed that of the fort, the gate of the sortie was converted into a battery for two 18-pounders, light mortars were brought up to the position first seized and were served with decisive effect ; the ditch, however, was still to be filled : the advanced position must on the ensuing day have remained insulated until it could be connected in the usual manner with the trenches ; but all these labors were rendered unnecessary by the impression produced on the garrison, who before daylight called out that they desired to capitulate. The terms were soon adjusted in conversation across the ditch, and soon after daylight the rude bridge was launched, which enable 1 the besiegers to occupy the place, which was found to mount sixty guns of various calibres. The chief condition of surrender was effective protection against the Nayars, who had joined Colonel Stuart and were employed in the blockade ; but on the fire of the place .being silenced, crowded the trenches and batteries, anxious for sanguinary retaliation, which it required very exact arrangements to prevent.

" Colonel Stuart arrived before Palghaut, with two days' provisions, and without a

*shilling in his military chest ; the sympathy which he evinced for the sufferings of the Nayars and the rigid enforcement of a protecting discipline had caused his bazar to assume the appearance of a provincial granary : the fort was ill-stored, but after depositing six months' provisions for the garrison appointed for its defence, he carried back to his Commander-in-Chief one month's grain for his whole army ; the confidence which his conduct inspired in this short intercourse having enabled him to pay for these supplies with written acknowledgments convertible into cash at the conclusion of the war.'**

All the Malabar chieftains 1 had thus declared for the British.

1 The Coorg Raja too joined the confederacy on 26th October 1790 — Treaties , $c., i. XCVIII. — An easy and safe passage through friendly territory was thus secured for an army advancing from Tellicherry as the base through Kottayam and Coorg against Seringapatam. This treaty with Coorg completed Mr. Taylor's able political preparations for the struggle just commencing.

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Colonel Hartley had, in September, moved up the coast from Alik-kotta, and after clearing the Island of Chetwai 1 of the enemy, he took, on 26th September, the enemy's fortified post at Chavakkad mounting 15 guns, and fifty prisoners were captured at the same time. Proceeding onwards to Ponnani, he then turned his face eastwards clearing all the country to the south of the Ponnani river, and by the 9th October he had reached Palghaut already taken by Colonel Stuart. And there he remained till about the 20th November.

Meanwhile affairs to the east of the ghauts had not been prospering with General Medows. Colonel Floyd's detachment sent out to forage at the foot of the Hassanur hills beat a hasty retreat in September before a large force brought down the Gajalhatti pass by Tippu in person, and it narrowly escaped annihilation before effecting a junction with General Medows' own forceThe Mysorean army was better equipped and General Medows never succeeded in coming up with it. Tippu threatened Coimbatore, which was opportunely strengthened by Colonel Hartley, who despatched three Madras battalions to defend it. Tippu, however, managed to take Darapuram from the weak garrison left there by General Medows.

In August the Bombay Government had despatched Major Auch-muty to Tellicherry with a commission to act in concert with_ Colonel Hartley and Mr. Taylor, and with orders to keep ready at Tellicherry for field service a force consisting of one company of artillery and lascars, three companies of the Bombay European regiment, and the 2nd, 3rd and 10th battalions of sepoys, all under the command of Major Dow for co-operation with Colonel Hartley.

This force was kept in readiness to move at a moment's notice, but in the

meantime the Cannanore Bibi's attitude again excited suspicion.

In August the Chief had reason to think she was really endeavouring to get rid of Tippu's force which still lay at Cannanore, and to facilitate her endeavours and give her confidence a small party of men from Tellicherry was sent, under protest from the French at Mah6, to guard the passage across the Mahe river so as to prevent Tippu's force in the south from communicating with that lying in and about Cannanore.

On September 24th, Mr. Taylor found it necessary to take another step, for the misunderstanding between Hindu and Mappilla was becoming very apparent, and the Chief to quiet the fears of the latter, had to issue a proclamation that he would secure both parties on their ancient footing.

About October 14th, the Bibi complied so far with the terms of her engagement that she sent away Tippu's troops from the place, and Ran-dattara accordingly once more passed into the hands of the company. No further progress, however, was made in carrying out the agreement,

1 Leased by Mr. Towney to the Cochin Raja for one year on 26th November 1790 for in annual payment of Rs. 40,000.

and in order to force her to declare herself, Mr. Taylor on 17th October despatched a battalion to take possession of the Cannanore fort. Admission was refused and the battalion thereupon took post at Agarr in order to protect Randattara. On the 19th an evasive reply was received from the Bibi, and on the 21st Mr. Taylor heard that Tippu's force of about 8,000 men, which had gone only a short distance north, had again returned to Cannanore.

There was now no uncertainty about the fact that the Bibi meant to side with Tippu and oppose the Honorable Company. Mr. Taylor accordingly wrote to Bombay to ask for sanction to besiege Cannanore, and, on the 22nd October, the Princess Royal ketch belonging to the Honorable Company was sent to blockade the place by sea. Finally on the 5th November the Bombay Government " justly incensed at her (the Bibi's) prevaricating, if not treacherous, conduct " determined to prosecute the siege with vigour.

The interest in the narrative at this point next centres on the movements of Colonel Hartley's force in South Malabar. Having heard from Tellicherry that Major Dow, with the force above detailed, was held in readiness to join him, Colonel Hartley, on 13th November, wrote from Palghaut, desiring that Major Dow might be sent down the coast to Ponnani to take post on the south of the river at that place and to await further orders. But the Bibi's hostile attitude made it impossible for Mr. Taylor to comply with this request, and as soon as Tellicherry had been reinforced, Major Dow was sent out to take post at Agarr with three battalions in

order to watch the movements of Tippu's force at Cannanore and to protect Randattara.

Colonel Hartley, after despatching the above requisition, next set his force in motion from Palghaut towards the west about the middle of November. On the 22nd, he was at " Ometore" on the south bank of the Ponnani river, three miles east of the famous Tirunavayi temple. His object was to keep open the communications between General Medow's force and the west coast via Palghaut. Martab Khan with 5,000 of Tippu's troops had pushed southwards across the river and had busied themselves in devastating the country as far as Chavakkad. On hearing1' of the approach of Colonel Hartley, this force retired northwards and was generally supposed to have concentrated on Venkatakotta, a few miles north of Tirunavayi. On December 1st Hartley reached Ponnani and remained there four days. On the 5th he set out in pursuit of Martab Khan, and on the 7th captured Venkatakotta with 3 guns and

20 prisoners.

Pushing on from there, Colonel Hartley with only one European regiment and two battalions of sepoys with their usual field artillery came up with the enemy on the 10th and won a brilliant victory which is thus described in the records. " He encountered two of Tippu's commanders, Martab Khan and Hussain Ali Khan, at the head of 9,000

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Tippu's men and 4,000 Mappillas on the plains of Tervannengurry " 1 (evidently Tirurangadi in Ernad taluk) " on the morning of the 10th instant. After a smart action the colonel routed Martab Khan with the right wing of the enemy and put them to total flight. The retreat of Hussain Ali being cut off by the Highland or 75th Regiment, he, with the remaining troops, was obliged to fly towards the fort of Tervannengurry, but the -7th battalion coming up with him before he could effectually enter the fort put 400 of his men to the sword in the covert way. Being then surrounded on all sides by the English, Hussain Ali loudly called out for quarter, which being granted, he surrendered himself with two sirdars and 900 men prisoners of war. The loss on our side during this action is very trifling. No officers killed — among the wounded are Captains Lauman and Blackford, Lieutenants Stuart and Powell — none dangerously, but the latter, it is supposed, will lose his arm. The loss on the side of the enemy, independent of the captured, is estimated at about 1,000 killed and wounded.

"Colonel Hartley finding that Martab Khan had retreated to Ferokia, or new Calicut, a place lately strengthened and considerably improved by Tippu, pursued him thither without a moment's loss of time. On the night previous to the arrival of

the detachment Martab Khan again fled from them, and carried with him from thence, on elephants, all the treasure of the place. It is supposed that he is gone towards the Tambercherry pass. The remainder of this garrison, consisting of 1,500 men, laid down their arms on the colonel's appearance, who, consequently, took possession of the fort, guns, &c., without further opposition. Bey-pore also surrendered to him immediately with a considerable number of vessels and boats laying in the river."

Major Dirom, who was Deputy AdjutantGeneral of the Army, put the enemy's losses in these three affairs at

Men killed, wounded and missing, or Guns. prisoners.

December 10th, Tricalore 3 2,000

„ 12th, Ferokabad 50 1,300

„ „ Beypore . 20 Evacuated

The effect of these operations of Colonel Hartley's was to clear the whole of South Malabar of the enemy. It only remained to effect the same purpose in North Malabar.

After determining, on 5th November, as already stated, to besiege Cannanore, the Bombay Government of General Abercromby vigorously set about their preparations for this end. On 25th November the factors heard that they were despatching to Tellicherry a regiment of

1 In Major Dirom's " Narrative of the Campaign, fc.," London, 2nd edition, 1794 p. 263, the place is called " Tricalore " which is evidently TirukkallOr, the Hindu name of the neighbouring temple and fort. The locality is probably identical with that where Humberstono won his victory over Hyder Ali's general, Mukbdum Ali in 1782,

Europeans, a company of artillery, two of lascars, and the 1 2th battalion of native infantry, and that the Governor himself was coming to conduct the operations. Major Dow was despatched with three battalions to take post at Agarr, as already stated, on the 27th and. four companies of the Bombay European regiment were held in readiness on Darmapattanam Island to support him. On the 4th, 5th and 6th December the troops from Bombay, including H.M.'s 77th Regiment (nine companies strong), and General Abercrcmby himself arrived. H.M.'s ship Phoenix (Captain Byron) was appointed the flagship in the naval operations against Cannanore. On the 13th December, General Abercromby with his force of 3,000 to 4,000 men and the ships invested the place.

On the 14th the siege was opened, the two important outworks, Forts Avary and Carlee, were captured on the 16th, and on the 17th tho besieging force having mastered all the heights and commanding situations round the fort and town, the Bibi wisely submitted to her fate and agreed to an unconditional surrender.1 The Bibi and inhabitants generally were, however, assured by General Abercromby of protection for themselves and for their personal property and household furniture. All military and naval stores, vessels, grain, &c., were confiscated. Future relations were to be left for adjustment afterwards, and meanwhile the Bibi was to continue "to exercise justice to the inhabitants agreeable to their customs in all cases where the commandant of the fort and town does not interfere."

The Bibi's husband, who it seems had always headed the opposition to the English, died during the early part of the siege, and her minister and heir apparent were therefore sent as hostages to the English camp. Five thousand of Tippu's troops found in the town laid down their arms and colours, and formal possession of the place was taken by Captain Wiseman, who marched into Fort St. Angelo and occupied it with the two flank companies of his battalion. The British flag was hoisted under a salute from the batteries, and the enemy lost 68 guns by the capture.

Thus Cannanore, the first place in India to welcome • Europeans to Indian shores, was the last of the important places iu Malabar to pass

into the conquering hands of the British.

There was, after this and after Colonel Hartley's brilliant exploits in the south, but little left to do for the establishment in Malabar of

British supremacy.

Major Dow with a detachment moved against "V alarpattanam and captured there five more guns ; but the Mappillas and some remains of

i Treaties , i. CLIX. -The assurances referred to in the text were afterwards supple

mented by others executed respectively by General Abercromby (Tnahes , $c., i.)> 14th February 1791, and by the Bibi (i. CLX), in March 1791, guaranteemg that the B.bt and her familv should not be handed over to Tippu by the Bntish on the one that the Bibi should do all in her power to conciliate and attach the Mappillas to th English interest, and to assist in the war against Tippu on the other.

- *Coiif. p. 301.*

Tippu's force had seized Vadakkara and part of Kadattanad, and it was necessary to dispossess them. This was done without difficulty by a detachment commanded by Captain Oakes, who secured twelve guns and 400 prisoners at Vadakkara and Kuttippuram, the Kadattanad Kaja's head-quarters.

All Malabar was in fact now in the hands of the British, and it only remained for the administrators to set to work. And it is notable in this connection and in the light of subsequent, and (some of them) very recent, events that the following occurs among the first sentences in the records after describing the above affairs : — " From the repeated treachery and notorious infidelity of the whole Mappilla race, rigid and terrifying measures are become indispensably necessary to draw from them the execution of their promises and stipulations. Lenity has been found ineffectual/' General Abercromby, therefore, wisely determined to take away their arms and prohibit to them the possession of any weapons.

The narrative of the succeeding events may bo related in a few words, as the scene of active operations in the war lay to the east of the ghauts. On December 12th, 1790, Lord Cornwallis the Governor-General arrived at Madras to take the management of affairs into his own hands. General Medows was at this time following Tippu, who, with his superior equipments, was leading him a merry dance, and who was now, after leaving the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, plundering, burning and carrying ruin into the very heart of Coromandel. On December 30th, General Medows received orders to return to Madras with his army as it was clear his plan of operations could never have brought the war to a successful close. On January 29th, 1791, Lord Cornwallis assumed command of the army at Vellout, 1 8 miles from Madras, and determined to strike in the first instance at Bangalore, the place second in importance in Tippu's dominions, and afterwards at Seringapatam itself. On February 5th the army began its march, and on the 1 1th it concentrated near Vellore. Bangalore was taken by assault on March 21st, and on May 15th Tippu was defeated at Arikera, close to Seringapatam. But a week later (May 22nd) Lord Cornwallis nad to abandon his scheme of carrying Seringapatam itself, his transport having failed him, and he destroyed his battering train under the very walls of the fort against which he had designed to use it. General Abercromby, with his force, had ascended through friendly territory from Cannanore rid Irukkur and Coorg to the Mysore frontier and wa3 ready to co-operate with the main army, but on receipt of intelligence of what had happened he effected a safe retreat to the coast in spite of a large force sent by Tippu to intercept him.

In November 1791, General Abercromby returned once more to the coast from Bombay either bringing with him or receiving from Palghaut all the means of a good equipment. Again ascending the ghauts he made his first march from the head of the pass towards Seringapatam

with an effective force of 8,400 men on January 22nd, 1792. On the 25th of that same month, Lord Cornwallis, with 16,721 infantry and cavalry, 44 field guns, and a battering train of 42 pieces, effected a junction with the Nizam's army and some Mahrattas under Hari Punt at Savendrug, and commenced his second march on Seringapatam. On February 16th, the two armies effected a junction under the walls of Seringapatam, and on the 22nd Tippu was 1 forced to yield to the allies " one-half of the dominions which were in his possession at the commencement of the present war " and to pay " three crores and thirty lakhs of sicca rupees." All prisoners were to be released, and " two of the three eldest sons of Tippu Sultan " were to be given as hostages.

This treaty was, as contemplated by article V, only preliminary to " a definitive treaty of perpetual friendship." It took some weeks to adjust the exact terms of this further " definitive 2 treaty," which was signed by Lord Cornwallis on 18th March 1792, and from that date " Calicut, 63 taluks," valued at " C. Pagodas 8,48,765-5-4 1 " and " Palghautcherry," with an estimated revenue of " C. Pagodas 88,000," passed finally under the dominion of the Honorable East India Company.

Section (G).

THEˆBRITISH SUPREMACY.

1792 to Date.

At the cession of Malabar, in the manner above related, to the British by the Treaties of Seringapatam,3 dated 22nd February and 18th March 1792, the country was found to be split into a number of kingdoms and principalities, a prey to the bigotry of its late Muhammadan conquerors, abandoned by its principal landholders, and distracted by the depredations and rapacity of the Mappilla banditti.

The Joint Commissioners, whose proceedings will be stated in some detail shortly, thus described the territory which fell to the share of the British by the above treaties : —

" Malabar, exclusive of the two merely tributary districts of Corga and Cochin (situated at either of its extremities), may be considered as consisting of two grand divisions, the northern and the southern, separated by the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) or Cotta (Kotta) river.

" That to the northward comprehending the ancient Colastrian (Kolattiri) rauge (raj) or kingdom, now dismembered and partitioned out into the several principalities or districts of —

“ 1st— Chericul (Chirakkal) or Colastry (Kolattiri) proper ;

1 Treaties , $c., ii. I. 2 Treaties , $c., ii. II.

3 Treaties, Sfc., ii. I and II.

THE BRITISH SUPREMACY.

“ 2ndly — Cottattu or Cotiote (Kottayam or inflected Kottayattu), annexed to which was, or is, Wynad above the ghats (the former peculiarly noted for the production of pepper, and the latter for cardamoms) ;

“ 3rdly— The district of Cartinaad (Kadattanad), the woods in which contain abundance of neglected cassia or wild cinnamon ; and

“ 4thly — The petty township and contiguous districts of Can-nanore (held by a Mappiila family possessing also the greater part of the Laccadive Islands, and which is much respected by all the others of the same tribe throughout Malabar) ; and

“ Sthly, Othly and 7thly— The small taluks of Irvenaad (Iruvali-nad), Corengotte (Kurangot) and Randaterra (Randattara), which last-mentioned place had become subordinate to the settlement of Tellicherry in the manner that will be hereafter pointed out.

Theˆdistricts to the south of the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) river contain —

“ 1st— Coorimnaad (Kurumbranad), a distmct and independent rajaship; and

“2ndly— Those districts that formed the dominions of the Samoory or Zamorin, such as Pynaar (Payyanad), with Warcumbra (Vadakkampuram) and Curcumbra (Kijakkam-puram) to the north and east of Calicut ;

“ and to the southward of that city and district, the countries of Emaad (Ernad), Shernaad (Cheranad), Yenkillycotta (Venkattakkotta), Malapuram (Malapuram), Capool (Kap-pul), Weenarcar(Mannarakkad), Cunumpoora (Kanmpula), Nerenganaad (Nedunganad), and Poonany (Ponnani).

“ Besides which, the Samoory claimed to be, with a more or less influence, the paramount sovereign over —

“ The Nayarships of Pyoormulla (Payyormala) and Poorwye (Pulavayi) to the north and east of Calicut ;

“ and to the southward of the Rajaships of Beypoor (Beypore), Perepnaar (Parappanad), Bettut or Yettutnaar (Vettattu-nad), and Tallapellie (Talapalli),

called also Soukar 'and Chowghaut (Chavakkad), including the Nayarship of Coul-para (Kavalappara) .

" And he had also possessed himself of the more full and immediate sovereignty over the three Nayarships of Colemgoor (Kollankodu), Codovoura or Koorwye (Kotuvayyur) and Hungary (Mangara)' originally a part of the Palghaut (Palghat) country.

" So that» exclusive of the residue of this last-mentioned district, and of the three lesser Nayarships of Congad (Kongad), Manoor (Mannur) and Yerterra (Edattara), and of the district of Coorimnaad (Kurum-

branad) and of that of Velatra or Velnatera (Vellatiri) in the southern division of Malabar, the family of the Zamorin had, by a continued service of warfare and contest, thus reduced (before the period of their own expulsion by Hyder Ali Khan) to a greater or less degree of subordination and dread of their power, all the Rajas, chiefs and landholders of the countries lying between the Toorshairoo (Turasseri) river [which is above .stated to have been the boundary of the ancient Colastrian (Kolattiri) kingdom] and that of Cochin/'

To complete the list of British possessions on the coast at this time, it will be gathered from the foregoing narrative that the following had already, for longer or shorter periods and more or less uninterruptedly, been in the possession of the British

(a.) Tellicherry, with its dependencies, namely, the Island of Dharmmapattanam with Grove Island lying off it, the district of Randattara (also mentioned by the Commissioners), and the fort and district of Mount Deli.

(b.) The Island of Chetwai, retaken from the Mysoreans by Colonel Hartley in 1790 and rented to the Cochin Raja at Rs. 40,000 per annum. And (c.) The fort and territory at Anjengo.

The localities of most of the above bits of territory are indicated in the sketch map given at paragraph 11 of Chapter IY, Section (6), and further details of the precise limits of each little bit of territory will be found in that section itself.

Soon after the conclusion of the peace Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, instructed General R. Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, under date the 23rd March 1792, to enquire into the present state of the country and to establish a system for its future government, but to lose no time in coming to an agreement with all the chiefs for some specific revenue to be paid for the ensuing year. Such of the friendly rajas whose territories were not included in the cession were to be allowed the option of returning to them under the protection of the 8th article of the Treaty, or of remaining within the limits of the Company'-s territories ; and

Lord Cornwallis promised, in conclusion, to depute two Civil Servants from Bengal to act in concert with the gentlemen to be appointed from Bombay.

In pursuance of these orders the General arrived at Cannanore and appointed Mr. Farmer, a Senior Merchant, and Major Dow, the Military Commandant of Tellicherry, as Commissioners, and issued instructions to them under date the 20th April 1792, to preserve the peace of the country, and after settling the amount of tribute to be paid by the native princes and chiefs, to direct their attention to collecting materials to form a report on the most eligible system of establishing the Company s authority on the coast. The states of Coorg in the ncrth-eAst and Cochin in the south, which were included in the cession, were made tributaries and included in the object of the commission.

THE BRITISH SUPREMACY.

Before proceeding to state in detail the measures adopted by the Commissioners for carrying out the above instructions, it will be as well to explain that the only plan on which this can be done with a view to giving an adequate idea of the labours of the Commissioners, will be to adhere strictly to the chronological method. The narrative will necessarily appear disjointed, hut, having regard to the vast number of bits of independent territory which came under settlement, this cannot be helped.

The Bombay Commissioners began at Tellicherry to effect settlements with the three northern Rajas of Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kadattanad, whose relations with the English from a remote period have already been dealt with in the foregoing pages.

The engagements or cowls entered into in 1790 with these chieftains, the terms of which have already 1 been fully described, were now found to be " not so comprehensive as could be wished, since they provided for the emancipation of the Malabar Rajas from Tippu, but did not clearly express their dependence on the Company," for the instructions of the GovernorGeneral issued on 8th April and 31st May 1790, and already fully described, were received only after the execution of the cowls. These instructions contained clear directions as to the terms of dependence on which the chieftains were to remain under the Honorable Company, but they did not appear to have been communicated to those chiefly concerned.

It must also be here explained that with regard to the Chirakkal cowl it was granted to Unni Amma, a younger member of the family, who assumed the name of Ravi Varma, and was the only one on the spot, the real head of the house having fled with his mother to Travan-core ; and that the Kottayam cowl was likewise granted to a junior member of the family, afterwards known as the rebel

Palassi (Pychy) Raja, the senior Raja having also taken refuge in Travancore.

Owing to the terms of the cowls they held, the three northern Rajas did not immediately acquiesce in the Company's sovereignty over them, but after some hesitation they soon found the necessity of relaxing their pretensions, and the Kadattanad Raja was the first to agree to a settlement 2 on 25th April 1792, stipulating as follows : —

1st — The Raja to remain in the exercise of all his rights and authority, subject only to the control of the Company in case of oppressing the inhabitants.

2ndly — A Resident or Dewan to reside with him to enquire into any complaints of oppression.

3rdly — Two persons on the part of the Company and two on that of the Raja to make a valuation of the revenues of each district.

1 Pages 462-63.

! Trraties, $c., ii. IV

Malabar district.

4thly— Amount of revenue payable by each subject to be ascertained.

5thly— The Raja's tribute to be settled in October according to the appearance of the crop.1

6thly— The Government share of pepper to be delivered to the Company at a price to be fixed in December.

7thly The remaining pepper to be purchased exclusively by merchants appointed by the Company, and

Sthly— Lesser points which might arise from time to time to be left with Air. Taylor, the Chief of Tellicherry, to. adjust, and the whole was to be considered as temporary and subject

to the confirmation of General Abercromby on his return to the coast.

Similar 2 terms were next accepted by the Kottayam and Chirakkal Rajas, and measures were adopted for obtaining a valuation of these districts.

With ft view to check the illicit trade in pepper, &c., carried on by the French at Mahe, the small district of Iruvalinad, of which frequent mention has already been made in the foregoing narrative, was retained under the direct management of a

covenanted servant subordinate to the Tellicherry Factory, and the same system was likewise extended to the district of Randattara, already so often mentioned as a bone of contention between the Company and the Chirakkal Raja.

The Bombay Commissioners next turned their attention to Canna-nore, another of the Malayali chieftainships, whose relations with the English from a remote period have already been detailed in the preceding pages. It will be noted that this chieftainess was not on a footing similar to that of the rest of the Malabar chiefs, for she had basely thrown over the English alliance instead of assisting the Honorable Company's officers, and had been compelled by force of arms to withdraw from her alliance with Tippu.

The chief source of revenue in Cannanore being the commerce carried on by the Blbl with Arabia, &c., and the produce of the Laccadive Islands, she was called upon for a statement of the produce and value of her country preparatory to a settlement.

The Commissioners then proceeded to settle the case of the five friendly northern Rajas, whose territories lying contiguous to Kolat-tiri proper or Chirakkal on the north of the Kavvayi river, were not included in the cession, although they were, prior to Hyder Ali's conquest, under the suzerainty of the Kolattiri family. Hyder Ali attached their territories to his Kacheri of Bednur. They were the Rajas of Nilesvaram, Kumbla, Vitul Hegra or Beigada, Bungor and Chowtwara. The Nilesvaram Raja, although he was granted a cowl by the factors in 1790, obtained permission from Tippu to return to his

1 Of pepper presumably.

2 Treaties, $<■., ii. V and VI.

country. The Kumbla and Vitui Hegra Rajas were each granted 1 a pension of Rs. 200 by the Company, with permission to reside at Tel-licherry. As to the Bunga or Bungor and Chowtwara Rajas, they having made the offer of their services very late in the war, it was not deemed necessary to extend to them any indulgence of the kind. They had to return to their country, and were, it is said, imprisoned by Tippu.

Having put matters in train for a settlement in the north, the Bombay Commissioners next repaired to Calicut to negotiate with the Zamorin, who, however, delayed to attend on the Board. The Commissioners accordingly made a settlement of the Kurumbranad district with Vlra Varma Raja, who had been a member o£ the Kottayam family and had been adopted as heir by the senior Kurumbranad Raja. The latter was absent in Travancore. They leased 2 to him on

the 27th May 1792, for the sum of Rs. 1,40,000 for one year, not only the two districts of Kurumbranad and Kolakkad, which appertained to his adopted family, but Payyanad„Payormala, Kilakkampuram, Vadak-kampuram and Pulavayi, which were then understood to belong to the Zamorin, but classed in Tippu's schedule under the taluk of Kurumbranad. This Raja had received no cowl from the Tellicherry factors, so as a preliminary condition to the grant of the above agreement he had to acknowledge that the Honorable Company " alone are the rightful sovereigns of his districts, and he was in turn appointed the Honorable Company's " manager," to " collect the revenues, administer justice, and preserve the peace " of his districts, and the Zamorin's agents were required to settle with him for sums collected by them.

The Bombay Commissioners next learnt that General Medows, the Governor of Madras, in the course of the war operations on the other side of the peninsula, had allowed the Travancore Raja a controlling power over the Malabar Rajas ; and that on this plea the Travancore Dewan Keshu Pillay had collected, in the name of the Company and on the plea of contribution towards the expenses of the war, various sums of money from the revenues of the country for the years 1790 and 1791. The question as to whether he. should be made to account for these collections occupied some of the Commissioners' time, and was eventually left for disposal by the GovernorGeneral.

The feud between Nayar and Mappilla in consequence of the complete subversion of the ancient friendly relations subsisting between these classes broke out afresh about this time, and Major Dow was deputed to the Mappilla districts, and a cowl 3 of protection was issued in favor of the Kundotti section of the Mappilla class, who had been oppressed by the Nayar landholders.

I he next settlement was made for the Palghat district with Itta Punga Achchan, a younger member of the family, who, according to custom, exercised sovereign authority as regent in place of a superan-

1 Treaties, fc., ii. Ill and IX. 2 Treaties, 4c., ii. VII and VIII.

J Treaties, Qc., ii. X.

nuated senior Raja. On his acknowledging the sole sovereignty of the Honorable Company over his district it was, on 12th July 1792, leased 1 to him for one year for the net sum of Rs. 80,000 after allowing for charges of collection. The Zamorin had driven a wedge 2 through and had acquired, as already described, a large part of the ancient Palghat territory. In this agreement with Itta Punga Achchan this claim of the Zamorin to the Natuvattam was carefully ignored. And on the same 3 day the Kavalappara Nayar acknowledged the Honorable Company's sovereignty and was installed in his territory for one year, his

payments being fixed at Rs. 15,000. As, however, the Cochin Raja had advanced a claim to sovereignty over the Nay ar's territory (Treaties, &c., i. Cl, Article III), the Nayar was further bound to abide by the decision of the Honorable Company in this matter. It may be added that the Nayar shortly afterwards proved to the satisfaction of the Commissioners that he was really independent of the Cochin Raja, and a decision was accordingly given in his favor on this point.

It was at first resolved to place the Nayars of Kongad, Mannur and Edaltara under the Palghat Achchan, but as they had formerly taken the protection of the Yellatiri Raja, they were ordered to pay their revenue through that Raja, viz. : —

Kongad • . • • • • • •

Mannur . . . . • . • <

Edattara

A dispute soon however arose between the Raja s family and these Nayars, and they were thenceforward permitted 4 to pay their revenues direct to the Company.

Their territories were in this way first included among those for which the Yellatiri Raja next, on 30th July 1792, undertook to pay a sum of Rs. 38,410$. The Yellatiri or Yalluvakon Rajas were, as the foregoing pages sufficiently indicate, the hereditary enemies of the Zamorins. The reigning chief had endeavoured, by favoring the Map-piilas, to counterbalance the influence gained by the Zamorin through his Muhammadan subjects. Mappifias consequently abounded in this chief's territory, but as Muhammadan immigrants were few in his inland tracts he had perforce to recruit his Mappilla retainers from the lowest classes of all-the slaves of the soil or Cheramar Having tasted the sweets of liberty under the Mysorean rule, these Mappiljas did not readily yield submission to the ancient order of things when the Mysoreans were driven out. Although, therefore, the Yellatiri Raja s districts were restored 3 to the Raja for management, it was soon discovered that he was powerless to repress the disturbances which speedily arose between Nayar and Mappilla, and it was in consequence of this

RS. HOONS.

.. 1,454 8

.. 1,344 2i

.. 1,505 8

*'> He Natuˆttam (Central Circle), eee map at paragraph 11 of Section (k), , Otap. IV. . ylic., f,., ii. XII. ' Tntttet, f,, ii. XXI. ■ Tr**», f«, u. XIII.*

that so early as May 1793 the Joint Commissioners had to resume his districts and manage them directly. Another reason for direct intervention was that this chief and his family had all fled to Travancore, and that they had afforded the Honorable Company no help whatever in the war with Tippu.

In settling with the minister of the Vellatiri Raja, the Commissioners learnt that it had been the practice with Tippu and his farmers to exact 10 per cent, on the jama or annual demand for the charges of collection in the southern districts. They therefore took this extra charge to account and increased the amount of the Vellatiri lease from Rs. 38,4 10ˆ to Rs. 41,5944.

The Parappanad district was next, on 11th August 1792, farmed1 out for the net sum of Rs. 14,000 to one of its Rajas, Vlra Varma, one

of the few members of the family who had escaped forcible conversion at the hands of Tippu's myrmidons.

The Vettattanad district was next leased on 14th August 1792, on behalf of the Raja, by his minister for Rs. 34,807ˆ. But this Raja did not long survive ; he died on 24th May 1793, leaving no heirs natural or adoptive to succeed him, and his estates were declared to have passed to the Honorable Company.

The settlement with the Zamorin, which had been all the while under consideration, presented various difficulties. During the religious persecutions of Tippu, a younger member of the family, Ravi Varma belonging to that branch of the family styled Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace), having proved himself a champion of the Hindus obtained from General Medows at Coimbatore, on 27th September 179o' a cowP in the name of Kishnen Raja, heir apparent of the Zamorin' who had fled to Travancore, authorising the latter to administer the revenues of the country during the war and providing for the payment of an equitable peishcush to the Company at its termination. Under the provisions of this cowl an agreement 3 was, on the 18th August U92, concluded with the fourth Raja of the Kilakka Kbvilakam Pakce/» on behalf of, and as surety for, the Zamorin for Rs. 4,1 h, 36b. It contained sixteen articles, which constituted the basis of ail subsequent proceedings with this Raja.*

The districts leased were —

in Calicut — the cusba'and Ramnad,

in Kurumbranad-Vadaktampuram and Eilakkampuram, which

*• v7"™*nad Raia "greed to give up to the Zamorin. in VeUattanad— Ponnam,*

Cheranad and Venkattakkotta m Chavakkad— Chavakkad, Nedunganad and Rarimpula, in rimad Eraad and Malapuram, and

a m Ptlgh§'t~Kollanˆ5d» Koduvayyur, and Mankara, and the duties on land and sea customs were also likewise leased.

1 TreatUt, u. XIV.

- *Treaties, #c., i. XCVII.*

3 Treaties, ft-., ii. XVI.

As a mark of respect and superiority, the Rajas of Bey pore, Parappa-nad and Vettattunad were required to pay their revenues through the Zamorin, who was also temporarily vested, " as in the ancient times," with power to administer justice " over all these petty Rajas."

The last separate district settled by the Commissioners was with the Beypore Raja for Rs. 10,000.

After this the Commission separated for a time, Major Dow proceeding to Cochin and Travancore with a view to secure 1 the pepper produce and to obtain as much information as possible before the arrival of the Bengal Commissioners.

Mr. Farmer remained behind and entered into an arrangement for the mint with the Zamorin, to whom it was leased for Rs. 15,000. He also appointed Mr. Agnew, the Calicut Resident, as Collector-General of the southern districts, and Mr. Sunkheet as Collector of Palghat. He then proceeded to the north to arrange definitely with the northern Rajas. There he was joined by Mr. W. Page, appointed as third member of the Bombay Commission.

The Chirakkal Raja's revenue 2 was fixed at Rs. 50,000, the Kadatta-nad 2 Raja's at Rs. 30,000, and the Kottayam 2 Raja's at Rs. 25,000, and all three Rajas now acknowledged the full sovereignty of the Honorable Company over their respective districts.

The articles were similar to those made with the Zamorin, with modifications to suit the circumstances of the districts, particularly in the mode of purchasing pepper.

In regard to the Blbi of Cannanore nothing was arranged. She claimed the restoration of the jaghire given to her by Tippu in lieu3 of four of her islands taken by him and attached to Canara, and which jaghire had been resumed by the Chirakkal Raja. She represented also that she had been obliged to mortgage the coir of her remaining islands to Chovakkara Mussa on account of the expense of

former wars.

The Chief (Mr. Robert Taylor) and Factors of Tellicherry were on 31st October 1792 appointed Collectors-General of the northern districts.

The Padinyaru Kovilakam branch of the Zamorin's family, already noticed, possessing great influence in the country, was entrusted with the collection of the district of Nedunganad by the Eralpad Raja, the managing heir apparent of the Zamorin. On the strength of this the Padinyaru K. Raja attempted to render himself independent of the Zamorin. The dispute was carried on to such lengths that Captain Burchall was obliged to seize his person at Cherupullasseri. He died there a day or two afterwards, and at the instance of the Zamorin his brother and nephew were put under restraint, and released only upon the Kilakka Kovilakam Raja standing security for their good behaviour and payment of arrears of revenue amounting to one lakh of rupees.

a Treaties, $c., ii. XVIII, XIX and XX.

3 Conf. p. 456, foot note.

1 Treaties, $c., ii. XVII.

THE BRITISH SUPREMACY.

Such was the general state of progress made by the Bombay Commissioners when the Governor, Sir Robert Ahercromby, again arrived in Malabar, followed on 12th December 1702 bv Messrs. Jonathan Duncan and Charles Boddam, the Commissioners despatched from Bengal by Lord Cornwallis to co-operate with those from Bombay. The following extract contains Lord Cornwallis' instructions to Messrs. Duncan and Boddam and explains the scope of the Joint Commission.

Extract from the Governor-General' s instructions to the Commissioners deputed to the Malabar Coast. — " Third. — It is our intention that, in conjunction with the Commissioners on the part of Bombay, you shall enter into full investigation with a view to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible the general and particular situation of this Ceded country, in respect as well to its former as its late and present Governments, as far as may be requisite to enable you to point out in what manner justice has heretofore been and may in future be most advantageously administered to all classes of the natives, the nature of whose several tenures, and more especially those of the Zamorin of Calicut and of the principal Rajas and Nayars and Mappillas throughout that and the other parts of the country, are to be specified, accompanied. with Estimates and statements, formed on the best materials you may be able to procure, of the amount of Revenue which these several Districts are capable of paying and may be equitably assessed at ; together with the particulars of their interior and foreign trade, on which subject you will

form and report your opinion as to the best means of improving both, in such manner as shall have the greatest tendency to conciliate the Commercial Interests of the Company with those of the natives, and best promote the internal prosperity of the Country at large.

" Fourth. — From the several Copies of Papers (consisting of the Correspondence that has hitherto passed on this subject) whiph the Secretary will furnish you with, you will learn what progress has hitherto been made by Mr. Farmer and Major Dow, with whom Mr. Page has since been joined in the Commission, consisting of certain articles agreed upon between them and the Rajahs of Cartinaad (Kadattanad) and others in the northern division of the Ceded country, by one of which the amount of the revenue payable the first year was to be ascertained from the appearance of the crop in October last. The result of this intended inspection you will no doubt learn on your arrival at Tellicherry ; and besides this the Commissioners from Bombay appear to have since concluded a money settlement for one year with the Zamorin and some other Chiefs of the Southern Districts, as you will find detailed in the latest advices received from Mr. Farmer.

" FifthAlthough these advices shew that the general assessment of the Ceded countries on the coast of Malabar is likely to fall considerably short (for the first year at least) of their estimated Revenue Produce as contained in the schedule of Jamabundi furnished at the Peace by Tippu Sultan, we think it nevertheless probable that vour and

the other Commissioners' farther enquiries may ascertain the revenue capacity of the country to he at least much nearer the standard at which it was ceded to us than the amount of the Temporary settlements hitherto made seems to indicate ; but although it is certainly our object to fix on a fair and equitable Jama as payable to Government (and we rely on your best exertions and those of the gentlemen from Bombay to ascertain the real ability of the country in that respect), yet we are at the same time willing to admit and act upon the expediency of a principle of a suggestion which you will find urged to the Commissioners from Bombay in a representation made to them on the part of the:Zamorin, viz. that with a view to conciliate the native Rajas, Landholders and cultivators to the Company's Government, and encourage them to improve their respective Districts and increase their productiveness, more especially by replanting the pepper vines where-ever they have of late years been destroyed, their Burthens, that is, the revenue assessed on them, should, in the beginning at least, be in general lighter than that exacted from them by Tippu, — in which view we think it may be very advisable for you and the other Commissioners to propose to the several l'arties a settlement, either for their respective lives, or for such a term of years as may be most agreeable to them, with a moderate increase (in such places as you think will bear one) on the reduced Jama that it may now be necessary to stipulate for ; so that the just advantages of Government may in some degree keep pace with the

progressive improvement of the country under that system of good government which your researches and proceedings will, we trust, enable us to establish in it. And as the settlement for the first one year ending, as we understand, in September 1793, will probably be everywhere concluded before your arrival on the Malabar Coast, your principal attention will, of course, be directed to the permanent adjustment of the publio Revenue to take place from that period, for the first year of which series (or up to September 1794) we shall, with a view of preventing interruption to the current business of the country or obstruction to the progress of its improvement, confirm as a matter of course the Jama which you and the other Commissioners may stipulate for eaoh district ; but the settlement for the remaining years of each lease you and they are only to recommend and (as far as you may find satisfactory grounds) conclude with the several parties, subject by an express clause to our ultimate approbation or alteration, which shall be signified as

soon after your report as possible. ,

" Sixth . — The establishment of a Plan for the administration o

Justice in the several Districts being a point the effectual attainment of which we have above all others at heart, we rely with confidence on your experience acquired on this side of India for your being able to determine in a satisfactory manner on the number and constitution of the several Courts of Justice that will be necessary to ensure to the utmost possible degree (as far as the state of society there will permi)

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the dispensation of equal J ustice to all classes of the society ; and if, from General Abercromhy's presence on the spot or in the neighbourhood of the place at which your proceedings are held, he shall concur with you in opinion on these subjects, or in those plans that relate to the collection of the Revenues, or to the management of the trade of the country, we shall have no objection to find either one or all of them begun to be carried into execution (subject to our ultimate approbation) by the country being divided provisionally (even before your final Report to us) into such Revenue Divisions or Collectorships, and Judicial Jurisdictions, Civil and Criminal, and commercial agencies, as you shall intend ultimately to propose for our Confirmation.

" Seventh. — The pepper produced on the Coast of Malabar constituting (as already intimated) a very material Branch of Commerce to the Honorable Company, it is our wish that a Provision on terms of perfect fairness to the natives may be effected in all the settlements for the Revenue payable to Government, so that as far as possible it may be made good in the natural pepper produce, taken at a fair market valuation instead of money payments, leaving whatever

proportion cannot be secured in this way to be purchased by the Company's commercial Agents on the spot on the footing (as nearly as may be) that their purchases of Investments are provided by the Regulations (with which you are acquainted) established for the Commercial Department in Bengal ; for we are aware that on the footing of any positively exclusive privilege the Company must lose in their Revenues and in the prosperity of the country more than they could gain by rigidly enforcing a right to monopoly or purchase in any other mode than that which we have thus pointed out.

" Eighth. — You are also, in the same spirit of moderation and liberal attention to the rights of the natives, to include in your Report the information you may be able to obtain in respect to the General state of the trade of the country in the other articles besides pepper, comprehending (as far as your opportunities may admit) that carried on in the Districts of the Raja of Travancore, and reporting thereon whatever means may occur to you for securing, on equitable principles, such share of it to the Company as former engagements (which Mr. Powney, the Resident with the Raja, will be directed to make you acquainted with), and more especially the late and recent exertions in favour of that country so fully entitle them to expect."

The GovernorGeneral did not fail at the same time to notice (despatch of 18th November 1792) with " much satisfaction " the u laborious and persevering attention " which had been already devoted to the objects of the Commission by the Bombay members of it.

One of the first measures of the United or Joint Commission' was to proclaim 1 on 20th December 1792 the general freedom of trade in all

» Treatiet , ?c., ii. XXIII, XXIV, XXVII.

articles except pepper which was held as a monopoly, and the institution of "two separate courts of Equity and Justice" at Calicut on 1st January 1793, the first court to be presided over by the members in rotation, in which revenue and litigated landed claims were to be investigated, and the second to take notice "of all other subjects of claim and litigation not relating to the revenue or landed property."

They further, on 9th January 1793, sent round a circular 1 to all the chieftains charged with the collection of the Revenue of their Districts, forbidding the collection, on any pretence whatever, of any presents or cesses such as had been customarily prevalent before the Mysore Government imposed the land cess, which alone they were authorised to collect.

About this time a hill tribe called Malasars {inala— hill, and arasar= lords) in Palghat having inopportunely 'disturbed a Brahman festival by intruding into the

circle for the relics of the feast, the Palghat Achchan caused the headman of the tribe to be decapitated. On this account the Commissioners soon afterwards insisted on the Achchan not only satisfying the family of the deceased Malasar, but entering before Mr. Lockhart into a written agreement 2 not to exercise in future any criminal jurisdiction affecting the life or limb of any person without obtaining the sanction of Government.

Messrs. Page and Boddam were next deputed to Cochin and Palghat respectively to ascertain the identity of the taluks referred to in the Cochin Treaty of 1790 and Tippu's schedule of 1792, to enquire into the boundary dispute between the Cochin Raja and the Zamorin as well as that relative to three taluks between the former and the Travancore Raja, to adjust with the Dewan of the latter large sum of money said to have been unduly collected by him, and lastly, to settle the Cochin Raja's claims on Kavalappara, which point was, as already stated, decided in favor of the Nayar.

While these Commissioners were engaged with the above-mentioned enquiries, the remaining members issued a proclamation of general amnesty for acts of homicide, maiming, robbery or theft committed prior to 1st February 1793 as a means of inducing the lawless among the population to resort to honest courses.

The Commissioners likewise prohibited the slave trade carried on extensively in children by Mappilla merchants with the French and Dutch ports of Mahe and Cochin respectively.

It was becoming very apparent that the breach between the Mappillas and the Nayars, particularly in the Vellatiri district, was very wide. The Raja was found to be powerless to prevent outrages of all kinds by Mappillas, or to punish them when the culprits were known. Moreover, on the outskirts of this lawless tract of country there dwelt a tribe of what were in those days called "jungle " Mappillas, who were banded together under chiefs and who subsisted on the depreda-

1 Treaties, Sfc,, ii. XXV.

- *Treaties, Sfe., ii. XXVI.*

ticns committed on their neighbours. The best known chief of these banditti was styled Elampulasseri Unni Mutta (Mussa) Muppan, who had a loopholed and fortified house in the jungles at the foot of the ghats at a place called " Tereangnanor " in the records, and who kept a retinue of a hundred armed men. He declined to submit to the Honorable Company's protection when asked to do so by one of the Company's military officers, unless he were granted a pension, because he said his followers had no means of subsistence beyond what they could

get by robbing their neighbours.

But in addition to professional robbers like this, the Vellatiri district swarmed with Mappillas driven to desperation by the exactions of the Raja's Hindu agents employed in collecting the revenue, who resorted, much to the disgust of the British officers quartered in those districts in command of troops, to the most cunning devices for procuring military aid to support their extortionate demands on the inhabitants. The latter were in constant dread of being deprived of their lands by the Nayars, and of their being thus deprived of their only means of support.

The Commissioners had meanwhile also been busy with a plan for the general government of the ceded countries, and this having been sanctioned by the Governor, Sir Robert Abercromby, it was duly proclaimed in the Governor's presence at Calicut on the 18th March 1793. The following extract from Mr. Farmer's Diary describes briefly the ceremony which took place on the occasion.

The Diary entry runs as follows : —

" Calicut, 1 8th March 1793.

" Diary of the Proceedings of William Gamull Farmer , Esquire , Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the Province of Malabar .

" This day, by appointment of the Honorable Major-General Robert Abercromby, President and Governor of Bombay, the gentlemen of the Civil Sendee present at Calicut were summoned to attend at the Government House, late the English Factory, where the Commandant of the troops likewise attended with a numerous assemblage of officers and other gentlemen.

" The Battalion of grenadiers, forming two lines, was drawn up on the road leading from the General's encampment to the Government House ; the General was saluted with nineteen guns from six field-pieces in passing through the lines.

" Being arrived at the Government House, Major-General Abercromby read before all the persons assembled the following letter o£ instructions, which was then delivered to the Supravisor : —

'"To William Gamull Farmer, Esq.

" ' Sir,

You are apprised of the reasons that have induced me to form a temporary Government for the ceded country, and the motives that have actuated me in the choice of a Chief Magistrate.

The sovereignty acquired in these Provinces by the Honorable Company imposes serious duties on their representatives; it is their duty to proteot the persons and property of all ranks of subjects, to administer unbiassed justice according to ancient laws and customs, but meliorated by the influence of our milder institutions, to respect religious opinions and established customs, to provide for the exigencies of Government by a fair and equal assessment, to 'diffuse the blessings of free intercourse and commerce, to preserve the rights of the superior class of subjects as far as is consistent with the general good, in fine to introduce good order and government where anarchy, oppression, and distress have long prevailed.

" ' These, Sir, are the duties imposed on the Honorable Company's representatives ; a knowledge of these duties actuated the Commissioners in recommending a system of government, and these must actuate you in the execution of it.

" ' The general rules by which you will be guided are clearly defined, and particular instructions will be framed for the several Departments under your control. In addition to those instructions, I have to request you will remember that abuses are more easily prevented than remedied. The principle of the present Government is not to seek emolument or create places for persons, but to grant moderate salaries, and hold out to the hopes and ambition of the younger servants the honorable and liberal situations that superior stations admit of. You will also recollect and impress it on the minds of the gentlemen under you that it is an arduous task, and requires zeal and exertion to fill with propriety newly established offices under a Government recently formed. This zeal is expected from you ; without it every effort to establish will but weaken our influence, and where merit is so indispensably required, it will be properly noticed and rewarded.

" ' To enable you to enter on the execution of your office, I have only to add that by authority of powers vested in me, I hereby appoint you to assume the temporary management of the ceded countries under the name and title of Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the countries henceforth to be denominated the Province of Malabar.

"'You will be subject to such orders and directions as you may receive from Government, or the Commissioners may think proper to give you, and at the termination of the Commission you will assume the same powers over the Chiefship of Tellicherry as are now held by them.

*" * Wishing you success in the execution of your duty,*

" ' I have, &c.,

" ' (Signed) Robert Abercromby.'

“ After the delivery of this letter the Government thus established was saluted by twenty-one guns from the field-pieces placed in front of the Government House.

“ The following oaths were then taken by the Supravisor : —

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“ Revenue Oath.

u I, William Gamull Farmer, do promise and swear that I will, to the utmost of my endeavours, well and faithfully execute and discharge the duties of an officer of revenue reposed in and committed to me by the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, and that I will not demand, take or accept, directly or indirectly, by myself or by any other person for my use, or on my behalf, of or from any Raja, Zemindar, Talukdar, Poligar, Renter, Ryot, or other person paying or liable to pay any tribute, rent, or tax to, or for the use of, the said United Company, any sum of money or other valuable thing by way of gift, present or otherwise, over and above, or besides and except the actual tribute, rent, or tax authorised to be taken by and for the use of the said United Company, and that I will justly and truly account and answer for the same to the said United Company.

“ So help me God !

“ (Signed) W. G. Farmer.

“ Calicut,)

“ 18 th March 1793.)

“ Sworn to before me.

“ (Signed) Robert Abercromby.

“ Phouzdarry Oath .

“ I, William Gamull Farmer, Supravisor of the Province of Malabar and entrusted as the Chief Magistrate with Phouzdarry jurisdiction, do solemnly promise and swear that I will exert my best abilities for the preservation of the peace of the District over which my authority extends, and will act with impartiality and integrity, neither exacting or receiving, directly or indirectly, any fee or reward in the execution of the duties of my office other than such as the orders of Government do or may authorise me to receive.

“ So help me God !

“(Signed) W. G. Farmer.

“ Calicut, j

“ March 1793. |

“ Sworn to before me.

“ (Signed) Robert Abercromby.

“ Sadar Adalat Oath.

“I, William Gamull Farmer, Supravisor and Chief Magistrate of the 1 rovince of Malabar, do swear that I will administer justice to the best of my ability, knowledge and judgment, without fear, favor, promise or hope of reward, and that I will not receive, directly or indirectly, any present or nuzzer, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any party in any cause, or from any person whatsoever, on account of any suit to he instituted, or which may be depending, or

have been decided in the Court of Sadar Adalat under my jurisdiction, nor will I knowingly permit any person or persons under my authority, or in my immediate service, to receive, directly or indirectly, any present or nuzzer, either in money or in effects of any kind, from any partv in any cause, or from any person whatsoever, on account of any suit to be instituted, or which may be depending, or have been decided in the Court of Sadar Adalat under my jurisdiction, and that I will render a true and faithful account of all sums received for deposits on causes, and fees of court, and of all expenditures.

“ So help me God !

“ (Signed) W. G. Farmer.

“ Calicut, j “ 18 th March 1793.)

“ Sworn to before me.

“ (Signed) Robert Abercromby.

“ James Stevens, Esquire, next took the necessary oaths as Superintendent of the Southern Districts. Mr. Augustus William Handley, Senior Assistant to the Supravisor, and, as such, Judge of the Court of Adalat at Calicut, then also took the oaths appointed.

“ After this Major-General Abercromby withdrew with the same oeremony he entered, the field-pieces saluting him with nineteen guns.

“ The principal natives paid their respects. It was remarked as a propitious omen that the day of fixing a government for the Malabar Coast was the anniversary of

the day on which it was ceded by Tippu in consequence of the treaty concluded with Earl Cornwallis at Sering-apatam on the 18th March 1792."

The Governor, before his departure from the coast, further issued a circular1 to all the Rajas and Chiefs explaining the purport and object of the measure which had thus taken effect. Agreeably to the plan, the ceded country was called the " Province of Malabar " and divided into two superintendencies, with a middle division directly under a Supravisor, as he was called, with superior political, revenue, and judicial powers and full control over the two Superintendents. His seat was fixed at Calicut. The Superintendents had revenue and magisterial powers. The head-quarters of the Northern Superintendent were fixed at Tellicherry, with the districts from Chirakkal to Kurumbra-nad and Coorg under his control. The Southern Superintendent was stationed at CherapullassSri, in charge of the districts from Parappa-nad to Chetwai together with the Cochin tribute. The military force stationed on the coast w'as subject to the sole requisition of the Supravisor, except in cases of " serious emergency." The Supravisor and Superintendents had also a number of assistants under them, and the Senior Assistant was Judge and Magistrate at Calicut. There was to

1 Treaties, $c., ii. XXXII.

be only one mint for the whole country, under the control of the Supra-visor at Calicut. All interior customs were to he abolished and duties on foreign exports and imports were to be collected by Government. The Senior Commissioner, Mr. Farmer, was made the first Supra visor, and he thereupon vacated his seat on the Commission. Messrs. Galley and Stevens were appointed Northern and Southern Superintendents respectively and Mr. • Handley as Senior Assistant. The remaining members of the Joint Commission then continued their labours with Mr. Jonathan Duncan as President.

The Coojg tribute was next settled 1 at Rs. 24,000 per annum. But disputes early commenced between this Raja and Tippu relative to their respective boundaries, and the latter's vakils complained also of the Kottayam Raja taking Wynad, which district the Commissioners were then of opinion was not ceded by the treaty. Two of them, Mr. Duncan and Major Dow, next proceeded to Cannanore to enquire into the alleged mortgage of the Laccadive Islands to Chovakkara Mussa and the land taken from the Blbl by the Chirakkal Raja. There they were joined by Mr. Page from Palghat, and engagements 2 were taken on the 11th and 13th April 1793 from the Bibl, binding her to pay up arrears and to pay a " moiety of whatever is the produce of my country according to the funds thereof, and out of the Rs. 20,000 annual profit which I reap from my trade with the Laccadives, I am also to pay the half to Government." And further stipulations provided for the

future revision of the estimate of income, and for the sequestration, if need be, of the whole of the produce of the islands and of the islands themselves.

The pepper monopoly 3 was next abolished in the south, while in the north it was limited to onehalf of the produce to be taken in kind. Owing to some clashing between the authority exercised by the Joint Commission and by the Supravisor respectively, a uniform system of dealing with the pepper produce throughout the province was not introduced.

The Commissioners next turned their attention to the affairs of the Honorable Company's mortgaged district of Randattara, and an agreement4 was on 26th April 1793 entered into with the Achchanmar or Chiefs of that district, that on condition of the revenue of their estates being estimated at 20 per cent, on garden produce and 15 per cent, on rice lands, the rates which had prevailed since 1741, when the province was first mortgaged 5 to the Company, and with an exemption in favor of temple lands and of their own houses, they renounced all future right to manage the district after the native fashion, with its fines and mulcts and presents and succession duties.

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Treaties , £c., ii. XXXIII. 2 Treaties , $c.t ii. XXXIV, XXXV

*Treaties, fc., ii. XXXVI, XXXVII. * * Treaties, fc., ii. XXX TV*

- *Treaties, $ <•., i. XLIV.*

The waste lands of this district having been thus placed at the disposal of Government, a number of Native Christians who had fled from Canara and Mysore in consequence of Tippu's persecutions were allowed to settle with their families on the waste lands in Randattara, and were granted advances of money to carry on cultivation.

Iruvalinad, the district of the Nambiars,1 which was a most important tract of country to the Honorable Company in the early days of the Tellicherry Factory, was next taken in hand by the Commissioners. The district had been in a disturbed state owing to the mutual animosities and jealousies of the Nambiars themselves and to the confused method in which they conducted the administration. It was very necessary to protect the lower classes of the people from the exactions of the Nambiars, who now, freed by the strong arm of the Company from dependence on those heneatli them , would have taken the opportunity, if it had been afforded them, of enriching themselves at the expense of their poorer neighbours and subjects. The Commissioners accordingly, on the 14th May 1793, took from them an agreement2 to protect the poorer class of landholders and to put an end to the exaction of the feudal fines and mulcts and duties and presents which had

formerly been customary, and further arranged that the Nambiars were to conclude a detailed settlement5 with Mr. Galley, the Northern Superintendent at Tellicherry. An allowance of 10 per cent. " on the Government's moiety of Revenue w'as granted to the Nambiars for their support and comfort."

It may be noted in passing that the Honorable Company's officers had had for many years previously exceptional opportunities of studying the organisation of this petty district, and the care displayed by the Commissioners in protecting the rights of the lower orders of landholders in this district should have been extended widely throughout the Province ; but in place of viewing the janmam right over land in its true aspect as a mere right to exercise authority over the persons of those who resided thereon, the Commissioners accepted the view that janmam right was a right to the soil , the plenum dominium of Latin jurists, and as such they proceeded shortly afterwards, as will be presently seen, to set forth, and to direct the Courts to act upon, that European idea.

The Commissioners, after some unsatisfactory negotiations with the northern rajas, returned to Calicut, where they on 18th May 1793 accepted the (as it appeared to them at the time) agreeable proposal 4 of the Kurumbranad Raja to appoint a person on the part of the Company to assist in his collections for the ensuing year, on the result of which a permanent lease might be granted to him not only for the district of Kurumbranad, but also for Kottayam and Tarappanad, which were in the possession of his two nephews of the Kottayam family, over whom it was alleged he possessed entire ascendency. The latter

1 Treaties, fe., i. XV, XVI, XL, and LXˆ I.

- *Treaties , fe., ii. LXI1I, LXIV.*

1 Treaties, fe., ii. XLI.

4 Treaties, fc., ii. XLII.

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*district had fallen to the family by adoption and by the reoent death of the old Parappanad Raja. As after events fully proved, however, the Kottayam nephew of Kurumbranad — the famous Palassi (Pychy) Raja * — was not amenable to control by his uncle, and the uncle was powerless to execute his own orders in the Palassi country. He further agreed subsequently to relinquish the districts of Payyanad, Puluvayi and Payyormala, which had been included in the first agreement entered into by him.*

At this juncture the Mappillas of the south began to give trouble. Major Dow was deputed a second time to settle with the robber chiefs Haidrosand Unni Mutta

Muppan, but as they were refractory, Captain Burchall marched against Unni Mutta and surrounded his fortified house. The robber chief, however, made a desperate sally and escaped. But some of his noted followers were captured and his lands sequestered.

Meanwhile, encouraged by their success with the Kurumbranad Raja, the Commissioners proceeded to negotiate the same sort of agreement with the Zamorin, whose chief Minister, Shamnath, they had engaged to assist in the work and further to institute a canongoe establishment throughout the country to bring into and keep in order the accounts of each district, and to act as local assistants, guides and intelligencers to the servants of Government in the discharge of their duties, and to serve as checks upon undue exactions on the part of the Rajas. To these two points the Zamorin was induced on 29th June 1793 to give his assent 1 on condition of an adequate provision being made for his family. He further agreed to give up his right to customs and transport duties, he being allowed to keep accounts of the receipts in the Company's custom houses. In regard to the mint a compromise was agreed to by the Commissioners that the general direction should remain exclusively under the Company, but that the Raja's people

should assist in the details of the business, and that he should be allowed half the profits.

Similar terms 2 were accepted shortly afterwards by the Rajas of Kadattanad and Kurumbranad, the latter making separate similar engagements also for Kottayam and Parappanad. Shortly after these arrangements had been made, Mr. Boddam rejoined the Commission from Palghat. Itta Punga Achchan, who had settled with the Bombay Commissioners for the first year's lease, had shot himself and had been succeeded by his nephew Itta Kombi Achchan. The latter had imprisoned a rival claimant to the raj, by name Kunji Achchan, but

on the arrival at Palghat of the deputed Commissioner, the latter was set free.

Similar terms3 to those arranged with the aforesaid Rajas had been made on 21st June 1793 with the managing Achchan, but with an

1 Treaties , #c., ii. LXIV.

7 Treaties, fc., ii. XLV, XL VII. Treaties, fc., ii. XL VI.

additional clause restricting him from the exercise of any judicial authority in consequence of the beheading of the Malasar already alluded to.

Similar terms 1 to those made with the Achchan were likewise arranged with the Nayars of Kavalappara, Kongad, Mannur and Edattara, and for the benefit of the subjects of the Achchan and of the three last-named Nayars the Commissioners

agreed2 to the establishment at Pal ghat of an inferior Court subordinate to the Southern Superintendent for the trial of small suits and of " inconsiderable quarrels, brawls and affrays."

The Chirakkal Raja also at length, on 5th July 1793, acceded3 to the terms, and the Beypore Raja likewise executed an engagement4 similar to that entered into by the Palghat Achchan.

The deeds were all forwarded to the Supravisor with directions to appoint Tahsildars or Collectors in the several districts with subordinate Parbutties and Menons, exclusive of Canongoes, who were separately furnished with instructions so as to ensure " such a control over the collections as would enable the Company's servants to ascertain at the end of the year the nature and constituent parts and amount of the public revenue."

In regard to the remaining districts there were disputed claims, which, previous to a settlement, it was necessary to adjust. The districts of Chirakkal and Parappanad were also in dispute, and it will be proper here to notice the conflicting claims.

The competitor for Chirakkal was a young Raja of the family, as already noticed, who had never left Travancore. His claims were set aside in favor of the Raja, with whom the settlement was first made from his having been in possession from the earlier period, but the claimant was allowed to make good his right, if so advised, by suit in the Adalat Court.

Parappanad was subject to two claims, one from a person claiming as nephew of the late Raja, who had adopted a member of the Rottayam family of which the Kurumbranad Raja, as already mentioned, was the head. This claim was left open for investigation. The other was advanced by the Zamorin, but he was not able to substantiate it. The Kurumbranad Raja, who had made the settlement for his nephew, was

therefore held responsible for the revenues.

The Zamorin's claims to Vettattanad, on the ground that he had been levying some dues from the Mappillas of this district, were rejected as untenable, as also was the one advanced by him to Kavalappara.

His pretensions to Chetwai Island were next enquired into and decided against him. It had been taken from him by the Dutch in 1717, and from the latter by Hyder Ali in 1776, and the English in

*1 Treaties, SfC. , ii. XL VI II to LI. * Treaties, fe., ii. LV.*

- *Treaties , $c-, ii. LII and LIII. 4 Treaties, $c., ii. LIV.*

1790 took it from Tippu Sultan and leased it to the Cochin Raja for Rs. 40,000 per annum.

The Zamorin next preferred a claim to Payyanad, and as the four chiefs acknowledged him as their lord paramount, his claim was accordingly admitted.

His demand for the restoration of Pulavayi was left in suspense to be settled by the Supra visor as its Nayar chiefs were openly resisting the attempts of the Zamorin to interfere in the concerns of their country.

His claim on Payyormala he himself renounced, and this district was placed directly under the Company.

Finally, the Zamorin and the Talapalli or Punattur Raja both claimed the Chavakkad district, which had, the latter alleged, been at one time in the exclusive possession of his ancestors, but the Zamorins had been gradually usurping the district from them. It was arranged that both parties should enter into a written engagement binding themselves to abide by the Supravisor's decision, and in the meantime a proper allowance for his support was granted to the claimant by the Zamorin.

Marco Antonio Rodrigues, a descendant of the former Linguists of the Tellicherry Factory, next laid claim to the petty district of Kallai in Chirakkal under a deed of conveyance 1 to his grandfather by the Chirakkal Raja in 1758, and which the present Raja had quietly resumed. The claim was submitted for the decision of the Governor-General, and meanwhile the district was sequestered by the Company. How the matter was finally settled cannot be traced in the records.

Hyat Sahib, a converted Hindu of the Nambiar caste of Chirakkal, whose interesting biography has already 2 been related at some length, advanced his claims on a similar deed3 granted by the Chirakkal Raja in 1783 to the three taras or villages of Chalat, Talapil and Kunattur, which were the identical places claimed by the Bibi of Cannanore as her jaghire, obtained 4 from Tippu at the time of her daughter's marriage to Tippu's son. The grant to Hyat Sahib was pronounced invalid by the Commissioners as having been obtained by fraud and the claim was rejected.

On the representation of Said Ali, the Quilandy Tangal or Muhammadan high priest, that a jaghire had been conferred on him by Tippu, a grant exempting his house and property from taxation during his lifetime was given him.

The French claim to the petty district of Kurangot as a dependency of their settlement at Mahe early led to much disoussion, and was in itself very much

involved, but France was just then in the throes of the Reign of Terror. King Louis XVI died on the scaffold on the 2 1st January 1793. On the 1st of February war was declared by the

1 Treaties, $c., i. LXXI.

s Treaties . fc., i. XCI.

J Con/, p. 434 foot-note. 4 p. 466.

French Republic against England and Holland, and for the third time in its history the French settlement at Mahe had to open 1 its gates to a hostile English force under Colonel Hartley on the 16th July 1793. The garrison, after surrendering, was allowed to march out with all the honors of war. The settlement was placed under Mr. G. Parry as Superintendent of Police.

It was at this time that Mr. Murdoch Brown, who had been in French employ and whose name is intimately connected with the early administration of the country, joined the Company's service. He was at first made Deputy Superintendent of Police, which appointment being disapproved by Government he resigned it. But he was afterwards re -entertained as Superintendent of Police, and was subsequently made overseer of the Company's plantation in Randattara, of which he eventually became the possessor 2 by purchase on a ninety-nine years' lease. His descendants still hold this estate under the original grant.

Having concluded the general mode of arrangement for the ensuing year, the Commissioners next proceeded to draw up general regulations for the administration of the revenue, founded entirely on the Bengal Code, modified so as to adapt it to the circumstances of the country. These were followed by Regulations for the civil and criminal administration of justice to take effect from 1st July 1793, with some supplementary articles in both departments. In the Revenue Department, Do wans were appointed to help the Supravisor and Superintendents, and bound by muchilkas or penal obligations for good behaviour and integrity. In the Judicial Department seven local Darogas or native Judges were appointed, subordinate to the Provincial Courts of the Superintendents,' viz., at Cannanore, Quilandy, Tirurangadi, Ponnani, Pal ghat, Tanur and Chetwai. The Roman Catholic padre of Calicut, however objected to the li infidel tribunal " of the Darogas, and claimed the ancient privilege of the Portuguese Factory of jurisdiction over Christians. This claim being incompatible with the principles of British rule was rejected, but the padre was allowed to attend the Fouzdarry Court to explain the law at the trial of Christians.

The Commissioners further laid down regulations 3 relative to the janmis. This subject is fully discussed in Section (a) of Chapter IV. The Joint Commissioners viewed the status of a janmi as being equivalent in all respects to that of a Roman

dominm. The matter was very insufficiently investigated by the Commissioners. The janmi was simply a man exercising authority within a certain defined area, and entitled as such to a well-defined share of the produce — the pattam or ancient land revenue assessment — of the land lying within that area. But by the Commissioners' action the janmi was constituted the lord of the

» Treaties, fe., ii. LVII. 2 Treaties, fc., ii. CCLXIX.

s Published subsequently by the authority of the Supravisor, Mr. Farmer.— Treaties,

fc., ii. LX VIII.

soil, and it is not to be wondered at that in time the janmis began, with the help of the oourts of justice, to show very small respect for the rights of the tillers of the soil — the ryots in fact. The ryots, on the other hand, viewed the Government as the inheritors in succession to Tippu and Hyder Ali of the pat tarn or land revenue assessment, and this was explicitly stated to the Commissioners by a deputation of influential Mappillas whom the Commissioners called together to consult on the subject. If the Commissioners had followed out the rule laid down in the fourth paragraph of the agreement with the Iruvalinad Nambiars, which has already been commented on, the status of the ryots of Malabar would have been very different at the present day.

But the erroneous idea thus authoritatively promulgated was accepted without question in all further proceedings both in the Administrative Department and in that of Civil Justice, and the question as to whether the Commissioners' action was correct or not was not raised until so recently as 1881.

They also framed regulations 1 for the custom house collections, prohibited the export slave trade and dealing in gunpowder, warlike weapons and stores. They declared the trade in timber to be free, abolished the levy of profits on black pepper, coconuts, &c., as impolitic, and instructed the Supravisor to levy a moderate tax in the shape of license on the retail tobacco trade.

They granted one per cent, of the land collection of the Zamorin's districts to Shamnath, a Palghat Brahman and the Sarcvacli Karyakkaran or chief minister of the Zamorin, for services rendered by him to the Company. An attempt was made by two of the Rajas of the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's house to assassinate2 him because he failed to procure them their restoration to Nedunganad. These Rajas then proceeded to the southward to raise disturbances, and were joined by Unni Mutta Muppan, the Mappilla bandit chief, and some Gowndan Poligar chiefs from Coimbatore who had rebelled against Tippu.

Subsequently, too, they were joined by Kunhi Achchan of the Palghat family, who fled to them after having murdered a Nayar. This Kunhi Achchan's claims to the management of the Palghat District had been rejected by the Joint Commissioners.

The Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas, for whose capture the Supravisor offered Rs. 5,000 reward, were hotly pursued by Captain Burehall as far as the Anamala Mountains, whence they escaped into Travancore.

The Coorg Raja next renewed his complaints about the boundary in dispute with Tippu, and Captain Murray was in consequence deputed to his country and appointed Resident at his court.

Major Dow next proceeded to the Court of the Travancore Raja on a separate commission from the Bombay Government to organise the military defence of the country. Mr. Boddam was compelled by illness

1 Treaties , $c., ii. LXII.

- *Though severely wounded, he recovered under the treatment of Surgeon Wye.*

to proceed to the Carnatic, and the two remaining members went to the south to Alikkotta and Cochin, where the Cochin Raja's revived claims to Kavalappara, and the important question whether the district of Cranganore formed part of the Company's island of Chetwai or not, engaged their attention.

. The dePuted Commissioners, to whom among other subjects the first point had been committed for enquiry, had at a very early stage given their opinion that the Kavalappara district ought not to be granted to the Raja, as his claim was based solely on its having been inserted in the Cochin Treaty of 1/90 a judgment in which the other members concurred, and to which the Commissioners now adhered in the renewed discussion. As to the second point, they, after a lengthy correspondence with the Raja, and with Herr Van Anglebeck, the Dutch Governor of Cochin, determined to let Cranganore remain with the Raja until the pleasure of Government should be known.

They likewise agreed to the renewal of the lease to the Cochin Raja of the island of Chetwai.

Meanwhile a storm was brewing in the district of Kottayam in the north. The Kurumbranad Raja had agreed with the Joint Commissioners, as has already been stated, to manage that district, and it has also been observed that that agreement was a mistake inasmuch as the KurumbrAnad Raja had no power or influence in the district, which was completely under the control of Kerala Varma Raja of the Padinyara Kovilakam (western palace) of Kottayam, the head-quarters of which were located at Palassi, whence Kerala Varma was usually styled the Palassi

(Pychy) Raja. It will be convenient in the rest of this narrative to give him this abbreviated title.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja had already, in April 1793, been guilty of the exercise of one act of arbitrary authority in pulling down a Mappilla mosque erected in the bazaar of Kottayam. The Joint Commissioners took no notice of the act, although it was in direct opposition to the conditions of the engagement made with the Kurumbranad Raja for the Kottayam district.

Again, in September 1793, the Mappillas of Kodolli applied to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja for leave to build or to rebuild a mosque, and were told in reply to give a present. They began to build without making the preliminary gift to the Raja, so he sent Calliadan Eman with five armed men to bring the Mappilla headman (Talib Kutti Ali) before him. The headman delayed ; the escort attempted to seize him ; whereupon Kutti Ali drew his sword and killed Calliadan Eman, and was in turn killed by the others. On receipt of news of this affair the Raja sent an armed party with orders to slay all the Mappillas in Kodolli. The party went and slew six Mappillas, with a loss to themselves of two killed and four wounded.

The Supravisor and Commissioners, probably from various reasons,

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with Wynad at his hack, into the arms of Tippu, and the danger of losing the pepper crop of the district, took no steps to deal summarily with him, as they had already done with the Achchan of Palghat for the execution of the Malasar. They contented themselves with a mild remonstrance addressed to the Kurumbranad Baja and with the despatch of troops to Kodolli and Palassi. The Palassi detachment was accompanied by a European Assistant. The Kaja, alarmed at the movement of troops, designed as he thought to make a prisoner of him, refused to come to Tellicherry to explain matters to the Northern Superintendent, and ironically, referred the Supra visor for explanation to his "elder brother " of Kurumbranad. He further in his reply expressed surprise at his not being " allowed to follow and be guided by our ancient customs " in the slaughter of erring Mappillas.

With disturbances thus brewing both in the north and in the south, the Joint Commission was brought to a not unsuccessful close, for the bulk of the country continued to be in a fairly peaceable state and to pay a fair revenue. Among the last acts of the Joint Commissioners were the inauguration of a postal establishment and the institution of enquiries regarding the manufacture of salt and regarding other industries, which subjects were left at present in abeyance by order of Government.

On the 11th October 1793 the Commission dissolved itself. The members

forwarded to the GovernorGeneral a most elaborate and very valuable report on the province, framed from materials which they had with untiring industry collected.

Just before the Joint Commission was dissolved, the Supra visor made a grant exempting the lands of the Kundotti Tangal (a high priest of one section of the Mappillas) from payment of the revenue, as had been the custom in Tippu's time, on the condition that the Tangal and his people would prove loyal to the Honorable Company — a promise which they have ever since very faithfully fulfilled.

The Supra visor (Mr. Farmer) was now in uncontrolled charge of the province, and among his first acts after issuing the janmi proclamation already alluded to, was to settle the long pending dispute between the Zamorin and Punattur Rajas by inducing 1 the former to allow the latter 20,000 fanams or Rs. 5,700 annually for his support.

To encourage people in catching elephants he next gave 2 up the Government royalty in them and proclaimed that the Company would be satisfied with one-third of the value of any elephant caught.

The system of joint collection and of canongoe inspection of the real revenue funds of the country did not from various causes turn out satisfactorily.

The first difficulties were experienced in the northern division, where the Rajas generally complained that the country could not bear the

' Treatiti, #c., ii. LX, LXI, and LXIX.

- *Treaties, fe., ii. LXX.*

assessment which they had engaged to pay, and they evinced a spirit of dissatisfaction. The Supravisor was advised hy one of the Commissioners, Mr. Duncan, that " no consideration of temporary pecuniary advantage to the Honorable Company ought to induce him to enter into, or very much risk the contingency of being led into a state of warfare with any of the Rajas, especially with those who hold cowls from the chiefs of Tellicherry " Therefore in Mr. Farmer's conference with the Kadattanad Raja, he in December 1793 made certain concessions 1 to him by altering the demand from half the produce in kind to half the pdttam , and hy other measures which it is needless to specify in detail as the Government of India afterwards rescinded them.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja appears to have been the most discontented of all, and up to November 1793 no collections of revenue had been made in Kottayam. Moreover, the Palassi (Pychy) Raja had threatened to cut down all the pepper

vines if the Company's officers persisted in counting them. In short he conducted himself in a way that fully justified the Joint Commissioners in styling him " the most untractable and unreasonable of all the Rajas." On the deputation of one of the Company's Linguists, Mr. Lafrenais, to enquire into his grievances, it was discovered that his uncle, the Kurumbranad Raja, from views of personal advantage, had secretly instigated him to resist the execution of those very terms of settlement with the Commissioners which he had himself concluded with the Company on behalf of his nephew. He thus hoped to involve the Company in active hostilities with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, who now, convinced of his machinations, entered on 20th December 1793 into an agreement 2 direct with Mr. Farmer for the districts of Katirur, Palassi, Kuttiyadi and Tama-rasseri on the same liberal lines as those accorded to Kadattanad.

But over and above these concessions to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, Mr. Farmer further agreed 3 for one year, until orders could be obtained, not to collect the assessment on temple lands, and to remit further one-fifth of the revenues for the maintenance of the Raja, and for the support of the temples one-fifth more in consideration of the assistance given against Tippu and of the Raja's ancient friendship with the Company.

The same liberal terms accorded to Kadattanad were also granted 4 to the Chirakkal Raja on 7tfi January 1794.

There is every reason to believe that these concessions, all of which were subsequently rescinded by the Governor-General, secured (for a time at least) the tranquillity of the northern division of the province.

The Bengal Commissioners submitted on the 2nd February 1794 a supplementary report dwelling on the subject of the troubles excited by the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's house and Unni

- *Treaties , fc., ii. LXXIII. 3 Treaties , $c., ii. LXXV.*

2 Treaties , #e., ii. LXXIV. 4 Treaties, fc., ii. LXXVI.

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Mutta Muppan, the unadjusted boundary concerns with Tippu and regarding the money levied in Malabar by the Travancore Dewan, which last transaction had on enquiry been denied by the Dewan. The Commissioners were now of opinion that the sums exhibited were not justly recoverable.

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, in a lengthy letter to the Bombay Governor, the Honorable G. Dick, dated 27th March 1794, conveyed the Supreme Government's general approbation and confirmation of the several institutions and

regulations framed by the Joint Commissioners — of the agreements concluded by them with the Rajjis — and of the decisions arrived at by them in the cases of disputed claims. Respecting other points it passed the following orders : —

To treat Randattara as a part of the Company's domain, but to relinquish all demands on the Chirakkal Raja for debts due by him and his predecessors on former accounts, inclusive of his suretyship for the debts of his kinsman, the Nilesvaram Raja.

To apprehend the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's house, or allow them the option of retiring to Travancore on an adequate pension.

To allow Cranganore to remain with the Cochin Raja, as well as to renew the Chetwai lease with him for a term of years with the assent of its inhabitants.

To allow the three villages of Perur, Allungur and Kunatnad to remain with Travancore till the decisions of the Court of Directors were received.

And to relinquish the claims on the Travancore Dewan for the collections made by him during the war.

Regarding the Blbi of Cannanore tfie Supreme Government called for further particulars in respect of the sums brought to the Company's credit by the reduction of Cannanore in 1784 by General Macleod and regarding the mortgage claims to the islands of Chovak-karan Mussa, and directed that an officer in a cruizer should be deputed to report on the state of the Laccadive Islands.

With regard to the boundary disputes the Supreme Government proposed to despatch Captain Doveton to enquire into the subject of the doubtful possession of Wynad and the frontiers in order to bring the whole into an amicable adjustment.

The despatch further authorised the abolition of the Tellicherry Factory.

This measure was at once carried into effect, and the old Tellicherry Factory, which had exercised, as these pages show, such abundant influence for good in the annals of the Malayalis for over a century, and which had existed as an oasis of peace and security and good government during all those troublous times, ceased to exist as such on the 27th July 1794. A temporary Commercial Residency under the Chief, Mr. Taylor, was established in its place at Mahe.

In the beginning of the year 1794 Mr. Farmer left, and was succeeded in the Supravisorship by Mr. J. Stevens, Senior.

The new Supravisor found fault with the engagements recently concluded with the three northern Rajas by his predecessor, and after a lengthy correspondence the

agreements were rescinded by the Bengal Government as containing concessions improper and impolitic as well as opposed to the regulations framed by the GovernorGeneral on the Joint Commissioners' reports, and the Supravisor was further directed to conclude engagements for a term of years with all the rajas and chiefs. But he had to defer for a time the settlement with the northern rajas and made but slow progress with those in the south.

*In the interim an agreement 1 * was on 8th May 1794 entered into with the Mappilla bandit chief Unni Mutta Muppan by Major Murray, and with a view, if possible, to secure peace to the country his small district of Elampulhsseri was to be restored to him and a money allowance of Rs. 1,000 per annum granted. But he renewed his pretensions to a share of the revenue and began levying blackmail. The Supravisor thereupon revoked the engagement, and in lieu of it offered a reward of Rs. 3,000 for his capture. Captain MacDonald seized and demolished his stronghold on the forest-clad hill of Pandalur near Malapuram, as well as several other fortified houses belonging to him and his followers, and pursued him far into the jungles.*

The petty robber chief Haidros was captured by the Ponnani Mappillas, was put on his trial and sentenced to death, but the sentence was commuted into one of transportation to Botany Bay.

By October 1794 a beginning was made with the execution of the quinquennial J agreements by the rajas and chiefs in the south. These leases, after recapitulating.the provisions of the Commissioners' agreements of 1792 and 1793, prohibited the levy of all exactions recently abolished and allowed only the collection of land revenue and the charges for collection, while deductions were made for bringing waste lands into cultivation. In reality, however, the Devasthanams or temple lands, and cherikkal or private lands of the Rajas and chiefs, were also left out of assessment.

The data for fixing the revenue payable in each instance were as follows : —

The gross revenue realisable was first estimated ; from it 10 per cent, was deducted as charges of collection, 20 per cent, as allowance for the Raja or chief, and 3£ per cent, for temple lands and the Rajas' or chiefs' private property.

A decennial3 lease of Chetwai Island was likewise, in accordance with the Governor-General's orders, granted in November 1794 to the Cochin Raja for the net sum of Rs. 30,000 per annum exclusive of the col-

1 Treaties , $c., ii. LXXVIH.

- *Treaties, <Jr., ii. LXXX to I .XXXII, LXXXIV to LXXXYII.*

- *Treaties, fe., ii. LXXXIII.*

lections of customs, which were to be retained by the Company. The authority of the Company's judicial courts was likewise to be in force throughout the district. The island had produced only Rs. 22,053 when managed by the Company's officers direct in the previous year, but the Raja consented to pay the higher sum in order to keep the island out of the hands of the Zamorin, his hereditary foe.

Upon similar data settlements were next effected with the Rajas in the north. The Kottayam and Parappanad leases were, however, once more executed by the Kurumbranad Raja — a repetition of the old mistake, as events soon proved, made originally by the Joint Commissioners. In this lease were included the district of Tamarasseri and eleven desams of Pulavayi as appendages of Kottayam, while the Pulavayi Nayar chiefs were granted a separate lease.1

The Danish Giovernor of Tranquebar, through his Agent Mr. W. Brown of Alleppey, had in 1792 and 1793 advanced claims to the Danish Factory at Calicut. The Danish Governor of Tranquebar (Ans Arnest Bonsark) had in 1752 sent an agent by name Jacob Christovo Suytenan to the Zamorin to effect a settlement in his dominions, and a plot of ground at Calicut called " Valappil Kadute " had been granted to the Danish nation on the same terms as those granted to the French Factory there, viz. : payment of customs on all goods imported and exported, supply of munitions of war, and aid in case of an attack on the Zamorin's territories.

*This plot of ground adjoined the ground of the French Factory In 17 0*3 the grant was continued by Hyder Ali. But in 1788, when Tippu began his religious persecutions in Malabar, the Danish Factor (Manuel Bernardes) under the orders of Tippu's Fouzdar Arsad Beg Khan precipitately fled from the place, abandoning his trustThe Governor-General, to whom the matter was referred, expressed in 1795 an opinion adverse to the Danish interests, as it was clear that the Danish Factor had voluntarily abandoned the possession in 1788 in Tippu's time. There the matter rested for many years ; the buildings were in existence up to 1817 and were then in use as a hospital. The present Calicut hospital appears to occupy the exact site of the Danish Factory. In 1845 the British Government acquired for four lakhs of rupees all Danish claims in India and extinguished this one among others.*

As already said, the repetition of the old mistake of entrusting the management of the Kottayam district to a chief who had no power or influence therein, and the passing over of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's claims to the government of that district, very soon bore disastrous fruit.

Some time before the lease was concluded, one of the Iruvalinid Nam-biars—

Narangoli — had brought himself within reach of the law. One of his people had been killed by a Mappilla, and in revenge the Nambiar

*a**

1 Treaties, S/'c., ii. XCIV.

put to death three of that class, being instigated (as it was alleged, but there was no conclusive proof of it) to that act by the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. However this may have been, th6 Nambiar fled to the protection of the Raja, and in spite of the Supra visor's remonstrances, that chief protected the refugee. The Supravisor then declared the Nambiar to be a rebel and confiscated his lands and property.

But there was worse to follow, for about 28th June 1795 the Palassi (Pychy) Raja not only stopped the collection of the revenue of Kotta-yam, but once more took the law into his own hands. Two Mappillas were suspected of having committed a robbery in the house of a Chetti. The Raja explained afterwards that they confessed their crime; they were certainly kept in confinement for some months. Then they were tried according to the ancient usage of the country, it was alleged, and on their own confessions were sentenced to death. Their execution was carried out on or about the above date at Yeukad by impalement alive according to ancient custom. This barbarous form of execution was known to Malayalis as the kalii or eagle, and the impaling stake appears to have been so named from its resemblance to that bird.

The news of this event reached the Supravisor early in July, and shortly afterwards there arrived intelligence of another arbitrary act on the part of the Raja ; he, it was said, deliberately shot another Mappilla through the body while retiring from his presence, whither he had gone to present a gift. These arbitrary acts could not be overlooked. The Supreme Government directed that the Raja should be put upon his trial for murder, but it was not easy to bring this about, for tlfe Raja was well guarded by five hundred well armed Nayars from Wynad. In August 1795 the Supravisor stationed detachments of troops at the bazaar of Kottayam itself and at Manattana to protect the Kurumbran&d Raja's revenue collectors. These detachments were withdrawn for a time because of troubles with the Mappillas in Ernad and Yellatiri, but they were again posted in November to keep the peace, and as Mr. Rickards expressed it, " From this time forward the conduct of Kerala Varma (Palassi Raja) continued to be distinguished by a contempt for ail authority." He delighted to show how powerless Kurumbranad was to carry out his engagement for the Kottayam district.

Meanwhile events in the war already alluded to, begun in Europe by Republican France against England and Holland, were destined to spread their influences to the Malabar coast. The French Republican army entered Holland. The Stadtholder

fled to England, and thence in February 1795, after the proclamation of the Batavian Republic in alliance with France, he addressed a circular to all the Dutch Governors and Commandants to admit British troops into all the Dutch " Settlements, Plantations, Colonies and Factories in the East Indies " lo prevent them from falling into the hands of the French. Mr. Vanspall was at this time Governor of Cochin. He began laying in provisions with a view to standing a siege, and he invited the Cochin Raja to

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help him. On July 23rd Major JPetrie, under orders from Colonel Robert Bowles, commanding the troops in Malabar, marched from Calicut to the Dutch frontier with a small force of infantry to obtain a peaceable surrender of the Dutch settlement. But the Governor refused to give up the place, and Major Petrie had then to wait till a siege train could be brought up. The Supravisor (Mr. Stevens) proceeded in person to Cochin in the beginning of September to endeavour to arrange matters with Mr. Vanspall, and a conference ensued, at which it was agreed that the surrender should take place. But next day the Governor changed his mind and the negotiations were suspended.

A force consisting of the remainder of His Majesty's 77th regiment (two companies being already;, with Major Petrie at Cochin), another battalion |the 5th) of native infantry, and a company of artillery with 6 six-pounder field-pieces, 6 eighteen-pounders, 6 twelve-pounders and 2 eightinch mortars, was accordingly ordered down the coast to Major Petrie's assistance. The force was safely landed to the south of Cochin, and on the night of 19th October fire was opened. " A shell 1 was cast with excellent skill into the centre of the Government House, bursting without any disaster : the white flag was at once hoisted, and a suspension of hostilities agreed to during the negotiations for a surrender." Major Petrie's reply to the Dutch proposals was sent off at 11-30 on 1 9th October; the armistice was to last till 4 a.m., by which hour Mr. Vauspall's acceptance of the terms was required. The terms were1 2 accepted, and Cochin passed into British possession at noon on 20th October 1795.

With Cochin there passed also into the hands of the British the Dutch, formerly Portuguese, settlement of Tangasseri on the point of land lying west of Quilon bay, and the various petty places named in paragraph 299 of Section (b), Chapter IV, lying to the north and south of Cochin in the territories of the Cochin and Travancore Rajas, which now, with Cochin itself, constitute the British taluk of Cochin.

Cochin and these dependencies were finally ceded to the British Government by the Paris Convention of 1814.

One of the members of the former Joint Commission— the Honorable Jonathan Duncan -having been appointed as Governor of Bombay, visited in November and December 1795 Travancore and Malabar whilst en route by sea from Bengal to the Presidency.

During his visit to Travancore Mr. Duncan concluded a temporary commercial engagement and a treaty 3 of " future perpetual friendship, alliance and subsidy " with the Travancore Raja on the 17th November 1795. The taluks of Perur, Alungad and ICunnatnad had been ceded by Tippu to the British in 1792. The question as to whether these districts should be occupied by the Honorable Company o i left on

1 " British and Native Cochin," by C. A. L.: Cochin, 1860, p. IS.

2 Treaties, frc., ii. XCVI. 1 Treaties, tf'e., ii. XCVII to XCIX.

the former footing as part of the Raja's territory was now decided in favor of the latter. The Raja had at a comparatively recent date1 acquired these districts by conquest from the Raja of Cochin and his feudatories, and it was on this acoount, and because Tippu's troops had in 1790, after the taking of the Travancore lines, overrun this part of the country, that the Sultan had claimed them as his own possessions.

The Governor also held conferences with the subordinate Rajas of the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's family, and finally settled, with a view to the preservation of peace, an allowance 2 of Rs. 10,000 for their maintenance payable by the Zamorin.

In his minute of 17th December 1795, written on board the " Panther " on his way to Bombay, Mr. Duncan considered at great length another question of importance which forced itself upon his notice.

Out of a total revenue of something more than fourteen lakhs of rupees due for the year ending September 1795, no less a balance than upwards of six lakhs of rupees remained uncollected on the 31st October 1795. Prior to Mr. Duncan's arrival at Calicut on 21st November the Supravisor had, however, collected Rs. 1,67,704 of the arrears, but a balance of nearly four and a half lakhs of rupees remained unadjusted.

Mr. Duncan under these circumstances procured agreements 3 from, or insisted on the deposit of good securities 4 by, the principal indebted chieftains. And he further insisted on their signing agreements 4 binding themselves to regularity in the future payments of their dues, and in default of the regular discharge of their obligations he insisted on their agreeing to pay interest on all arrears at the following rates : —

For the first 8 days after due date 12 per cent, per annum.

Do. next 20 do. do. 24 do. do.

Do. do. 30 do. do. 36 do. do.

and so on, one per cent, per mensem being added to the rate of interest for each additional month on which the arrears remained unpaid. And on failure to pay arrears within twenty-eight days, the Honorable Company were to be at liberty to enter into possession and collect the revenue direct from the ryots until ample security was given " for the future punctuality of the payments.

There can be no manner of doubt that the system of settlement adopted by the Joint Commission, of which Mr. Duncan was President during the greater portion of its existence, was very unsuited to the circumstances of the country.

The Zamorin had in a very characteristic letter, as he himself put it, " opened his heart " to the Joint Commissioners, and at an early period in 1 792 had assured them that " By the ancient customs of Malabar the Nayars held their lands free ; they paid no revenue to any one, but were obliged to attend their Rajas when called on to war." And

1 Conf. p. 403.

- *Treaties, Sec ii. C, Cl, ClII, CI , CV.*
- *Treaties , Sfc., ii. CXII.*

4 Treaties , 8f'c.t ii. CVI to CX.

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his experience in endeavouring, as required by the Commissioners, to levy the general assessment imposed by the Mysoreans was thus graphically described : " As for vie , when my people ask for revenue (from the Mdppi lias), they shake their swords at them ." And as to the Nayars: " They think that my government is returned, and they hope to bo relieved of all the oppressions of Tippu. To this I am obliged to reply that the country and the government is with the Company, whose armies must protect it ; that, unless they willingly contribute to the expense of maintaining them according to what is just, the country may go back to Tippu, and instead of living in peace under the shadow of the Company, all our troubles and vexations may return and we may be driven back into the Travancore country.

" This I tell them ; but after all, you know they are not like the people of other countries, who live collected in cities where the hand of government can reach

them and the tax-gatherer has an easy task. They live in woods and in hills, with every house separate, and that house defensible."

Had the Joint Commissioners, instead of accepting as conclusive the statement that the Navars paid " no revenue to any one," pursued their investigations a little farther than they did, and sought reasons -for the assertion that Malabar was an exception to all other territories in India in having no land revenue system, they would undoubtedly have been convinced in the end that the Zaraorin's statement was not strictly accurate. The fact was that, as stated more at large in Section (a) of Chapter IV, Malabar was no exception to the rule, and that pattam , which the J oint Commissioners viewed simply as rent in the European sense, was in reality a land revenue assessment imposed on every cultivated acre of land, as indeed the very name itself indicates, for pattam is simply the pad (i.e., authority's) varam (share of the produce).

The Nayars who paid "no revenue to any one" were simply fragments of a government which had at one time levied this pattam throughout the province. The subdivision and re-subdivision of the authority of government were perfectly marvellous and probably unparalleled in the history of any country in the world. The great families— the Zamorin, Kolattiri, Walluvanad, Palghat, Kottayam, Kadattanad, Kurumbranad, &c. — were petty suzerains, each with numbers of vassals, more or less independent, and more or less fluctuating in numbers, who again were suzerains to still pettier chiefs, also more or less independent and more or less fluctuating in numbers. The subdivisions of authority did not cease till the lowest stratum of agricultural society was reached.

The society thus constituted was on a thoroughly sound basis, for the strongest men had opportunities of coming to the front (so to speak). The great bulk of the payers of the pattam were themselves Nayars, the " eyes," the "hands," and the givers of " orders" as the Keralolpatti pithily expresses their state functions. These Nayars naturally attached themselves to the strongest individuals of their community, taking with them of course the pattam or authority's share of the produoe, which

formed a substantial object of ambition to the pushing men of the community.

In this way numberless petty chieftains arose, and the great families waxed or waned j ust according as they were able to attract to their following larger or fewer numbers of these petty chieftains. " No revenue " was in one sense levied from the petty chiefs who thus flocked round the standards of the great families, for the petty chiefs themselves enjoyed the ancient land revenue assessment.

But in another sense land revenue was paid on every cultivated acre ; the difficulty was to see and realise that this revenue was really what, in every other Indian

province, has constituted the basis of the revenues of the province.

But what the Joint Commissioners failed to see was no mystery to the people themselves. The influential Mappillas in particular told Mr. Jonathan Duncan that the Mysorean Government had " taken or absorbed " the customary payments formerly made by them to the janmis , i.e., the pads or men in authority. This view was in every sense most natural ; the ancient government of divided authorities had been superseded by the organised rule first of the Mysoreans, and afterwards of the Honorable Company, and what else could be expected than that the ancient government share of produce should go along with the authority ?

The Joint Commissioners in express terms withdrew from the great families to whom they committed the revenue management of their ancient territories all authority except that of levying the land revenue, but the " authority " and the land revenue collection had never before been so divorced from each other, for in Mysorean times even the land revenue was collected direct from the cultivators by Mysorean officials. The result, of course, was that the petty chieftains, accustomed to independence, shook their swords or barred the doors of their defensible houses when the tax-gatherer came, and large balances of course accrued.

And again, such pressure as Mr. Duncan here brought to bear on the great families with a view to getting in their arrears of revenue was better calculated than anything else could have been to aggravate the very evil of which the Joint Commissioners had complained in their report1 to Government that "They (the Rajas) have, (stimulated perhaps in some degree by the uncertainty as to their future situations), acted, in their avidity to amass wealth, more as the scourges and plunderers than as the protectors of their respective little states." Freed by the presence of British troops from the restraints of having to consult the interests and feelings and prejudices of the petty chieftains who had formerly been their mainstays, the Rajas naturally enough perhaps sought their own aggrandisement at the expense of their former sub-

1 Paragraph 261.

jtfcts. About the only thing that can be said in favor of Mr. Duncan's drastic measures for getting in the land revenue is, and possibly this was intended by him, that it paved the way for speedily undoing the very work which he, as a J oint Commissioner, had laboriously elaborated.

Towards the middle of December 1795 Mr. Stevens, Senior, resigned the Supravisorship and was succeeded by Mr. Handley, and at the same time charges of corruption and bribery were brought before the Governor, Mr. Duncan, by the Zamorin against Messrs. Stevens, Senior,1 J. Agnew,1 and Dewan Ayan Aya, a

Palghat Brahman, for extorting one lakh of rupees. The Bombay Government, in January 1796, accordingly appointed a commission for special enquiry into these charges and some other minor matters. The commission consisted of three members, Messrs. Wilkinson, Simpson and Fell.

Owing to this untoward state of affairs, added to disturbances in Chirakkal, Kottayam, &c., which will be presently related, and also to prevent the clashing of authority, the office of Supravisor was incorporated with the special commission, to which were appointed,2 on 18th May 1796, Lieutenant-Colonel Dow and Mr. Rickards in lieu of Messrs. Simpson and b ell. Mr. Handlay, the Supravisor, also became for a short time a member of the commission.

The possessions taken from the Dutch were about the same time placed under a separate Commissioner, Mr. Hutchinson, the Anjengo Resident, who was soon after succeeded by Mr. Oliphant, and the Dutch inhabitants were allowed 3 " for the present " the privilege of retaining the " exercise and operations of their laws, customs and usages."

Shortlyˆ afterwards fresh accusations were brought against other public officials by the Kavalappara Nayar, the Palghat Achchan, and the Kurumbranad Raja against an officer (subsequently acquitted) and against the late Supravisor, Mr. Handley, and Dewans Ayan Aya, Chicken A.ya, Purbu Pandurang and Ram Row of bribery and extortion of Rs. 62,000. Just about this time, too, a native cashkeeper, Kasinath Balajee Prabhu, robbed the Government treasury of Rs. 27,000, and some defalcations in the military chest likewise came to notice.

'These officers were p^{cu} by His Majesty's Attorney -General before the Court of king s Bench in London on charges of bribery' and extortion. The trial began in 1801. They were found jointly guilty by a jury of having taken Rs. 85,000 from the Zamorin, and of having demanded larger sums. And on 18th June 1804 they wore brought up before the Court for sentence. They were jointly condemned to the forfeitureof Rs. 85 000? the sum received from the Zamorin. Mr. Stevens was fined £5,000 over and above the said amount and sentenced to two years imprisonment " from that time and until he shall have discharged the fine." In consideration of Mr. Agnew's impoverished condition no

from th ˚p m' ht> Wa8 8entenced t0 father imprisonment of two years

from that time -Court of Directors' despatch of 31st August 1804, paras 71-74 The

Principal Collector, on 18th May 1805, communicated the result of the irial to the Zamorin and in accordance with the orders received, thus addressed him- " You will hav t a

MALAHAR DI8TRICT.

The troubles in Chirakkal, to which allusion has already been made, arctee from the Raja making a demand on the Chulali Nambiar for an excessive sum (Rs, 16,000 per annum) for the district which this chieftain held in the wildest part of the Chirakkal country. The Nambiar was one of those semi-independent chiefs who had formerly acknowledged a merely nominal suzerainty to the Kolattiri family. Reference 1 has already been made to the traditional origin of this family, and it is certain that from a very remote period it had enjoyed a position of semi-independence, if not complete independence. When the Chirakkal Raja obtained a lease of the whole of the Kolattiri dominions, the opportunity was too good to be lost t» bring this hitherto free district into subjection, so the Raja made demands which he knew could not be complied with, and when asked to settle the balance due by him, he assigned as his reasou that the Nambiar was in arrears with the sum due from his district. Major Murray was ordered to visit the district, and in his report of 28th December 1795 after seeing the chief, he gave it as his opinion that the district was too highly assessed, that the Nambiar with his neighbours could raise among them 1,000 men armed with English firelocks, and that the country was too wild — he described it, as indeed it still is at the present day, “ the strongest imaginable ” for the purposes of guerilla warfare — to hold out any hopes of an easy subjection. He wound up by stating that the Raja on his part must ooncede, and that the Nambiar ou the other should listen to reason.

The Raja, however, persisted in his assertion that the district was fairly assessed, and as the Nambiar had meanwhile allied himself with certain of the young Rajas of the Kolattiri family who were inclined to question the right of the Raja to the position he had acquired from the English, the Supravisor, after taking the orders of the Bombay Government, finally decided on 10th May 1796 to despatch a body of troops into the district under Major Murray to enforce the Raja’s demands. The troops succeeded in driving the chieftain and his followers into dhe jungles, and Major Murray further succeeded in detaching from their alliance with the Nambiar the junior Rajas of the Kolattiri family who had taken refuge there.

The Nambiar on the 18th August then forwarded to the Commissioners a full statement of his claims, and particularly insisted on the excessiveness of the demand made against him by the Raja, and on the motives which had induced the Raja to misrepresent his actions to the Honorable Company with a view to acquiring the district for himself.

After some further negotiations the Northern Superintendent (Mr. Christopher

Peile) finally adjusted the matters in dispute between them. The Raja was obliged to admit that his demand of Rs. 16,000 for the district was nearly Rs. 5,000 in excess of what it ought to have been, and on this basis the Superintendent on the 27th October effected a reconciliation between them and an adjustment of their accounts. _

- *Cofi/. p. 235.*

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Unhappily for the peace of the province, matters were not so easily adjusted with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. In N ovember 1 795 his conduct, as already stated, seemed to Mr. Rickards to be " distinguished by a contempt for all authority." He completely set aside the authority of his uncle of Kurumbranad, who had, at Mr. Stevens' request, signed the quinquennial lease for the Kottayam districts. Again and again requests w«re made to the Supra visor for troops to bring the Palassi (Pychy) Raja into subjection, but for a time these requests were disregarded. Meanwhile, however, the revenue was more and more falling into arrears, until at last in April-May 1796 orders came from Bombay to get in the arrears ; and with this view to seize the person of the Raja and to bring him to trial for the murder of the three Mappillas.

The bulk of the troops were at this time absent at Colombo, but were daily expected back. Colonel Bowles, the Officer commanding the Province, formed on April 11th a plan for seizing the Raja. The Supra - visor acquiesced in the plan, and on April 19th an attempt was made to put it into execution. In the early morning of that day 300 men of the 3rd battalion of native infantry, under Lieutenant James Gordon, marched from Tellicherry and surrounded the Raja's fortified house at Palassi at daybreak. An entrance was forced, but the affair had been mismanaged and the Raja had four days previously gone to Manattana in the jungles.

A quantity of treasure was found in the house, and a portion 1 of it only, as afterwards appeared, was sent to Tellicherry. The troops remained at the place and a proclamation was issued that they had been sent to protect the inhabitants against the Raja's oppression and violence.

The Raja resented the taking of his house and forwarded to the Supravisor a long list of articles said to have been in it. This list differed very materially from that prepared under Lieutenant Gordon's orders. But it was afterwards proved that it was in some respects at least erroneous.

The Raja after this could not feel himself safe in the low country, so the next news received of him was that, accompanied by his family and principal people, he had in May 1796 " ascended the mountains and gone to the Ghaut Parayeel in the

Wynad country." In June he stopped the traffic on the Kuttiyadi Ghat, and the British military force was in like manner directed to stop all communication between the upper and lower country, but not to pursue the Raja into Wynad. The military posts from which these operations were to be carried out were Manattana and Kuttiyadi.

But the force at Colonel Dow's disposal was insufficient for this service, and additional troops were requisitioned.

1 301 goldmohurs, 2,568 Venetians, and 1 gubber.

The change to Wynad, especially during the rains, appears to have been severely felt by the Raja, and in the end of June Colonel Dow, in whom (from old acquaintanceship at the siege of Tellicherry and subsequently) he appears to have placed much confidence, received at " CoroteAngady," in the Wynad, a penitential letter from him alluding to his ' evil fate, which had compelled him to remove from his ancient abode to this strange habitation,' ' and proposing-to come in if pardoned and his property restored. Colonel Dow on 3rd July acceded to his request and promised him an " act of oblivion." The other Commissioners did not approve of this measure, and very pertinently remarked that Government had proceeded to violent measures with the Raja because lenient ones had been found ineffectual, and "if after going such lengths, we were to reinstate him without reserve merely because he petitions for forgiveness, either what has already been done was oppressive and unjust, or so doing must be the height of weakness and inconsistency." However, as Colonel Dow had made the promise, they felt compelled to confirm it in so far as he felt himself bound, and until the orders of Government could be obtained. But, on the other side it might have been argued that failing to come to terms with him would have thrown him into the arms of Tippu, and the cause of his proceeding to Wynad at all was the secret and unsuccessful attempt to take him in his house at Palassi.

In pursuance of this arrangement the Northern Superintendent returned from Manattana, and the Raja was, under Colonel Dow's orders, conducted to Palassi by Lieutenant Walker, and his property, except the treasure, was restored to him.

For his good behaviour pending the receipt of the orders of Government, Colonel Dow further took security1 from the Kurumbranad Raja and four of the principal inhabitants of Kottayara, and in return Colonel Dow agreed 2 to use his efforts to get back the Palassi house, whioh had been attached, and to have a thorough enquiry made into the alleged plunder of it by the troops, on condition that the Raja explained to the satisfaction of Government his conduct in putting the three Mappillas to death.

In due time the orders 3 of the Bombay and Supreme Governments were received

(July 25th, August 16th, 23rd and 27th) approving of the Raja's reinstatement "on account of the cowl4 granted to him by the Chief of Tellicherry," and likewise of Colonel Dow's action in granting a pardon, indemnity and act of oblivion on the terms agreed to by the Colonel, and his " restoration to his district and property " was distinctly ordered.

But these orders of Government were not communicated direct to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. They were sent through the Raja of

*1 Treaties , fc., ii. CXVII. * Treaties, $■< >., ii. CXXII.*

- *Treaties , $c., ii. CXVI1I. 1 , Treaties, $c., i. XCV,*

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Kurumbranad, whose agents omitted both to communicate them to the Raj a and to pay over to him the money taken at the sack of his house, which the Government had likewise ordered to be restored to him.-

Moreover, the Kurumbranad Raja removed from the management of the Kottayam district an agent whom the Palassi Raja particularly wished to keep there. And this agent (Kaiteri Ambu) betook himself with some followers to Kanoth, where, it was reported, " they meditated tumult and commotion, and, working on the Pychy (Palassi) Raja's leading passions, had enticed him to join them." The Northern Superintendent wished to have an interview with the Raja, but by that time (October 1796) he had " retired tothe most impenetrable part of the jungle."

In short, the Raja felt himself deceived (as indeed he had been by his uncle and his agents), and feared that the Commissioners, a majority of whom were determinedly set against him, would make another attempt to secure his person which might not be so unsuccessful as the last. Moreover, the Commissioners ought to have themselves carried out the orders regarding the " restoration to his districts and property " which both the Bombay and Supreme Governments had directed to be done.

Of course the result of his flight to the jungles was that the collections again fell into arrears.

Meanwhile farther orders (17th October 1796) of the Supreme Government had likewise been received at Bombay, and were to the effect that the Commissioners were to take possession of Wynad, which both Governments, after the very favorable terms accorded by them to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, probably thought must now be in the Raja's friendly hands.

The orders regarding " restoration to his districts and property " had, however,

meanwhile reached the Raja, and in November the Northern Superintendent then for the first time (although the orders were dated so far back as the previous July and August) asked what the " doubtful" phrase meant, and reported that the Raja expected to get back all the property which he alleged had been lost at Palassi and to obtain besides the direct management of the Kottayam district.

The Commissioners also now (24th November 1796) very tardily asked the Government what the " doubtful phrase " meant, and meanwhile took no steps to give effect to that portion of the orders which were clear, namely, to make the Kurumbranad Raja disgorge the intercepted treasure which should have been handed over by him long ago to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja.

Troops had already some time previously been sent to Periah in Wynad to protect the ingathering of the cardamom crop, and in November-December 1796 another detachment was sent for this same purpose. This movement of troops appears to have excited the gravest suspicions in the Raja's mind.

On December 1st, however, he attended a meeting arranged with the Northern Superintendent, and then chiefly dwelt on his being kept out of the management of Kottayam, and particularly in being placed in an intolerable position of subjection under the Kurumbranad Raja's agent, one Palaya Yittil Chandu, who had faithlessly deserted from his own service. He came to this meeting attended by 1,200 to 1,500 armed men.

A week was spent by the Superintendent in endeavouring to bring about a reconciliation between the rival Rajas, but these well-meant efforts came to nothing owing to " duplicity " on the one side and " intolerable insolence " on the other.

After this, matters rapidly went from bad to worse. News came that the Palassi (Pychy) Raja was in treaty with Tippu's officers. The pepper revenue of Kottayam, a most important item in the accounts, was in jeopardy owing to bands of armed men moving about the country. Troops were despatched to protect the Wynad passes and to act offensively if necessary. Dindimal was occupied as a central place for defending the Kottiyur and Nelliadi passes, and the Periah Ghat detachment was also strengthened. But the country was wild and covered with impenetrable forests and more troops were wanted for the service.

On December 16th the Northern Superintendent came to the conclusion that the differences between the rival Rajas were irreconcilable, and suggested the issue of a proclamation to the people forbidding them to assemble to assist the Palassi (Pychy) Raja.

The Commissioners adopted this idea, and on 18th December drafted but did not at once publish a warning proclamation 1 that " previous to proceeding to

extremities against the Raja they gave the people an opportunity of returning to their allegiance, and if they did not seize it within fifteen days they were to be considered as "irreconcilable enemies of the Company's Government, their lands and property will be immediately confiscated, never again to be restored, and the Raja and his friends 2 pursued to their utter extirpation from the Company's dominions." And they wrote to the Raja direct, telling him in a phrase which he ironically commented on afterwards when the fulfilment of the threat had miscarried, that " not a sepoy shall rest in this province till you and all your adherents are utterly extirpated."

The Commissioners evidently lost their temper othis proclamation, and the chief moving cause appears to have been that the pepper crop and the revenue dependent thereon were in danger of being lost through the disturbances created by the rebels.

- *1. Parappanftd Raja, (2) Kanqavatt Shekaran NambiAr, (3) KaitCn Ambu (4) Rattan Kam&ran, (/>) KaitSri, fiman, (6) Elampullian Kunyan, (7) I uttamv.ttil Rairuˆ (8) Monon Karan, (9) Khokara VariyAr. (10) Puttalat Nayar, (11) Melodani Kanachan Nam-biAr bolding Re. 41,000 of janrnam property and having in train 481 men.*

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Moved by these threats, the Palassi (Pychy) Raja then openly visited Tippu's Killidar at Karkankotta.

But as a last resource another meeting was arranged at Nittur between him and the President of the Commissioners and Northern Superintendent on 30th December. The Raja demanded the direct management of his district, and was again refused as the Kurumbranad Raja would not agree.

After this nothing remained but to proceed to overawe the district by a show of force, so the Superintendent was directed to act on the proclamation of 18th December to break up the bands of armed men, to reduce the number of ghats leading to Wynad, and to efficiently protect those remaining.

On January 4th, 1797, the Coorg Raja reported that either the Palassi (Pychy) Raja himself or one of his family had had an interview with Tippu at " Hegadideva " in Mysore, whither Tippu had proceeded ostensibly to see a white elephant.

The pepper crop was by this time just about ready for gathering, and to their chagrin the Commissioners now found even the Kurumbranad Raja's adherents passing over to the rebel side, and that the Raja himself showed great lukewarmness in the British cause.

Matters came to a crisis on January 7th, 1797. On that date a detachment of 80 ttien of Captain Lawrence's battalion was proceeding with a peon of the Superintendent's to a place called in the records " Manandery," where they were to be stationed and where the Commissioners' proclamation was to be read. A band of men under Kaiteri Ambu waylaid them, mortally wounded the commanding officer Captain Bowman, wounded several other officers, and killed many of the men. The detachment appears to have been taken by surprise : they had, when fired upon, neither their bayonets fixed nor their muskets loaded.

Flushed with this success, the rebels next on the 8th January attacked the havildar's guard stationed at Palassi, and killed the whole party excepting one man, who escaped to tell the story. And not content with killing the sepoys, great excesses were committed, for the rebels " caused 1 to be cut up with unrelenting fury the women and children as is said of the same detachment. And a similar fate wras intended towards a small guard stationed at Benghaut (Venkad), and the purpose would no doubt have been carried into effect had not timely intelligence reached that quarter so as to enable the party to provide the means of their security."

The weak and scattered detachments in Wynad too were found to be in danger. That at Dindimal had to retreat, under Lieutenant Inglis, for safety to the Periah post commanded by Lieutenant Gorman. It was savagely attacked en route on 14th January 1797 by the rebels, and the defenceless women and followers of the party were massacred.

1 Mr. Wilkinson, President of Commission, minute of 2nd February 1797.

But the detaohment made good its " very gallant retreat," as the Bombay Government characterised it at the time, in spite of the overwhelming force of " Nambiars," probably Kanoth Shekaran's party, by which it was opposed, and Lieutenant Inglis won the strong approbation of the Bombay Government. His loss on the march amounted only to 1 jema lar, 1 naigue and 12 sepoys killed or missing.

The uuited detachments having exhausted their provisions, were permitted unmolested to make their way down the Ellackerrum pass to Kuttiyadi.

All the remote military posts in the country below the ghats were likewise placed in a state of comparative siege, and convoys of prosent to them were' attacked. On 27th January a convoy proceeding to Major Anderson at Mananderi was attacked and 3 sepoys were killed, and a jemadar and 19 sepoys were wounded, iu addition to which the coolies ran away and the stores, ammunition, &c., were lost.

The measures proposed by the Commissioners to counteract these savage successes were — more troops to he stationed in Wynad, fortified military posts to be

constructed at Venkad, Palassi, Kodoli, and Kotta-yam bazaar, and another post in Iruvalinad was proposed to overawe the Nambiars, one of whom (Kampuratt) was connected by marriage with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's chief adherent, Kanoth Shekaran Nambiar.

In February accordingly the Bombay Government sent down a considerable reinforcement of troops, consisting of one battalion of sepoys, 200 Europeans, and a detachment of artillery, together with Major-General Bowles (who was ordered to resume the military command of the province) and several other officers.

Wynad had always been considered an " equivocal possession " as it was not specifically mentioned in the Seringapatam treaty; indeed, the only ground for considering that it had been ceded by Tippu that had occurred to the Joint Commissioners was that the revenue of the Kottayam districts would not have been rated so high by Tippu if he had not intended also to include it in the cession. But in 179G the Commissioners had made some advances towards annexing it to the other Malabar districts by appointing, on 26th February 1796, a canongoe to work under the Kurumbranad Raja with a view to ascertaining what its revenue resources were. This officer entered on the duty assigned to him on the 27th March following. And the Commissioners followed this up by deputing one of their members, Colonel Dow, to co-operate with the Kurumbranad Raja in arranging a mode for the future collection of the revenue, under restrictions however as to advancing any claims from which it might thereafter be dishonorable to retract, and Colonel Dow was in particular directed to avoid, as far as possible, interfering in matters that might occasion, on the part of Tippu, any opposition to the authority of the Honorable Company in that district. Colonel Dow had accordingly, on 27th June 1 < 96, ascended the Tamaras-

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Bt>ri pass accompanied by a military force, and had traversed on that occasion the portion of the district lying between the head of the Tamarasseri pass and the passes known respectively as the Periah ass and the Smugglers' pass, descending on Manattana. On the 17th of July he posted at a place variously called " Coonjiste " or " Cotote " or " Cauccote " or " Concesta " bazaar, a detachment of troops commanded by Lieutenant Iliff, as a check on the Palassi (Pychy) Raja rather than to assert the Honorable Company's authority in Wynad. Again, in the beginning of December 1796 the Officer Commanding the Province had, at the request of the Commissioners, stationed a detachment of troops under Lieutenant Gorman at Periah with .a view, as already alluded to, to protect the cardamom crop from being carried off by the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's people, and some time afterwards Lieutenant Inglis' party, to whose gallant retreat from Dindimal to Periah reference has already been made, was posted at the former of these places.

Matters were in this state when the Commissioners finally decided to issue their proclamation 1 of 18th December 1796, and the effect on the Palassi (Pychy) Raja was to drive him to seek aid from Tippu. It seems that Tippu agreed to supply him with ammunition, and to station 6,000 " Carnatics" under his Killidar at Karkankotta on the Wynad frontier, to bo ready to help the Raja's people in driving the British troops down the ghats out of Wynad.

After the outbreak of hostilities Colonel Dow was nominated to the command of the troops serving against the rebels, and in pursuance of this object he, in the beginning of March 1797, again ascended the Tamarasseri pass and marched without opposition through the Wynad district from the head of that pass as far as Periah. The plan of operations was for Colonel Dow to concentrate in force at Periah, and, when that post was secured, the force below the ghats was to drive away the rebels from the fortified posts in the low country about Kanoth, and it was hoped that the force above the ghats, by cutting off the rebels' retreat, would effectually break them up.

But two companies of sepoys under command of Lieutenant Mealey, who had ascended into Wynad by way of the Karkur pass and were bringing up the rear of Colonel Dow's force, did not succeed in overtaking the main body, and during three successive days— 9th, 10th and 1 1 th March this detachment had to fight its way, being opposed by " some thousands " of Nayars and Kurchiars " between Devote Angady and Cunjote Angady," and was finally forced to retreat from Wynad na the " Ellacherrura " 2 (Cardamom mountain) pass with " considera- . e oss, . viz., 1 subbadar, 2 havildars, 2 naigues, 1 waterman and 32 sepoys killed or missing, and 67 wounded including an English officer

1 Treaties, #c., ii. CXXXI.

2 This is apparently the pass between the existing Kuttiyidi and Periah ghflt roads

*£*2 d,r""y UndCT ""f to 'he "»«» •» ■"•"« n-i to the GovernmentCardlmom o eats. The pass m still used by foot-passengers to and from Kuttiyftdi.*

(Lieutenant Millinohamp). About half the force were either killed, missing, or wounded.

Colonel Dow himself was completely hampered in carrying out the plan of operations by lack of commissariat supplies. He had started from the head of the Tamarasseri pass with only a few days' rations, and when his force reached Periah he had but five days' supplies of rice left for his men. He had written several urgent letters to the Commissioners, telling them of the straits he was in for food, and they had requested Major-General Bowles to forward supplies for him via the Kuttiyadi pass, the foot of which was held by the rebels. Major Anderson, entrusted with the duty of convoying the supplies and effecting a junction with

Colonel Dow, was unable to fulfil that service as the Mappillas detailed to act as guides to his detachment failed to put in an appearance, and thus much valuable time was lost, and the failure of supplies to reach in time paved the way for the disasters which immediately followed.

Shortly after reaching Periah, Colonel Dow received at the hands of six armed men letters from Tippu's officer at Karkankotta, remonstrating against his marching with a force through Wynad, which he claimed as a portion of the Sultan's territory. This circumstance seemed to Colonel Dow to render, it absolutely necessary that a fresh plan of operations should be decided on, as it was clearly, he thought, impracticable, with the resources at command, to maintain the position above the ghats in the face of an active opposition of the combined forces of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja and Tippu.

Colonel Dow, under these circumstances, decided to descend the ghats with a view to consulting his colleagues in the Commission. On his way from Periah to the Ellacherrum pass above referred to his detachment was attacked by bands of rebels, amoDg whom he could easily distinguish men in the dress of Tippu's sepoys, but he made good his retreat to the pass although only accompanied by a small party of sepoys, and he descended into, the low country on the 17th March, with the loss, however, of all his baggage, papers, &c.

On the night of the following day, 18th March, Major Cameron, left in command of 1,100 men at Periah by Colonel Dow, was forced by want of provisions to quit that post and to attempt a similar retreat by the same pass. But the enemy had by this time completed their arrangements, and instead of attacking the party on the comparatively level ground above, they waited until the force had entered the pass. Both sides of it were lined by the rebels, who had likewise stockaded it, and a melancholy loss occurred. Major Cameron and three other officers (Lieutenant Nugent and Ensigns Madge and Rudderman) were killed, two other officers were wounded, and of the detachment " Some Europeans of artillery, with a considerable number of Dative officers and privates," were either killed or missing. In addition to this loss of life, the detachment lost its guns, baggage, ammunition and cattle and the union colour of the battalion of sepoys.

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Major Anderson with his convoy of supplies, which Colonel Dow had expected to meet at or near the head of the pass on the 16th, arrived on the ghat on the 19th, just in time to help to carry off the wounded, of whom there were " great numbers."

Amongst the secret papers found in Seringapatam after the final fall of Tippu there occurs the following significant passage relating to these events in a letter dated "

Le primidi de la 1 er decade de Floreal Van 5c de la Repuhlique francaise ," 1 from Tippu SultSLn to Citoyen General Mangalon. Referring to English affairs in India he wrote : " A Calicute ils out ete attaque par le Rajas Congis Ramme Ramtne, Chefe de Coutengris (Kottayam), qui leurs a tue en trots sorties mille Europiens et trois milles Sipaif ; par toute la cote ils sont attaque ; tons sont revoltes contre eux, par rapors an vexations et au impots quits ont mis."

On receipt of intelligence of the above events, the Bombay Government quickly decided that the presence of the Governor (Mr. Jonathan Duncan) and of the Commander-in-Chief (Lieutenant-General Stuart) was necessary in Malabar, so on 10th April 1797, by orders2 of the Governor in Council, those officers were deputed to form a Committee of the Government in Malabar, where they arrived in the middle of the month. Pending their arrival the Commissioners were directed to suspend hostilities.

Before proceeding to relate the measures adopted by the Committee of Government to bring affairs into a more satisfactory state, it will be necessary to revert to other matters which had meanwhile occupied the attention of the Commissioners.

With regard to the affairs of the Bibi of Cannanore, orders were received from Government that the jaghire granted to her by Tippu should not be restored as it was only a temporary alienation from the Chirakkal Raja. She then executed an agreement,3 dated 26th October 1796, to pay Rs. 15,000 annually, "being the jumma (jama = demand) on the houses, purrams, &c., situated at or near Cannanore, on my tradejo the Laccadive Islands, and on my jelm (janmam) property on the said islands." The right of Government to sequester4 the islands and the whole of their produce was to remain in force. She also agreed to pay customs duties on all articles except island coir yarn and she gave up all pretensions to the one-fifth share of the collections granted to other Malayali chieftains, and finally renounced all claims to the jaghire. This agreement is still in iorce, and is that under which the Cannanore Laccadive Islands are administered down to the present

The Zamorin had in the meanwhile failed 5 to pay in the revenues of his districts with punctuality, and the Commissioners, acting on the

The first ˆ °f the fir8t ten ˆays ° month of flowers (20th Am-il tn lots May), m the fifth year of the French Republic," i.e., 20th April 1797. P*

- *ˆSeatXeS' " • CXX*IV. 3 Treaties , fc., ii. CXXVI*

*4 Treaties, #c., ii. XXXV. ' * ' V1*

• Treaties, fc., ii. CXIII, CXVI, CXIX, CXX, CXXI.

stringent orders issued by the Governor, took over on 5th July 1796 the direct management of them. It would appear that the Mappillas of Emad and Malapuram had given great trouble to the Zamorin's collectors, and he had some time previously renounced the direct management of those districts, which had in consequence been made over to Manjeri Attan Gurikkal for management under the Raja. For these and the remaining districts the Zamorin was able eventually to settle the accounts, and the districts were accordingly returned to him for management on the 24th August 1796.

The direct management by the Company's officers of the Kavalap-para and Palghat districts was shortly afterwards taken 1 over for the same reasons, and it does not appear that they were ever afterwards returned for management to their respective chiefs.

In short, the beginning of the final resumption of all districts held under the quinquennial leases had commenced.

The two Rajas belonging to the Padinyaru Kovilakam (western palace) of the Zamorin's family, who from the time of the murderous assault on Shamnath, the Zamorin's minister, had been living in a state of chronic semi-rebellion latterly in their residence in the jungly country at Kalladikod in the Walluvanad taluk, were at last brought to accept terms. The Commissioners agreed 2 on 6th January 1797 to their receiving an annual allowance of Rs. 10,000, and they on their part agreed to reside peaceably thereafter at Calicut.

This was fortunately arranged just before the troubles with the Palassi (Pychy) Raja came to a head, for had the rebellion in the north been supplemented by a similar rising in the south, the Commissioners would have been sore pressed to make head against so formidable a combination, and the task undertaken by the Committee of Government, even with all the resources of the State to back them, would have become more difficult than it actually was.

In the middle of April the Governor, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, and Lieutenant-General Stuart, the Commander-in-Chief, arrived to investigate the affairs of the country. Acting mainly on the advice of Shamnath, the Zamorin's minister, the Commissioners had, just before the arrival of the Committee of Government, begun 3 to raise a levy of irregular troops to harass the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, a measure which appears to have been attended with the best possible effect.

After the arrival of the Committee, one of their first measures was to resume, 4 from the charge of the so-called Kurumbranad Raja of the Kottayam family, the direct revenue management of the Palassi (Pychy) districts, which ought never to have been entrusted to his care, as his authority and that of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja had been in continual conflict, and the latter had repeatedly put this forward

as his main

grievance.

*1 Treaties, $c., ii. CXXIII, CXXV. * Treaties , pc., ii. CXXXV.*

2 Treaties, $c., ii. CXXX.

« Treaties, pc., ii. CXXX VI, CXXXVII.

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A way was thus opened up for bringing the matters in dispute to a peaceful issue, but for a time there seemed to be no hope of a settlement. After several ineffectual attempts of the Chirakkal Raja and Mr. Peile, the Northern Superintendent, had been made to induce the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, under the most unqualified assurance of safe conduct, to meet the Committee at Tellicherry, active measures were resumed against him, full authority being given to Colonel Dow, who was well known to the inhabitants. An amnesty 1 was at the same time proclaimed to the inhabitants who should return to their allegiance. Colonels Dow and Dunlop then marched in two columns from Kottayam bazaar, and joining forces at Manattana, they there met with some opposition, and their force suffered some casualties in officers and men. But the united force pushed onward in spite of some opposition and took possession of Tadikulam, the Raja's headquarters, and demolished the contiguous fortified house of the Kanoth Nambiar, with the loss of Brigade-Major Captain Batchelor killed and one or two Europeans and sepoys wounded. After these exploits they returned to their encamping ground.

In spite, however, of this success, the Committee became aware of the difficulties which lay in the way of bringing this guerilla warfare to a speedy conclusion on account of the mountainous and thickly wooded nature of the country. For these reasons, and for others of a wider character, namely, the war with France in Europe and the danger of intrigues on the part of Tippu and the French, the Committee determined, if possible, to bring about a speedy peace.

The Chirakkal Raja was accordingly permitted to re-open negotiations on behalf of the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, in which Devas Bhandari, a Konkana and one of the Company's pepper merchants, and the adopted Parappanad Raja (of the Kottayam family) took prominent parts and succeeded2 on 23rd July 1797 in bringing matters to a satisfactory termination.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja and his chief adherents, the Kanoth Nambiar and others, agreed to respect an agreement to be made by the Senior Raja of the Kottayam family, hitherto resident in Travancore, for the revenue management of the Kottayam districts, including Tamaras8eri, in place of the superseded

Kurumbranad Raja, and this arrangement 3 was shortly afterwards (27th September 1797) carried into effect, and the detachments of troops posted in different parts of the low country were then concentrated in a cantonment at Kuttuparamba, about eight miles east of Tellicherry on the high road to Coor£ and Wynad.

A meeting having then been arranged with the late rebellious Raja, the Committee ascertained from him that through some intrigue or

*1 Treaties, ii. CXXXVIII. * Treaties, frc., ii. CXL, CXLf, CXLII.*

1 Treaties, f e., ii. CXLV, CXL VI.

other the pardon of the GovernorGeneral, conveyed to him through the Kurumbranad Raj a, had not reached him before he had begun to make collections on his own account. Moreover the plundered property, which had been committed to the same Raja for restoration to him, had never been received. It was only on receipt direct from the Northern Superintendent of a copy of the Supreme Government's orders in his case that he came to understandhow it had been settled, and it so happened that the Malayalam translations of those orders construed the expression 1 " his restoration to his district and property" in the largest sense, viz., that, his country and property should be given back to him.

The Committee were not quite satisfied that the adoption of the superseded Raja into the real Kurumbranad family operated as a forfeiture of all his rights in the family of his birth, namely, Kottayam, and they therefore could not attach much importance to that point, which was also pressed on their notice by the Palassi (Pychy) Raja. But therein they were doubtless wrong.

The Palassi (Pychy) Raja was granted2 a pension of Rs. 8,000 per annum and the plunder of his Palassi house was made good to him. He was further granted a pardon " for all that had been done towards the Company."

A pardon was likewise extended to the NarangSli Nambiar of Iruvalinad, who, as already related, had, after the slaying of three Mappillas, fled to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja for protection. The Committee of Government, on reviewing the papers connected with his case, had come to the conclusion that the sequestration of . his lands and property was not justified by the regulations. So his outlawry was reversed and the Nambiar was restored 3 to his possessions.

In regard to other measures, the Committee of Government strengthened the Commission on 15th September 1797 by adding to the Board the Officer commanding the Province. The militia was next disbanded and two sibandi corps

of Nayars and Mappillas were organised, the Nayars being stationed in the southern and the Mappillas in the northern division to secure the peace of the country.

Affairs in Chirakkal next claimed attention. The Raja died and the Government recognised the succession of Ravi V armil, the eldest of the two princes in Travanoore. His nomination to the raj was opposed by the Kavinisseri branch of the family, supported by the senior or Kolattiri Raja. To ensure peace and harmony in the family, the Linguist, M. A. Rodrigues, and the influential Mappilla merchant Ch5vak-karan Makki, were deputed to Chirakkal. They succeeded in establishing peace. Ravi VarmSwas confirmed in the raj and Colonel Dow was placed in judicial and magisterial charge of this district in addition to

Kottayam.

dnf. freaties, ?c., ii. CXXII. ' Treaties, £v., ii. CL, CLI, CLII.

- *Treaties , !fc.t ii. CLIII.*

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The Emad district having been relinquished by the Zamorin, an European assistant was appointed to take charge of it and another assistant was sent to administer Parappanad.

Mr. Rivett was succeeded by Mr. Spencer as President of the Commission, while Messrs. Smee and Torrins wore appointed in the room of Colonel Dow and Mr. Handley. The posts of native dewans were abolished, and it was resolved to make a radical change in the administration by the appointment of covenanted servants as revenue assistants, to be employed throughout the district, on which account the existing regulations were modified.

Separate decennial leases 1 were for the frst i 'me entered into with the Kurangot Nayar and the chief landholder under him, the Payapurat Nayar, for the district known as Koringot Kallai.

The notorious Mappilla bandit chief, Unni Mutta Muppan, was pardoned and restored to his estate of Elampulasseri, while Attan Gurik-kal, a relation of his and no less noted for turbulence of character, was appointed from motives of policy as head of a police establishment in Ernad.

The forts of Cannanore, Tellicherry and Palghat were now either improved or repaired.

The minor matters which engaged the attention of the Committee of Government

were —

The abolition of the expensive mail boat service and the establishment of a post via Cochin and the Travancoro gate on the Tinnevelly frontier to Tuticorin.

The regulation of ferries.

The freedom of trade to the Laccadive islanders.

The abolition of all frontier duties on horned cattle, provisions, &c., imported from Tippu's territories.

The introduction of a tax on all spirituous liquors, which were to be farmed out as well as the trade in tobacco.

The repair of the gun roads made by Tippu.

And the tracing of a road from Palghat to Palani and Dindigul in order to avoid the adjacent territories of Tippu.

Their attention was also direoted to the cultivation of special products such as cinnamon, coffee, pepper, nutmeg, spices, sugarcane, cotton, &o. Mr. M. Brown was accordingly appointed 2 Overseer of the Company's plantation opened out at Anjarakandi in the waste lands of Randat-tara on a salary of Rs. 800 per month. The Vettatnad escheats were surveyed by Captain Moncrief, who as well as Colonel Sartorius surveyed the rivers of the oountry and Lieutenant Monier Williams drew the first map of Malabar under Captain Moncrief 's supervision. Just at the close of the labours of the Committee of Government some treasonable correspondence— said to have been oarried on by Tippu with the Pajassi

1 rrtfUt, frc., ii. CLIV, CLV.

- *Tr*atutt #e., ii. CLIX.*

(Pychy) Raja, with the Padinyaru Kovilakam Rajas of the Zamorin's house, and with Unni Mutta Muppan — was discovered, but the Committee having no reliable information to go upon, decided to overlook the matter.

In the very beginning of 1798, after a stay of over eight months in the Province, the Governor and the Commander-in -Chief returned to the Presidency.

In pursuance of the arrangement for the better administration of the country, European assistants were located in all the districts under the Superintendents, and Mr. Smee waˆentrusted 1 with the very important duty of revising the assessment of the Province by an inspection of the estate of each ryot.

In order to prevent confusion in the regular payment of revenue by the six Nambiars of Iruvalinad, the Commissioners, with the consent of these chieftains, next annulled 2 the quinquennial lease and entered into separate engagements 3 with each of them for the unexpired portion of two years remaining under the lease. The revised leases followed the precise lines of th,ose already issued to the other chiefs of Malabar.

At their earnest entreaty, agreements were in February-March 1798 for the first time also entered into with the Kuttali, Avinyat and Paleri Nayars of Fayyormala for the remaining term of the quinquennial lease executed by the Kurumbranad Raja.

The district of Kurumbala, which lay above the ghats in Wynad and which formerly formed a part of Payyormala, was not included in the Kuttali and Avinyat Nayars agreements as the Honorable Company's right to the territory was, like that to the rest of Wynad, considered to be doubtful, but the collections of this small district were to be made 4 by the Nayars and paid into the northern treasury. »*

In April some disturbances were created in Chirakkal by a prince of the Chenga Kovilakam of the Kolattiri family, a nephew of the late Raja. He claimed the raj. Colonel Dow went with a force to restore5 quiet. • The rebellious Raja attempted in the following month of May to take the Puttur temple by storm, but was slain in the attempt by the ruling Raja's Nayars who defended it.

Kottayam affairs once more claimed attention. The senior managing Raja was found to be falling into arrears with his collections, although assisted by British officers. It became apparent that he had not sufficient personal influence or energy to keep things in order, so he was pensioned and permitted to retire to Travancore. The district was then placed under the direct management of the Honorable Company's officers.

The Commissioners' attention was next taken up by the affairs of Palghat. The Achchan in April took the law into his own hands, in

*« Treaties, fc., ii. CLXXXI. * Treaties, ii. XCIII, CLX.*

3 Treaties, 4c., ii. <ˆLXI to CLXVI. 4 Treaties, $c., ii. CLXIX.

5 Treaties, 4 r., n. JLXXV, CLXXIX, CLXXX.

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spite of the terms of his engagements, by " putting to death Ullateel V aet-ul Oanden Nayar and taking out the eyes of Parameshuaracooty Brahman." Having

*thus committed himself, he escaped on 7th July from his house in Kalpatti in Palghat town as soon as it was known that the Commissioners intended to bring him to trial for these offences. A proclamation 1 * offering a reward of Rs. 5,000 was issued for his apprehension. The upshot was that he surrendered himself to Major Romney at Palghat and was imprisoned in the Tellicherry fort, where he soon after died.*

In sending orders to the Commissioners to assume tlie direct revenue management of the Palghat district, the Bombay . Government wrote approving of this measure, which had been suggested by the Commissioners, and observing further : —

" There exists no anterior general engagement whatever between the Company and the Palghat family, who appeared to have availed themselves of the victories of our army during the last Mysore war to reassume possession without any formal sanction on the part of the English, in which situation are several of the southern chieftains, who have heretofore no sort of claim upon us more than may result from their own good and unexceptionable behaviour, a distinction more than once pointed out for your guidance by this Government."

In September of this • same year final orders were at last received in regard to Tippu's claims to Wynad. The Governor-General, Lord Mornington, after full consideration of the matter, came 3 to the conclusion that " Wynad was not ceded to the Company by the late Treaty of Peace, and that it belongs by right to his said Highness, the Nawaub Tippu Sultan Bahaudur," who was to be permitted " consequently to occupy the said district whenever it may suit his pleasure." But the Company's claim to the passes leading up to Wynad were not to be affected in any way by this waiver of right to the district itself.

Nearly all the Rajas were backward in the regular discharge of their kists and were obliged to procure the suretyship of Mappilla merchants for the payment of arrears. Although members of this sect living in the coast towns were active traders and well-behaved, in the interior their fellow religionists were incessantly engaged in marauding expeditions.3 Mannarakad, TamarassSri, Pulavayi, Vettattnad, Chera-nad and Ern3d especially suffered from these banditti. " The mistaken notions prevalent in regard to ownership in the land appear to have been to a large extent at the bottom of these disturbances, which assumed the

aspect of faction fights for supremacy between Hindus and Muhammadans.

The Zamorin having failed to pay his revenue regularly, the direct management of his remaining districts was again assumed 4 in October

1 Treaties , fe., ii. CLXXVII, CLXXVIII.

- *Treaties, #o., ii. CLXXXVIII.*

1798 by the Company, and agreements were shortly afterwards entered into with the fifth Raja and other members of the family for the payment of their allowances, provided and only so long as they should remain in good behaviour. Some of them were then allowed to resume their residence at the Kalladikod Kovilakam, which was " situated amidst a strong intricate jungle." Subsequent events did not, however, justify the grant of this relaxation.

Of the events of the last war with Tippu Sultan, ending in the taking of his capital and in his own death, little need here be said. The arrival in a French frigate at Mangalore, on 26th April 1798, of 99 French Civil and Military Officers, sent by the Governor of the Isle of France for service under Tippu, put the English on the alert, and made them commence preparations for war. The above event, followed by the despatch of a further embassy from Tippu to France, which was sent by way of Tranquebar, led directly to the last war with Tippu. On 11th' February 1799 General Harris began his march on Seringapatam, and on the 21st of that same month General Stuart, with the Bombay army of 6,420 fighting men, made his first march out of Cannanore. On the 25th the top of the pass was reached and the column halted. On the 6th March Tippu attacked General Stuart at Sedaseer and was repulsed, and on the 11th he retreated to Seringapatam to oppose General Harris. On April 14th the two armies effected a junction before Seringapatam, and on the 4th of May 1799 Seringapatam fell and Tippu was slain.

Stores were sent from Malabar rid Irukkur on the Yalarpattanam river to Coorg, where a commissariat magazine was established. The Raja of Coorg proved himself again to be a staunch adherent of the English. He aided them most substantially with provisions and bullocks, while at the same time he refused any remuneration, the value of the supplies afforded by him being calculated at not less than four lakhs of rupees. In appreciation of his conduct and valuable services, the Coorg tribute was cancelled, and for it was substituted,1 as a proof of fealty and devotion, an annual present to the Company of a trained elephant. The affairs of the State were taken out of the hands of the authorities in Malabar and a Resident was stationed at his oourt.

The pensioned Rajas of Kumbla and Vittul Agra or Higgada did not also fail to harass Tippu's possessions during the war, and on this account the pension of the former was in 1801 increased to Rs. 400. But the latter having after the proclamation of peace plundered the Manasserum temple, he was declared a rebel and death anticipated the orders issued for his seizure.

Strangely enough the Rajas and Chiefs of Malabar, considering the turbulent and discontented disposition of many, were on their best behaviour during this period of disturbance. Several persons hitherto

believed to be inimical to the Company's interests proved their loyalty /nd devotion, notwithstanding that rumours were afloat of the Chirakkal and Palassi (Pychy) Rajas carrying on clandestine correspondence with Tippu and aiding him with men and provision.

It is important to mention that with the exception of a detachment at Cannanore, and with the exception of the militia, Malabar was left entirely without military protection during the operations of the armies in the field. But 'General Stuart's brilliant victory of the 6th March, at the very opening of the campaign against Tippu's force, was viewed at the time by the GovernorGeneral and others as having conduced largely to the tranquillity in Malabar.

On the fall of Seringapatam, Wynad was, under the Partition Treaty 1 and subsidiary treaties, ceded to the Company as part of their share on the Western Coast.

The four islands of the Laccadive group taken by Tippu from the Bibi of Cannanore were leased to Chovakk&ran Mussa by Captain Munro, Collector of the newly acquired Province of Canara, although the Bibi did not fail once more to urge her claims to them.

The Payyormala Nayars having failed to payt heir revenue, their district was next taken under 2 the Company's control, and on the expiration of the Chirakkal lease, the management of that district was also undertaken 3 by the Company owing to irregularity in the payment of its revenue.

Writing to the Madras Government on 14th August 1800, the Commissioners reported as follows : —

" From a general failure in the fulfilment of their engagements by the Rajas, Government assumed the collection of the revenue at sundry periods before the expiration of the settlements in September 1799 Since which period, except 4 in the instances of Kadattanad, Kurangoth-Kallayi and Cannanore in the northern, Kavalappara and the threo petty Nayar districts of Mannur, Kongad and Eddatara in the southern division, and the island of Chetwai held by the Coehin Rajah on a decennial lease commencing 970, the collection of the revenues has proceeded under the sole control of the officers of Government an arrangement from which the best effects have been produced."

The only lease renewed 5 was that of the Kadattanad Raja, and that for periods of one year only. He had been uniformly punctual in the payment of his revenue. The

superseded chiefs were continued in

1 Treaties, fc., ii, CXCIII, CXCIV, CCXXYIII, CCXLVII.

- *Treaties, $c., ii, OXCVII. * Treaties , $c., ii, CCITI*

‘ By 18th June 1802 this number had still further diminished, and on’ that d at Principal CoUector reported as follows to the Board of Revenue Except the tw w! th® of Kall&yi (i.,., Kurangoth-Kallayi in the text), “who have a S ˆ*

CLIV, CLV) giving them the collections for ten years ending 1807 no other U man^{e}6 *** “***- the revenue has the chaˆof*

4 Treaties, #c., ii. CCVII, CCXXIII.

the enjoyment of the allowance of one-fifth (in some cases) and of one-tenth (in others) of the revenue of their respective districts which had been allotted to them for their maintenance. These allowances continue to be paid to them down to the present day under the designation of Malikhana.

The minor matters which at this time engaged the attention of the Commissioners were —

The introduction of the tobacco monopoly.

The establishment of a rule for the registration 1 of all writings of the transfer of landed property, on whatever tenure held, .in order to put a stop to systematic forgeries.

And the change of the postal route from Travancore to Coimbatore, one of the newly acquired districts.

The Putiyangadi Tangal, of an influential Arab family, was in March 1799 continued in an exemption from the payment of the revenue on his property, originally granted 2 to him by the Second Raja of Calicut in 1791 in order that by his influence he might restrain the lawless habits of his countrymen, the. ringleaders of whom were Unni Mutta Muppan, Attan Gurikkal, Chemban Pokar, &c. A formidable combination was formed by these Mappilla headmen, instigated by a spirit of revenge for the punishment inflicted by the regular judicial process on some of their connexions, especially on Adam Khan, a brother-in-law of Gurikkal’s, who had beenJexecuted for murder. The combination became alarming after an abortive attempt had been made by the Assistant, Mr. Baber, to seize Chemban Pokar, who had escaped from the Palghat fort. Mr. Baber’s party was repulsed. This success encouraged Chemban Pokar to make a daring attempt on the life of Mr. G. Waddell, the Southern Superintendent, while he was proceeding

from Angadipuram to Orampuram, in which attempt Chemban Pokar was secretly abetted by Gurikkal, who had been in the Company's service since 1796 as head of police in JErnad.

While these Mappilla disturbances were occurring in the south, the Amildars of the Mysore Commission went to take possession of Wynad as a portion of tke Company's cession, and it was then in contemplation to attach it either to Canara or Coimbatore. But the Palassi (Pychy) Raja laid claim to the district and persisted in keeping possession of it. To uphold his pretensions he raised a large body of men consisting of Nayars, Mappillas and Mussulmans, the last being portions of the disbanded troops of the late Sultan. Orders were therefore issued by the Supreme Government to punish severely his presumptuous conduct. The military control of the. province was placed under the Madras Government, which appointed Colonel Arthur Wellesley 3 as Commander of the forces in Malabar and Canara as well as in Mysore. It was

Treaties, 4'C-, ii. CCV.

3 AJ't< 1 wauls Puko of

- *Treaties, 4 e.t i. CIII. Wellington.*

arranged to assemble foroes on both sides of Wynad and to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. But owing to the lateness of the season and the approach of the monsoon, the first military operations were confined to strengthening the military posts in the low country of Kottayam with a view to protect the peaceably disposed inhabitants. Colonel Wellesley on April 4th, 1800, writing from Cannanore, informed the Commissioners that he had ordered two companies of the 8th to Kuttuparamba and put the other six companies under Major Walker's orders for the above purpose.

At the same time other preparations were begun by the construction of military roads into the heart of the country, and of two additional posts, to be provisioned, if possible, before the rains. In any case a large store was to be thrown into Kuttuparamba, and two companies of sepoys were to be sent to guard them.

Colonel Wellesley returned to Seringapatam in the same month, but nothing of much importance occurred beyond numerous secessions to the rebel ranks in Wynad. To stop this, Colonel Wellesley recommended the Commissioners to seize the families and property of those who joined. In June and July he was employed in his pursuit of Dhondia Wahan, who had invited the Malabar chiefs to join his standard, and later on in other operations in the north. During this time the Palassi (Pychy) Kaja took advantage of the opportunity, and descending the ghats at

Kuttiyadi, he was there joined by the notorious Mappilla bandit chief TInni Mutta Muppan and many of the chief landholders of Iruvalinad, such as the Kampuratt, Peruvayyal and Kannavatt Nambiars.

At the suggestion of Colonel Wellesley and in order to retain possession of the advanced posts of Kannavam and Manatana, Captains Ward and Moncrief dispersed the rebels from Kuttuparamba as far as Kannavam, while Major Holmes, though harassed on the march, succeeded in relieving and provisioning Manatana besieged by the rebels.

It will be convenient here, before proceeding to deal with the further military operations, to notice certain very important changes in the administration, which had a most important bearing on the events which followed.

Mr. TJthoff having been sent on a separate mission to Goa and Colonel Hartley dying, Major Alexander Walker was nominated to a seat on the Commission, and pending his arrival from a tour in Travan-core, Lieutenant J. Watson was provisionally appointed in his stead. In April 1800 the posts of the two Superintendents were ordered to be abolished 1 and the province to be partitioned into a number of small circles 2 of collection, with limited judicial powers vested in the revenue collectors, while the Cochin Commissioner was placed directly under the orders of the Malabar Board.

‘ Treaties, $c., ii. CCXII.

2 Treaties, fc., ii. CCX1V, CCXV.

These instructions were fpllowed up by orders from the Supreme Government of 21st May 1800, directing that the civil administration should be transferred from the Bombay Presidency to that of Madras with effect from the 1st of July. It will be noted that for some time previously the military administration had already been in the hands of the Madras authorities, and the benefit of having undivided authority in the hands of the’ one presidency or the other, led to the choice1 of Madras, from its nearer vicinity to the province, as the presidency to which it, in common with Coorg and Cochin, should be transferred. The Commercial Department in the province was, however, left to the Bombay authorities.

Travancore too was placed under a separate Political Officer and Colonel Macaulay was nominated to the post.

The commission of Bombay officers continued under the orders of Madras to perform their functions for some time longer.

The Malabar Commissioners deputed Major Walker to the southern districts, and upon his report condemning the spirited action of Messrs. Baber and Waddell with

reference to the Mappilla banditti, Chemban Pokar was pardoned on his giving security 2 for good behaviour, and Gurikkal was allowed the option of either living on the coast near Calicut, or standing his trial for having caused the late troubles.

For the purpose of collecting the revenue Captain Watson was next entrusted writh the organisation of a new corps of armed police, consisting of 500 men, whom he trained and equipped in a fashion much resembling the present constabulary force. The Malabar militia, an irregular force and undisciplined, serving under their own native chiefs, was then (June 10th, 1801) disbanded.

Directly the rains set in (June-July 1800), the rebels had taken possession of the low country of Kottayam, and among other mischief perpetrated, they attacked and destroyed a portion of Mr. Brown's plantation at Anjarakandi, besides beleaguering the small British outposts, especially those at Kodolli and Manatana. Colonel Wellesley when he heard of this raid was busy with Dhondia's fort of Dammal. He took that by escalade on July 26th, and next day wrote to the Commissioners telling them that his success against Dammal might, if published, have some influence in quieting Malabar, and that, in anticipation of trouble, he had already on July 1st directed Colonel Sartorius to bring together at Tellicherry as large a body of troops as possible to relieve the threatened posts and to drive the rebels out of the western portion of Kottayam. A gunboat was also stationed on the Anjarakandi river.

The revenue collections of Kottayam were at a standstill in consequence of these troubles, and in the beginning of October, when the

» Treaties, #c.t ii. CCXIII.

- *Treaties, Sfc., ii. CCXVI.*

revenue collection ought to have been begun, a proclamation 1 was under these circumstances issued, directing the people to retain their dues in their own hands until persons duly authorised were sent to receive them.

Sufficient troops were not however yet available for dealing effectually with the rebels as Colonel Wellesley was still engaged in the north with his campaign against Dhondia Wahan. On October 22nd he wrote advising the Commissioners to stop all communications with Wynad with a view to cut off the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's supplies. And a few weeks, prior to the receipt of this letter the Commissioners had of their own accord prohibited2 the traffic, an order which however the troops at command did not enable them adequately to enforce.

About a month later, however (20th November 1800), the campaign against

Dhondia Wahan was brought to a close with his defeat and death, and the force under Colonel Wellesley was ordered for service against the rebels, whose ranks had just been reinforced 3 by Manjeri Attan Gurikkal and his banditti, who had in Emad attempted to loot some Government property in charge of an escort of sepoys. Colonel Wellesley, on the above date, writing from " Annagee in Mysore," informed the Commissioners of the orders he had received to attack the Palassi (Pychy) Raja simultaneously from Mysore and the coast; and said that he was on his way to Seringapatam, followed by the army destined for the purpose, " now crossing Tumbudra." To Seringapatam accordingly he requested that " Yemen Nayar " should be sent with all expedition, and he wound up with a hope that he would be able to have sufficient force to attack all the rebels at once, including Gurukkal and his band, of whose outbreak he had just heard.

This Yemen4 Nayar, for whom Colonel Wellesley wrote, was an influential Nayar of Wynad, who, at the outbreak of hostilities with Tippu Sultan in 1799, had come to the Malabar Commissioners at Calicut and professed his attachment to the^British cause. His professions were believed and assurances5 of protection to himself and his adherents were granted to him. He had since that time been admitted to the confidence of the authorities in Malabar, and it was to consult him as to looal matters that Colonel Wellesley now sent for him prior to forming his plan of operations against the rebels in Wynad. It was never clearly proved, but it is almost certain, that he was all the time in secret correspondence with his suzerain lord of Palassi (Pychy), advising him of the measures to be taken against him. And his after conduct for on 6th Deoember 1802 he openly espoused the rebel cause at a time when it was becoming well nigh desperate-gives great colour to the story. The time had not however yet come for him to declare

*1 Treat tee, ii. CCXIX. * Treaties, fro., ii. CCXX — CCXXII.*

1 Treaties, Sfe., ii. CCXXIV. 4 Otherwise called Palltir Eman Nayar of Muppain&d

4 Treaties, #■«., ii. CXC.

himself in his true colours, and meanwhile he proceeded to Seringa-patam to help the " Iron Duke " 1 to settle the details of his campaign.

On November 30th Colonel Wellesley, then at Seringapatam, again wrote to the Commissioners requesting that one of them would come to Seringapatam for the purpose of accompanying the expedition, which, he was sorry to say, he would not be able to command in person as he had been ordered to the Carnatic but he commended Colonel Stevenson, the probable commander of the expedition, to the Commissioners' notice for his zeal, intelligence and ability, and he promised to submit a plan of operations before leaving Seringapatam.

On December 5th the general plan had been matured and was communicated by

Colonel Wellesley to the Commissioners. The force to be employed was —

19th Dragoons,

2nd Cavalry,

3rd do.

Five companies, 12th Foot,

The 77th Foot,

Two battalions, Coast sepoys,

Do. Bombay sepoys,

600 Pioneers,

with 14 guns with Bengal Coast and Bombay artillerymen in proportion, besides the guns with the two cavalry regiments and 4 small mortars with stores.

The plan of operations was as follows : — The military posts in Kottayam below the ghats were to be advanced as far as Peruvayyal 2 (Big paddy flat) as soon as the • pressure in Wynad had induced the Palassi (Pychy) Raja to withdraw his people from the low country. Communication via the Periah pass was then to be opened up with the Mysore army as soon as practicable.

The 19th Dragoons and 2nd Cavalry were to proceed via Coimbatore and Palghat to overawe the Mappillas in the south.

Colonel Wellesley then rejected a plan which had been proposed " by different Nayars 3 whose opinions have been taken " for a simultaneous attack from five points. And his reasons were that the five columns would really constitute five armies, the provisioning, &c., of which would lead to delays ; that the columns would not be able to act in concert with each other ; and that, even if troops could be spared from Calicut (which was doubtful), the columns would be weak, and the Raja, by bringing all his strength against one column, might destroy that

1 Had a suspicion of his fidelity been brought home to the mind of the " Iron Duke " one can picture what would have been his fate in that pregnant P.S. to the latter's despatch from Dammal— " P.S. —The killidar fell into our hands, and was hanged."

a Near Kappavam in Kottayam Taluk.

- *Query.— In the light of Pallor Eman Ntyar's subsequent conduct, it would bo*

interesting to know if it was his advice to which Colonel Wellesley here alludes.

before the other columns could help it, and there might be a chance of one-third of even of one-half of the army being cut off.

The plan which Colonel Wellesley therefore finally recommended Colonel Stevenson to adopt was : After planting a post at Karkankotta on the Mysore frontier on the north-east of Wynad, to push on with the rest of the troops via Eratorah (Editerrahcotta — east of Sultan's Battery) to the Tamarasseri pass with a view to —

Opening communication with Calicut.

Encouraging Yemen (Eman) Nayarand his friends, whose influence was greatest in the country to the south of the great road to Tamarasseri.

And impeding communication between the Raja and the Mappillas under Gurikkal in Ernad and his other friends in South Wynad and South Malabar.

After getting possession of this line and securing it by posts, two of which were to be at Eratorah (Editerrahcotta) near the Mysore frontier, and Lacry cotta (Lakkidikotta) at the head of the Tamarasseri pass, Colonel Stevenson was recommended to push forward to the Raja's Colgum (Kovilakam) " in as many divisions as he might think proper, taking care not to break up his force more than wras necessary, and not to send out detachments with baggage till well acquainted with the strength of the enemy.

Colonel Stevenson entered the district in January 1801, the rebels were easily dispersed, and by the month of May every post of any importance in Wynad was in the hands of the British.

Colonel Wellesley returned from his special duties in Ceylon on the 28th April, landed at Caunanore, and proceeded to Seringapatam whence, on May 10th, he once more addressed the Commissioners informing them of his appointment " to command the troops in 'Mysore. Malabar and Canara," and of Colonel Stevenson having been appointed to command in Malabar and Canara " under my directions."*

With every post both above and below the ghats held by British troops and the whole country disarmed,1 the Palassi (Pychy) Raja became a wanderer in the jungles, and there can be no doubt that even then if he had proposed to accept terms from the Government, he would have been accorded favorable conditions

because of his former services and of the cowl given to him by the Chief of the Tellicherry factory in 1790 ut he appears never to have hesitated in the course he ought to follow! hirst he fled in March along the ghats into Chirakkal, to " Neddyanji by way of Payanur " (? Payavur), and the Chulali Nambiar, being uspec et o air mg 11m, was arrested and sent under escort to Calicut Returning to his haunts in Kottayam, the detachments of troops drove

ˆnisTeA hC, "ar ? aild tWe ˆo the KurumbranJd ung'es, the Avmyat Nayar of Payyormala and the Kadattanad Raja both being suspected of aiding him. J

' Trebles, fe.t li. CCXXVII.

MALˆBirR DISTRICT.

In the end of J uly Colonel Stevenson reported that " the senior Peruvayyal Nambiar " had surrendered himself to his fate, and had been sent to Kannavam to be Banged along with two others at that place and two more at Iliacour (Irukkur) in Chirakkal, as an awful warning to the people. The rebellion at this time was " at a very low ebb," he stated, and the people were beginning to show some respect for the Government. If succour could he prevented from reaching the Raja from Kurumbranad and Kadattanad, his surrender might be looked for " as not very distant." IJis following at this time consisted of but six people and from twenty to twenty-five " musquet people." He had sent back two of his followers (Mappillas) * who gave these particulars.*

The time seemed to be opportune for granting terms to the peaceably disposed, and the Commissioners accordingly 1 proclaimed on 4th August 1801 "full and unequivocal pardon" and restoration to their property to all rebels who should submit and return to allegiance, excepting, however, the Raja himself, the Kannavatt Nambiar, Chattappan Nambiar, Edachenna Kungan, Chingot Chattu, Pulliyan Shanalu, and Punattil Nambiar, and the direst penalties to all who should disobey. A period of six weeks was named within which time this offer was to remain open for acceptance.

But this measure failed to bring about the end desired ; the. chief rebel, with a faithful few, still remained at large in spite of droops acting in concert both from above and below the ghats in hunting him up. But some of his principal adherents were captured, and in particular, on November 27th, 1801, Colonel Stevenson reported to Major Macleod, the Principal Collector, that a detachment under Lieutenant Edwards had succeeded in capturing the Kannavatt Nambiar, the primary instigator, as was alleged, of the rebellion, together with his son aged about twentyfour years. These rebels were forthwith marched from Kuttiyadi, where they had been caught, to Kannavam, " to be hanged on the Hill2 of Canute (Kannavam), which is near their late residence and the scene of their rebellious

oppositions to the Company's authority." Their estates were also declared to be forfeited.

The mention of the name of the Principal Collector makes it necessary to pause for an instant to desoribe yet another change which had taken place in the administration of the province. The Government of Lord Clive was not satisfied with the system of government established in Malabar under the auspices of the Bombay Presidency, as it had failed to establish the authority of Government on a respectable foundation. Writing to the Commissioners on 25th December 1800, the Government observed that while the military force, being insufficient to maintain the civil authority, had been one of the main

1 Treaties, ft., ii. CCXXIX.

- *In front of the Travellers' Bungalow at this place, on the opposite side of the main road.*

causes of the failure to establish a permanent system of government in Malabar, the Government also thought that the principles on which the civjl administrations were carried on were not' calculated to support a permanent government, and that every branch of the internal arrangements appeared to be overcharged with expensive and unnecessary establishments. The Government consequently called, through the Board of Revenue, for reports from the Commissioners and from the several Collectors regarding the principles and detailed system of the present administration of the revenue in Malabar. On receipt of these reports the Government resolved 1 on 5th Septemoer 1801 to abolish the Commission for the affairs of Malabar, and to subject the Province to the control and superintendence of one Principal Collector with three subordinate Collectors, for the administration of the revenues and of the civil government. Major William Macleod, then Collector of Salem, was selected for the post, aud Messrs. Strachey, Hodgson and Keate were appointed his subordinate Collectors in Malabar. To Major Macleod and his assistants the Government committed all power, both civil and criminal, and the military were further authorised to punish, " by summary process, crimes of every description." This state of things was to continue " until the military power of the Company shall have subjugated the refractory people of the Province."

The Commission was accordingly abolished on 30th September 1801, and the first of the Principal Collectors assumed charge on 1st October.

The capture and execution of the Kannavatt Nambiar and his son, which followed shortly on this change in the administration, must have been severely felt by the rebels, and a deceitful calm appears to have spread over the country below the

*ghats. * **

Taking advantage of it, Major Macleod, in January 1802, endeavoured 2 to complete the disarmament of the province by getting the people to bring in the " considerable quantities of arms " which it was believed they still kept either openly in their houses or concealed Death was the penalty threatened to all who opposed the carrying out

But he followed this up by other measures which led to disastrous results.

The first of these was in regard to the prevailing rates of exchange. On 31st August 1802 he issued a proclamation 3 fixing (on erroneous data as was afterwards proved) the exchange rates of the " twenty-three current coins now issued and received in the public treasury as

' Treat tee, ie., ii. CCXXX, followed shortly afterwords (17th October mm. n Commission for the affair, of Coin, wh.ch wHh i» de"ioLd!

cZxXxZccXXX,?)' lnm " 1,kCW"" to lhe 'W,''al Collector. , h.

- *Trtatiet, fc., ii. OCX XX VI.*

Tnatus, ii. CCXXXIV

MALABAR DI8TRICT.

they are now rated and exchanged in the province of Coimbatore." The effect of this may be stated shortly thus. The table so promulgated lowered the value of —

Gold fanams from . . . . 3 to 4:, per rupee.*

Silver do. do. . . .. 5 to 5} do.

or —

Gold fanams from . . . . 12 to 14** per star pagoda.*

Silver do. do. .. .. 17 to 19* do.*

The revenue at this time was accounted for in star pagodas, which coins were, however, not current in the province. The revenue was mainly collected in fanams, which were the commonest current coins in the province. In the bazaars, again, where agriculturists sold their produce, the rupee was the general standard of exchange. The rates so promulgated therefore " in fact 1 raised the revenue on every individual throughout the country 20 per cent, in gold fanams and 10 per cent, in silver, while for their commodities in the markets " (where the dealers had

naturally enough disregarded the proclamation) " they could only get the old rates of 3 gold and 5 silver fanams per rupee."*

This measure took effect from 15th September 1802, shortly after the commencement, that is, of the revenue year.

But Major Macleod's mistakes did not end here. For, coming fresh from the country east of the ghats, where the ryots had been accustomed for generations to be a down-trodden race, he seems to have mistaken altogether the character of the people with whom he had to deal. The tara organisation of the Nayars, albeit crushed by the Mysorean supremacy, was not altogether dead, and it only needed some acts of palpable injustice to rouse the whole community into violent opposition to the new race of rulers.

Major Macleod estimated the Government share of the produce of the rice-fields at as much as 35 to 40 per cent, of the gross produce. Mr. Rickards, who followed him in his office as Principal Collector, observed that 40 per cent, of the produce might possibly be collected without objection on particular spots, " but if the principles be indiscriminately applied to seed lands in Malabar, I am confident that agriculture would no longer be worth pursuing." Then, again, Major Macleod estimated the average produce in nuts so high as —

Per coconut tree . . . . . 48 nuts,

,, areca nut do. . . . . 200 do.

whereas Special Commissioner Mr. Graeme, who drew up the scheme on whioh the existing tree assessment is based, accepted as his averages : — Per coconut tree . . . . . 24 f nuts,*

,, areca nut do. .. .. .. •• 150|J do.

Starting with these very grave initial errors, Major Macleod endeavoured, by means of the ordinary Parbutty (Prarritti = amsam officer)

1 Principal Collector Rickard to Board of Revenue, 27th April 1803, paragraph 28.*

THE BRITISH SUPREMACY.

establishment, to make a fresh revenue survey of the province in the short space of forty days. The time allowed for the purpose was ludicrously insufficient ; the establishments employed were underpaid and notoriously corrupt when such a chance was placed within their reach. The natural results followed as a matter of course. The accounts were fabricated, actual produce was over-assessed, produce

was assessed that did not exist, and assessments were imposed on the wrong men.

A rigid exaction of the revenue under these inequalities constituted therefore one grand source of complaint. And when to this was added that the ryots, when they paid into the treasuries their full assessments in fanams , were told to their astonishment that, owing to the new rates of exchange, they had not paid enough, the prevalent dissatisfaction very rapidly took shape in organised resistance to the exorbitant demands of Government.

*In the early part of 1803 the province rose en masse. To allay the storm which he had roused, and which he felt himself powerless to quell, Major Macleod, after an ineffectual attempt to quiet by a proclamation the people of the south, on the 11th of March 1803 summarily resigned his charge into the hands of Mr. Pickards, the Principal Judge of the Court of Fouzdari Adalat, which had been organised 1 at Make for the trial of criminal cases in the low-country portions of the province, and Mr. Rickards very wisely, pending the orders * of the Government, issued a proclamation 3 which had some effect in quieting the rising .storm. He declared his intention to adhere to the demand as fixed by the previously existing revenue survey, and to accept in payment of the demand all the current coins at the previously existing exchange rates.*

The dissatisfaction, however, had been gathering head for some months previously, and in spite of the hold which the large body of troops quartered throughout the country had upon it, the insurrection already smouldering very speedily spread.

The first overt act occurred at Panamaram (otherwise called Pana-marattakkotta, or Pauamurtha Cotta, or still shorter Panorta Cota, literally the " palmyra tree fort ") in Wynad. Some five days previous to 11th October 1802 one of the proscribed rebel leaders, Edachenna Kungan, chanced to be present at the house of a Kurchiyan, when a belted peon came up and demanded some paddy from the Kurchiyan Edachenna Kungan replied by killing the peon, and the Kurchiyars (a jungle tribe) in that neighbourhood, considering themselves thua compromised with the authorities, joined Edachenna Kungan under the leadership of one Talakal Chandu. This band, numbering about

1 Treaties, $c., ii. CCXXXVIII.

a The orders of Government confirmed Mr. Rickards' action in taking charge of the

Z™MnZ7m3).the ^ °' 'he procbmati011 WHW-

- *Trtat,e$, #c., ii. CCXL.*

150, joined by Edachenna Kungan and his two brothers, then laid their plans for

attacking the military post at Panamaram, held by a detachment of 70 men of the 1st battalion of the 4th Bombay Infantry under Captain Dickenson and Lieutenant Maxwell. " They first 1 seized the sentry's musket and killed him with arrows. Captain Dickenson killed and wounded with his pistols, bayonet, and sword, 1 5 of the Kurchiyars, 5 of whom are dead and 10 wounded." The whole of the detachment was massacred, and the rebels obtained 112 muskets, 6 boxes of ammunition, and Rs. 6,000. All the buildings at the post were destroyed.

The head-quarters and about 360 men of the battalion which had suffered this loss were at the time in cantonment at another fortified place called Poolinjall, a few miles to the west of Panamaram, on the lower slopes of the Balasur mountain peak. But Major Drummond, in command, made no effort to retrieve the disaster ; in fact, as Colonel Wellesley scornfully wrote of him on 3rd November, he remained a kyde 2 in his own fort until released by a reinforcement of 500 3 men which was despatched to the affected district.

This supineness of the military on the spot had its natural effect in rousing the country. And Edachenna Kungan, the hero of the exploit, caused orders to be issued from Pulpalli pagoda calling the inhabitants to arms. About 3,000 men 4 assembled, of whom 500 immediately separated and the rest took post at Valliir Kava, the well known Fish Pagoda close to Manantoddy, at " Motimjarra " on the Karkankotta road, and at " Eddapaddy." One of Edachenna Kungan's brothers with 100 men stationed themselves at the " Pynoh " (? Periah) pass and parts adjacent. The Kottiyur pass "(Smugglers' pass) was blocked with trees and 25 men were set to guard it. And various other posts were occupied, extending from Dindimal to the Fish Pagoda. Some of the rebels were armed with matchlocks and muskets, and the rest with bows and arrows, Nay ar knives and swords. The southern portion of the taluk had not up to the beginning of November joined the rebels, but the Kuppatode Nayar and two others had done so.

Edachenna Kungan had stationed himself on the route from Mysoie to Manantoddy vid Karkankotta, aud of the detachments which tv ere hurried up both from the coast and from Mysore, that 5 coming via Karkankotta experienced the greatest opposition. It was on October 27th met " at Sungaloo on the Bhawully Nullah " by a body of Nayars in a stockaded position which was passed on both flanks. But from

1 Account received about three weeks later from two spies sent to ascertain the facts.

2 Keidi (Mai.) = Qaidi'(Arab.) = prisoner.

- *300 sepoys from Calicut, 200 Watson s police.*
- *Colonel (now Major-General) Wellesley, in a letter of 27th December 1802,*

puts the number at 5,000, but the number given in the text is in accordance with local information

obtained at the time.

e First battalion 8th Regiment M.N.I., a party of pioneers, and 200 Mysore horse under Captain Gurnell.—t Wilson's Hitt. Madras Army , Vol. Ill, pp. 5o, 56.)

there all the way to Manantoddy through a thickly wooded country, it experienced opposition next day with, however, trifling loss.1 The regiment kept open the communication between the Bhawully river and Manantoddy, but the enemy still hung about the neighbourhoodˆ and about 12th November one of its detachments had a smart skirmish with the enemy, resulting in 9 killed and 18 wounded, at a swamp between these two places. The enemy held an impassable nullah on the road, but a reinforcement arriving from Sungaloo in time, taking the rebel position in rear, discomfited the enemy, of whom many were put to death in the road. The troops on this occasion wete considered by Colonel Wellesley to have " behaved remarkably well."

Besides the already mentioned reinforcement sent to Major Drummond, other troops were despatched by Colonel Bells from the cantonment at Kuttuparamba to strengthen Manantoddy, Periah, and Lakkidikotta, and Colonel Lawrence ascended the ghats with his battalion and pushed on to Mauan toddy. Major Howden, with five companies of sepoys and one of Europeans, likewise marched up the Kuttiyadi pass to act in concert with Colonel Lawrence.

The troops now marched about the country, but could nowhere find the enemy, and on November 5th Colonel Wellesley wrote to Major Macleod that he himself should ascend the ghats to help the troops and persuade the people to settle down, and on the following day the Government sent him specific orders to the same effect.

Meanwhile the rush of troops into Wynad produced outward tranquillity there, hut the growing discontent with Major Macleod's administration was beginning by December 1802 to make itself felt in the low country. On the 6th of that month the quondam friend and adviser of Colonel Wellesley — Pallur Eman Na.yar — finally threw off his disguise and openly joined the party in rebellion, and on the 10th

of the month news was reported from Manattana that a baggage and provision escort had been attacked between Kottiyur and the foot of the Smugglers' pass — in the low country, that is to say. On December 16th Major Macleod reported from Manantoddy that the number of troops employed was insufficient, that the

people would not return to their homes, and it may be noticed in passing that only a day or two previously it had been reported to him that the people of the low country would give no information of the rebel movements. Finally, on 7th January 1803, the rebels had openly taken the field in Kurumbranad, and the people of Payyormala were openly sympathising with them.

In the next two months Major Macleod's ill-advised innovations had set the whole of the province in a ferment, and his summary resignation of his office in favor of Mr. Rickards, already described, did no more than partially remedy it.

1 5 Mysore cavalry killed and 17 horses wounded. The cavalry was found to be of no use in such a jungly country, and was sent back.— {Ibid.)

In April Edaclienna Kungan— " that determined ana incorrigible rebel " — came down from Wynad to assist the Kottayam marauders in an attack on the Palassi post, but they were " discomfited with considerable loss." In June the rebellion had extended to Chirakkal, and the armed bands were becoming so bold that they burnt a house within two miles of the Kuttuparamba cantonment. In August the rebel emissaries were in Randattara. In September they were strong enough to risk an engagement between Katirur and Aujarakandi in Kottayam. In November the Chirakkal detachments having been withdrawn to help those in Kottayam, the rebels next -Concentrated in Chirakkal. On December 7th parties of the rebels were busy committing depredations at Cannanore, Makreri, Anjarakandi (Mr. Brown's spice gardens), and at Kodoli, and on December 20th some of them came even as far as Darmapattanam Island close to Tellicherry, and did much damage to the property of the peaceably inclined inhabitants.

After this time matters began slowly to improve, for Mr. Rickards, by timely concessions 1 to the influential people of South Malabar in the matter of a fair 'settlement of the revenue, had in March, and again on 29th June 1803, prevented to a great extent the insurrectionary movement from spreading to South Malabar. And the inhabitants of Randattara had likewise in April been quieted by the judicious selection of Mr. Murdoch Brown, of the Anjarakandi spice plantation, to conduct a fresh and moderate revenue 2 settlement of that district. The rebels knew that if the people were made contented their cause was lost, and hence the repeated outrages to which this latter district was subjected in the latter part of the year.

But the daring exploits of the rebels in venturing close up to, and committing outrages in the immediate vicinity of, the European settlements on the coast necessitated the withdrawal of troops from the inland parts. Although, therefore, the force 3 stationed in the province was large, Colonel Montresor, the officer in command, had to apply in December 1803 for a reinforcement of 5,000 men. The Madras Government was unable to comply with this requisition.

An important change was, however, shortly afterwards made. Service in Malabar, and more especially in the fever-stricken district of W ynad, was very unpopular with the Bombay troops, who were far from their homes and families, and provision for their regular periodical relief, owing to the distance, was also very difficult. Hence the battalions became 4 weak and inefficient, and Major-General Wellesley, writing on February 14th, 1804, considered that their relief was "absolutely necessary, both to preserve the peace in Malabar, and to secure the existence

i Treaties , fe.t ii. CCXL, CCXLII, COXLIII, and see Appendix XIV.

- *Treaties, $c., ii. CCXLI. _*

s In May 1803 — 8,147 men, including 3 European regiments. In October 1804 5,81»

men, including 2 European regiments. — (Wilson' s Hist. Madras Army, Vol. Ill, p. 146.)

« Wilson's Hist. Madras Army, Vol. Ill, p. 147.

of the Bombay army as a respectable body." In the course of 1804 Madras troops were therefore gradually sent to relieve them, and by the end of that year " a respectable 1 body of Madras troops was assembled in Malabar under Lieutenant-Colonel A. Macleod."

Moreover, in addition to the regular troops, Captain Watson had by this time thoroughly organised his famous " Kolkars " or police, a body of 1,200 men, who rendered most conspicuous services in dealing with the small parties of rebels who infested the low country and laid waste the property of all peaceably disposed persons.

Mr. Thomas Warden had in the early part of 1804 become Principal Collector in succession to Mr. Rickards, and Mr. Warden's Sub-Collector in charge of North Malabar was Mr. Thomas Harvey Baber, an officer of exceptional energy, to whose personal efforts the final suppression of the rebellion was largely due.

In February 1804 Mr. Baber was busily engaged with the Kolkars in suppressing an extensive rising in the eastern and jungly portion of Chirakkal under the Kalliyad Nambiar and the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's followers. He found that the Mappillas of Irukkur, Kallayi and Venkat were supplying the rebels with ammunition in exchange for pepper. The rebels were dispersed by the Kolkars , supported by the regular troops under Colonel Montresor.

On April 5th Mr. Baber reported that he had begun a new policy, namely, to hold the people residing in any locality responsible, whenever possible, for giving information about, and for withholding succours from, the rebels. And the good effects of this had been proved by sundry rebels having been taken or killed by the people, who had also given up a lot of arms. By June 20th Mr. Baber had succeeded by his personal efforts in dissolving the rebel confederation in Chirakkal ; he restored confidence in the most rebellious tracts, and undermined the influence of the rebel leaders by representing them in the worst light as the enemies of society. He further effected a more complete disarmament of the tract and collected 2,7.15 muskets, 543 Nayar knives, and 1,862 swords besides other articles.

The effect of this energetic action was to circumscribe the disturbed area, and to enable the troops to hold it more in subjection.

Following up the line of policy already adopted in Chirakkal, he next turned his attention to Kottayam, in which, on July 8th, he issued

1 Ibid. — The force consisted of — •

A detachment of artillery.

First

battalion

7th Regiment.

Second

do.

6th

do.

First

do.

12th

do.

do.

13th

do.

If

do.

14th

do.

*» **

do.

17th

do.

ft

do.

Pioneers, besides His Majesty's 80th Foot, and the

Second

do.

1st Regiment.

a proclamation ' prohibiting the sale in the bazaars to strangers, without formal sanction, of more than one silver fanam's worth (about 3 annas 2 pies) of rice and of other articles in proportion. The carrying of articles by any other than the public roads was forbidden to every one " on pain of being apprehended and punished as rebels. "

. The effect of thk > coupled .with the vigilance of the Kolkars, was to drive the rebels from the low country into the woods and fastnesses of Wynad, and on 30th January 1804 Colonel Macleod, in command of a portion1 2 of the Madras force recently imported into the province, proceeded in company with the Principal Collector, Mr. Warden, into Wynad, publishing at the same time, a proclamation offering — to all but four rebels— a free pardon to all who returned to their homes and peaceably settled down. The troops marched by way of the Kottiyur (Smugglers') pass to Panamaram, where and also at " Vellaud," " Koi-laddy," and

" Kunyote," fortified posts were constructed. The troops marched into every part of the district and dispersed the rebels, who were put to^the greatest straits for the necessary means to prosecute the war. By the end of April all appearance of opposition had died away, and onMay 24th Colonel Macleod issued a further proclamation 3 warning those who had previously accepted 4 the terms offered that they would he treated as rebels if they failed (of which there was already some indication) to give information of rebel movements, and if they furnished the rebel parties with arms, ammunition, or provisions. This was, in effect, introducing into Wynad the policy which Mir. Baber had already, with such excellent results, employed in quieting the low country.

Mr. Warden returned to Calicut and Colonel Macleod to Cannanore in May for the rains, leaving 2,152 5 non-commissioned rank and file and Captain Watson with 800 of his Kolkars in the district, all under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Innes of the 2nd battalion 1st Regiment.

In addition to these measures, Colonel Macleod finally on 16th June issued a further proclamation 6 offering rewards for the apprehension of twelve persons whose " estates and property " were further u confiscated from this date." The following is a list of the proscribed rebels and of the rewards offered for their seizure : —

1 Treaties, $c., ii. CCL.

- *His Majesty's 80th Foot, 2nd battalion 1st Regiment, 1st battalion 13th Regiment, flank companies of 1st battalion 14th Regiment and a party of Pioneere. — (Wilson's History Madras Army, Vol. Ill, p. 147, foot-note.)*

3 Treaties, $c., ii. CCLIV.

4 The bulk of the inhabitants had accepted the terms.

5 Distributed amongst eleven posts as follows : 2nd battalion 1 st Regiment, 1,000, Panamaram, Koiladdy and Kunyote; 1 st battalion Regiment, 844, Vellaud, Attwaye, Conincherry, Darraloor ; battalion 12 th Regiment, 308, Matelette, Pullingal, Manan-toddy, Lackery ; and a havildar's guard (to be relieved every third day from Manantoddy) at Sungaloo on the Mysore frontier. — (Wilson's History Madrap Army, Vol. Ill, p. 148, foot-note.)

4 Treaties, $e., ii. CCLV.

Pagodas.

1. *KSrala Varma, Palassi (Pychy) Raja*
2. *Vlra Varma Raja of the same family • .*
3. *Ravi Varrna Raja of the same family*
4. *Pallur Email (Colonel Wellesley's friend)*
5. *Pallur Rayrappan (No. 4's elder brother)*
6. *Edachenna Kungan (the hero of the Panamaram massacre) . .*
1. *Edachenna Otenan . .*
2. *Edachenna Komappan .*
3. *Edachenna Ammu*
4. *Karverryallay Kannan . . . •*

1 1. Yogimulla Machan . . . . • • • •

1. *Itty Combetta Kelappan Nambiar .*

3,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

1,000

Directly the Principal Collector and Colonel Macleod quitted Wynad, the rebels, who had held a conference as to their plan of operations, attacked but were beaten off, not, however, without considerable loss,1 from the post of " Churikunjee," as it is called in the records. The attack was made by Kurumbars, described as a desperate race of men, who were just beginning to waver in their attachment to the Palassi (Pychy) Raja, and whom the rebel leaders wished by some outrage to commit entirely to the Raja's side.

On June 11th Air. Baber reported (with much satisfaction at the good results of his policy) the arrest of three rebel leaders and eight of their followers, by the Kolkars and people of Chirakkal acting in concert. This was followed up very shortly by other similar arrests. And the Palassi (Pychy) Raja himself narrowly escaped on 6th September from falling into the hands of a party of Kolkars despatched from below the ghats by Mr. Warden on receiving authentic information of the Raja having encamped in a pass leading from South Wynad into South Malabar. The Kolkars marched all night through the ghats amid rain and leeches, and at 7 a.m. completely surprised the rebel party. They had got within sixty yards of the thatched shed where the Raja was when a Kurumban on guard discovered them, discharged his arrow and gave the alarm. The Raja and others hurried out of the shed and received the fire of the detachment, by which, owing to the quantity of blood afterwards found, it was believed that Pallur Rayrappan had been mortally 2 wounded. The Kolkars had a hollow and a difficult piece of jungle to pass through before reaching the shed, and the delay in passing these obstacles favored the escape of the rebels. Moreover, another detachment of Kolkars , ordered to co-operate with them from the Wynad side, received their orders some hours too late, and were not in the position allotted to them for intercepting the fugitives. Two of the Raja's attendants were taken; and 13 good muskets, 4 swords, and

1 1 subbadar and 7 sepoys killed, 17 sopovs wounded.

- *This was afterwards found to be a mistake.*

a 'iTge i? ˚f aPParelb®sides about 500 pagodas worth of*

gold and silver valuables, were captured by the Kolkar party.

mUˆlt6ublefTtlier" and "Want ˚f coyer"had played havoc with the health of the troops and Kolkars stationed in Wynad during

the monsoon. Lack of provisions and medical aid had also something to do with it. Out of 1,300 Kolkars who had been in Wynad only five weeks before, only 170 were on the roll for duty on October 18th,— so reported Sub-Collector Pearson, in charge of Wynad, to Mr. Warden on that date. The rebels were consequently again assembling at the Pulpalli temple, and a considerable number of Kurchiyars and Kurum-bars, headed by the Raja and Edachenna Kungan, were assembled in the country stretching from Kurchiat by Pakam to Pulpalli. Mr. Pearson was incapacitated by a fifth attack of fever, and Mr. Baber was consequently asked to exchange duties with him for the present or until further orders.

On November 1st Mr. Baber reported having taken charge of Wynad. He had really joined some days previously, but he had been busy in the interval counteracting a movement of the rebel leaders and their Kurchiyar followers to get

the country people, who had made their submission, again embroiled. They had required them " to again rise and follow up the injunctions contained in the Ni yog yam or address from the Murikanmar or tutelar deities of Wynad." The troops and Kolkars had been constantly on the move in consequence, and two encounters had taken place, with a few casualties on both sides. But an important event had happened, for the " notorious Talakal Chandu," who, under Edachenna Kungan, had led the attack on the Panamaram post on 11th October 1802, was taken prisoner in one of these affairs.

His musket had missed fire, and he was seized, but not before he had with his knife wounded one of the cutcherry people.

The next and most important event of all which virtually terminated the rebellion in Wynad on 30th November 1805, must be told in Mr. Baber's own words : —

" To the Chief Secretary to Government,

" Fort St. George.

" Sir, — It is with infinite satisfaction that I report to you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, that this forenoon, after having been out 15 hours, I had the good fortune to come up with the Cotiote Rerula Warma Rajah, alias the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah, and with the assistance of Captain Clapham and 50 sepoys1 and 100 Kolkars , to chastise this rebel chieftain, by destroying him and five of his followers, one of whom was the notorious and proscribed rebel leader of Cotiote (Kottayam), Aralet Cooty Narabiar.

" A separate party of Kolkars , whom I despatched with the Sheristadar for the purpose of co-operating with me and intercepting any

1 Of the 1st battalion of the 4th Regiment.

fugitives, were also successful in having captured three elephants, the property of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah.

" I trust that this notification of an event of such importance to the future prosperity of Malabar and Wynad, will not be the less acceptable to Government because not conveyed through the prescribed channel of communication.

" (Signed) T. H. Barer,

" Camp at Pulpelly," Sub-Collector , Northern Dim., Malabar.

" 30 th November 1805."

“ To the Principal Collector ,

“ Malabar Province.

“ Sir, — A severe sickness has till now prevented me from making to you my official report of the fall of the Rebel Chieftain Cotiote Kerula Werma Rajah alias the Pyche Rajah (Palassi Raja). 1 have now the honour of doing this, as well as of detailing some few circumstances, to enable you to judge by what meaus so fortunate and important an event has been accomplished.

“ My letter to you of the 1st November last, though written at the commencement of my career in Wynad, would have raised your hopes to expect further success. The seizure of Tallakal Chundoo (Talakal Cliandu), though a Courchan (Kurchiyan), was an event which excited the greatest consternation amongst those in rebellion, for such was the consequence of this person that Yadachana Coongan (Edachenna Kungan) is said to have declared (figuratively) that he had lost his right arm. Your injunctions on this occasion were received, and accordingly in the course of a few days the orders were out for a general movement and alteration in the disposition of our military force in Wynad. Having obtained this so essential point, I deemed it advisable during the interval that must unavoidably elapse before those arrangements could be carried into effect, to make a tour of the district, that I might be the better enabled to form some certain judgment of the real disposition of the community, and how far I could rely upon them for that co-operation which as liege subjects it was their duty to have afforded me. Throughout the northern and western parts of the district I found the sentiment in our favour, at the same time a considerable disinclination to afford the smallest information of the Pycho (Palassi) Rajah or his partisans. This I attribute to that dread which the numerous examples of assassination by the rebels of those who had come forward could not fail of inspiring, which, notwithstanding all our efforts to oppose, they constantly kept alive by small and numerous roving partisans, who had spread themselves all over the country. In many, however, I evidently saw a strong inclination to favour the rebel leaders, in particular Yadachan Coongan (Edachenna Kungan), who witli his rebel relations wisely had taken the opportunity, while the Wynad was in exclusive possession of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah, to

connect themselves with principal families in Wynad, who thereby became interested for them, hut in all classes I observed a decided interest for the Fyche (Palassi) Rajah, towards whom the inhabitants entertained a regard and respect bordering on veneration, which not even his death can efface.

“ The conduct to be observed towards the most doubtful of these characters it was not difficult to determine on. Something decisive was absolutely necessary ; there was no security while they were living on their estates, and I found no other

alternative left me than that of sending out of the district such of those against whom my suspicions were strongest, a determination which, while it was calculated to cut off the rebels from deriving any further support from such able allies, also would have the effect of warning others against imitating their example.

" Having fully conveyed to the inhabitants of the northern and western divisions a full idea of the line of conduct I intended to adopt towards them, I proceeded to fill up all the vacant revenue appointments in order to give due effect to my measures. Written instructions were drawn out for the conduct of these native servants, throughout which I enjoined the most conciliatory conduct, and having concluded my arrangements I proceeded to the Southern Hobelies of Parakameetil (Parakkumltal = South-East Wynad).

" In this division of the country affairs wore a different aspect. Here was no security to be placed in the inhabitants, the most wealthy and numerous of whom were the Chetties and Goundas, — a vile servile race of mortals, who are strangers to every honest sentiment, and whom nothing but one uniform system of severity ever will prevent from the commission of every species of deceit and treachery. Although the whole of these had presented themselves at the cuteherry, they had done so from no other impulse than a dread of the consequences of absenting themselves, neither did they thereby throw off their connections with the rebels, for it is notorious that the whole rebel confederacy, with the exception of Coongan's (Kungan) party, were in Parakametal (Parakkumltal) and were being supported and secreted by these very Chetties, after they had received cowle. I am fully persuaded also from what transpired in the course of my investigation, that the majority of these Chetties did not present themselves to the cuteherry until they had previously obtained the permission of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah and Palora Jamen (Pallur Eman), a conduct that will be easily accounted for when it is recollected that the Rajah s whole reliance for subsistence and information rested in these people. The Soodra (Sudra) or Nair (Nayar) part of the community were more to be depended upon ; there was an honest frankness about them which you could not but admire, and which is a surety that in proportion to our increasing influence, these people will prove themselves worthy of the confidence of Government. The Kooramars (Kururabar), a

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numerous race of bow-men, by far the most rude of all the Wynadians, had to a man deserted their habitations and estates and betaken themselves to the strongest parts of the country, where they had removed their families and were dragging on a miserable existence, labouring under the dreadful impression that it was the intention of our Government to extirpate their whole race. As these people were exclusively under the influence of Palora Jamen (Pallor Eman), it is not difficult to explain whence this unfortunate notion originated ; it is only those who have

had a personal opportunity of knowing the extensive abilities and artifices of this man who can justly calculate upon the mischief and dire consequence that must ensue where such qualifications are employed against us. This was unfortunately instanced in the Ivoora-mars (Kurumbar), who, from the time of Palora Jamen s (1 allur Eman s) defection, had become in a manner desperate ; they had been the foremost amongst the rebel ranks, and there is no crime, no species of cruelty and outrage, which they have not committed.

" After this unfavourable description of the southern inhabitants of Wynad, you will judge what were the difficulties to be overcome. I saw that the utmost firmness and vigilance was requisite, at the same time that I deemed the most open and public disclosure of my purposes was more likely to keep in awe those who were wearing the appearance of fidelity as well as to counteract the designs of our open enemies. To the Chetties in particular I explained that there were no means I would leave untried to discover their real sentiments, and warned them against giving me the smallest shadow to suspect they were continuing in the rebel interest. For this purpose I employed emissaries in a variety of characters. I made frequent marches by day and night to the most unfrequented parts of the country, and by degrees obtained such a knowledge of the inhabitants that, fearful lest their shallow artifices would sooner or later be known, they began evidently to alter their conduct and in some instances they came forward with information. The rebels saw this change that was being effected, and suspecting a continuance in Parakameetil (Parakkumital) would expose them to danger, they by degrees emigrated 1 towards the eastern extremities of Wynad, and one march I made after the Rajah while residing at Coorcheat (Kurchiyat), and which would have succeeded but for the treachery of my guide, a Chetty, drove them entirely out of the southern division.

" As the great engine of success against an enemy is depriving him of his means of subsistence, my thoughts were naturally directed to this point. As I before said, the Chetties were the media through whom these were principally drawn ; these people, to further these their

1 The Principal Collector was also, as already related, in receipt of authentic intelligence from below the ghats, and the narrow escape the Palassi Raja then had must also have acted as inducement to move eastward. Pearson before Baber's arrival also reported the PaJLaBsi Raja as being about Pulpally.

views, had removed their families into Mysore in the villages of Poonat, Pootoor, Kakanahetta, &c, whither they had free egress and regress • and from whence it was no difficult matter to draw such supplies as Wynad could not provide. They had established an intercourse by these means with the Mysoreans, whom they

*supplied with ghee and grains of different sorts, and in return * received coconuts, oil, salt and other articles neoessary for subsistence; in removing their families from they had a variety of objects, one of which was to secure them against any of those consequences which they naturally apprehended from their own dishonest and perfidious pursuits ; another was a safe asylum in the event of discovery. The rebels had now confined themselves to the Wynad Hobali and had entire possession of the eastern frontier, by which they were enabled to profit by this understanding between the Mysoreans and Wynad Chetties free of any molestation whatever. After this statement it will not be extraordinary that X should have pursued the most effectual means to cut off the destructive commerce. I wrote therefore to the Resident at Mysore fully on the Subject, and requested his co-operation to that extent as should to him appear judicious and expedient ; the result of this application was a perfect compliance with my wishes : all the inhabitants of Wynad then in Mysore were ordered to be seized and proclamation made prohibiting, under severe penalties, the passage of any articles whatever without a passport from the officers of the Honorable Company or of Mysore. Maior Wilkes went further, so earnest was he in forwarding the public service, that he offered to meet me on the frontier should I deem a personal conference as promising still further advantages.*

" From this time the rebels began to experience the miseries of want, and their supporters, the Chetties, to be sensible that a perseverance in their conduct would only entail disgrace and ruin upon themselves and families. Still I found that they paid deaf ear to all our promises of protection and thundering declarations against the rebels, all of which the inhabitants considered, and with great reason, as so many vauntings, for with all our means our forces, our resources, our reiterated offers of reward, we had not succeeded in apprehending any one rebel of consequence. It became therefore an object of the first importance to direct our views to this one subject, and which, now the rebels were confined to one part of the country, was become the more necessary, since matters were brought into that train as to afford every reasonable hope of success.

"As the rebels had entirely fled into the Wynad Hobali, I deemed it necessary to go in quest of them without loss of time : having therefore made my arrangements at Ganapady Watton (Ganapativattam — Sultan's Battery), 1 proceeded to Panarote Cotta (Panamaratta Kotta) and there solicited of Colonel Hill a detachment lightly equipped to accompany me. A detachment of 200 men was in consequence held in readiness, and on the (blank) Lieutenant-Colonel Hill with 3 officers,

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accompanied by myself and 200 of the police, marcued to Pulpally (Pulpalli). Nothing material happened on the road;' not a single inhabitant was to be seen, although many of them had presented themselves some months previous to the

officer of Government. But it was not to be surprised at ; they were principally Chetties, conscious of the double part they were acting ; they had fled to the mountains, and many of them with their families were followers of the Rajah and his leaders. A few movements of our troops soon brought the inhabitants to a sense of their own interest ; they bad been driven from mountain to mountain, their jungly huts were destroyed, their families were reduced to the greatest distress. They had seen with surprise that no injury was offered to their habitations or cultivations and they began now to onnceive the idea that we were as ready to protect as we were powerful to punish them. I soon learned this their situation, and as they had been so situated as not to derive the smallest support from our Government, I conceived they merited our most favourable consideration as it was possible they might have been compelled to have espoused the rebel interest. I therefore sent them invitations to come in, by which I hoped not only to induce them to throw off all their connections with the rebels and become good subjects, but to obtain from them that information which I knew they must possess of the rebel retreats. The invitations were accepted, and in the course of a few days most of the inhabitants within several miles of Pulpally (Pulpalli) had made their submission to me.

" From the time of my arrival at Pulpally (Pulpalli) scarcely a day passed without some movement of either sepoys or Kolkars , and the natural result was frequent skirmishes with parties of the rebels, in all of which we invariably obtained a superiority, having shot dr taken several prisoners.

" Having said thus much of the plan of operations that had been adopted, 1 now come to those which terminated the career of the Pyche (Palassi) Chieftain.

" 1 before said that one of my objects by getting in the inhabitants of Pulpally (Pulpalli) was to obtain accurate information of the rebels. This I did not think prudent to commence upon too early lest they should take the alarm. I preferred trying all my persuasive means to gain their confidence and to wean them from these their connections. For this purpose I had them constantly before me and took every opportunity of representing the folly of countenancing a body of men so truly contemptible, and who had no other end than to involve them in oue common ruin. I pointed to them in the strongest colours the power and lenity of the British Government, and at last, what with exhoitations and occasional presents, had succeeded in inducing several of these, who had been of most essential service to the Rajah's party, to send their Paniars (Paniyar = agricultural labourers) out in quest of information. I took the precaution of swearing all whom I employed

to seorecy. With many agents I could not fail of success in some one of them. On the 30th ultimo three of them at last brought me intelligence of the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah and all the rebel leaders, with the exception of Palora Jamen (Pallur Eman) being then in the opposite side of the Kangura river, a short distance in Mysore,

and this so unequivocally that 1 determined to act upon it. I accordingly requested of LieutenantColonel Hill to assist me with 50 sepoys and an officer, with which force and about 100 Kolkars, half Captain Watson's police, half my own locals, I marched at nine o'clock at night, and such was the secrecy in which we set off that our guides even did not know my intention until the moment we took our departure. Previous to this I had deemed it expedient to make a feint to divert the attention of the rebels (who I thought it probable might have their spies in camp) by detaching < 0 of my Kolkars, under the Sheristadar, under the pretext of going in pursuit of Palora Jamen (Pallur fJman), who was reported to be in the Ixomanpany Mala in the south-eastern direction, while they had secret instructions after marching half-way to this mountain to strike off eastward to the Kallir mountain and there lay in ambush near to paths to cut off the retreat of any fugitives who would, in most probability, go off in that direction in the event of our party coming up with the rebels.

" Such was the nature of the country that, although we kept marching the whole night, we did not reach the Kangara river until seven the following morning. Here we divided ourselves into two parties, and proceeding along'the banks, observed a vast number of huts, all of them hearing every appearance of recent habitation : we continued marching until nine o'clock, when the detachment being fatigued, a halt was proposed. We accordingly halted, and having taken some refreshment, we again started, with the determination of tracing every jungly path — so fully persuaded was I, as well from the earnestness of our guides as the consideration that this was a part of Mysore that our troops had at no time penetrated or perhaps even thought of doing, that the rebels must be concealed in some parfof these jungles. After proceeding about a mile and a half through very high grass and thick teak forests into the Mysore country, Charen (Cheran) Subedar of Captain Watson's armed police, who was leading the advanced party, suddenly halted, and beckoning to me, told me he heard voices. I immediately ran to the spot, and having advanced a few steps, I saw distinctly to the left about ten persons, unsuspecting of danger, on the banks of the Mavila Toda, or nulla to our left. Although Captain Clapham and the sepoys, as well as the greater part of the Kolkars , were in the rear, I still deemed it prudent to proceed, apprehensive lest we should be discovered and all hopes of surprise thereby frustrated. I accordingly ordered the advance, which consisted of about thirty men, to dash on, which they accordingly did with great gallantry, with Charen (Cheran) Subedar at their head. In a moment the advance was in the midst.

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of the enemy, fighting most bravely. The contest was but of short duration. Several of the rebels had fallen, whom the Kolkars were despatching, and a running fight was kept up after the rest till we could see no more of them. Just at this time a firing was heard to the right ; we accordingly returned, when we saw the sepoys

and Kolkars engaged with a fresh body of rebels, who proved to be Coongan's (Kungan's) party, but who fled after a few shots had been fired at them, and, though pursued, were seen nothing more of. From one of the rebels of the first party to the left, whom I discovered concealed in the grass, I learnt that the Pyche (Palassi) Rajah was amongst those whom we first observed on the banks of the nulla, and it was only on my return from the pursuit that I learnt that the Rajah was amongst the first who had fallen. It fell to the lot of one of my cut cherry servants, Canara Henon, to arrest) the flight of the Rajah, which he did at the hazard of his life (the Rajah having put his musket to his breast), and it is worthy of mention that this extraordinary personage, though in the moment of death, called out in the most dignified and commanding manner to the Menon, ' not to approach and defile his person.' Aralat Cootty Nambiar, the only one remaining of those rebels proscribed by Colonel Stevenson, and a most faithful adherent of the Rajah, made a most desperate resistance, but at last fell overpowered by the superior skill of one of the Parbutties (Pravritti) in Wynad ; four other followers of the Rajah were also killed, two taken prisoners together with the Rajah's Lady and several female attendants. There was no other property discovered, but a gold Cuttarum (Katharam or Kattaram dagger) or knife and a waist-chain — the former I have now in my possession, the latter I presented to Captain Clapham. And from the accounts of the Rajah's Lady, they had been reduced to the greatest distresses, in particular for the last ten days. The Rajah's body was taken up and put into my palanquin, while the lady, who was dreadfully reduced from sickness, was put into Captain Clapham's. Finding any further pursuit of the rebels useless, we made a disposition of our forces and returned to Chomady, which we reached about six in the afternoon without having met with any further occurrences on the road. The following day the Rajah's body was despatched under a strong escort to Manantoddy, and the Shenstadar sent with it with orders to assemble all the Brahmins and to see that the customary honours were performed at his funeral. I was induced to this conduct from the consideration that, although a rebel, he was one of the natural chieftains of the country, and might be considered on that account rather as a fallen enemy. If I have acted un j udiciously, I hope some allowances will be made for my feelings on such an occasion.

" Thus terminated the career of a man who has been enabled to persevere in hostilities against the Company for near nine years, during

1 Niece of the PayyOrmala Nftyar.

which many thousand valuable lives have been sacrificed and sums of money beyond all calculation expended,

" Notwithstanding that every effort of moderation and lenity was pursued towards the Rajah, nothing could get the better of his natural restlessness and ferocity of disposition, which, aided by the evil counsels of his advisers, impelled him to the

most desperate acts and produced an infatuation which rendered him insensible to the dictates of humanity or reason. His annihilation became necessary for the stability and security, of the G-overnment and its subjects. While this severe necessity existed, the recollection of the services he has performed during the infancy of our Government, cannot but inspire us with a sentiment of regret that a man so formed should have pursued a conduct that should have thrown so insuperable a bar to all kind of accommodations. To temporize further than was done would have been to yield, and to have yielded would have afforded a precedent which might have been fatal to the British Government in India.

" But it will not be necessary for me to enlarge to you, who are so well acquainted with this chieftain's history, on the leading features of so extraordinary and singular a character. The records of India and England will convey to posterity a just idea of him.

" Where the conduct of all was so generally satisfactory, it would be an invidious distinction to mention individuals at the same time.' I should be wanting in justice to Charen (Cheran), the Subedar, were I to pass over unnoticed his gallantry and judgment on the present as well as on all former occasions, nor is Caranakara (Karunakara) Menon less entitled to my approbation for his activity, courage and attachment which I have experienced for six years.

" Nothing more remains to give due effect to our Government in Wyn&d but the extirpation of the remaining rebel leaders — one of the most formidable, the proscribed Jadachana Jamoo (Edachenna Ammu), has already fallen. Since my departure for the coast, by the activity and intrepidity of the Pooluyal Parbutty (Pravritti) several advantages have been obtained, and I anticipate as soon as I can return to the upper country a speedy termination to the career of the remainder.

" I am, Sir, &c.,

"Cannanore,) (Signed) T. H. Baber,

"31stf December 1805. j Sub-Collector.

"Five elephants, a small quantity of sandalwood, and several copper pots, the property of the Rajah, have been discovered and taken at different times. I beg to recommend their immediate sale and that the proceeds be distributed for the benefit of the captors.

41 (Signed) T. H. Baber,

" SubCollector "

The other rebel leaders were shortly afterwards all accounted for. Edachenna Kungan, being sick and unable to escape, committed »uicide

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tc prevent himself from falling alive into the hands of a party sent in pursuit of him. Pallur Rayrappan was in January 1806 overtaken on a mountain belonging to the Tirumalpad of Nilambiir, who had been privy to the rebel's retreat and had sent men to assist him. He made a desperate resistance before he fell, and mortally wounded, it was feared, one. of his captors. His brother Pallur Eman, the friend of Oolonel Wellesley, was captured, and with many 4other rebels was deported to Prince of Wales' Island in 1806. The two junior Rajas of the Palassi (Pychy) family had, previously to the Raja's death, fled to the southward to the protection of the Raja of the Padinyaru (western) branch of the Zamorin's house, who had been permitted as a favor 1 to reside at Kalladikod. The place was searched and the arms of the rebel party were found. The Raja was made a prisoner and sent to the fortress of Dindigul and his house was completely demolished. He died without a trial on 3rd March 1806. Mr. Warden held2 out, after the Palassi (Pychy) Raja's death, an offer of pardon to the two Rajas who had thus been sheltered at Kalladikod, and they appear to have accepted it.

Mr. Baber received the thanks of Government for his services, and a donation of 2,500 pagodas.

The peace of the district has not been very seriously disturbed since then, except in consequence of the Mappilla outrages, which wil) be presently related. But in the beginning of April 1812 the people, chiefly Kurchiyars and Kurumbars of the east of Wynad, again gave some trouble owing to the exaction of the Government land revenue in money. The people were unable to find a market for their produce, and had to part with their grain at ruinous prices to pay the revenue. They assembled and consulted as to what they should do, and a subbadar and jemadar of the local police were attacked with bows and arrows on endeavouring to disperse an assemblage in Nallurnad. Fire was returned, but the police party Was not strong enough to carry out its object and eventually had to retreat with the jemadar and two Kolkars wounded. Troops had to be brought both from the coast and from Mysore for the relief of the detachments at Manantoddy and Sultan's Battery, which were placed in a state of siege by the insurgents. The column from the coast encountered opposition in the Kuttiyadi pass, near which (on the north) there is a strong Kurchiyar settlement. Two officers and seventeen or eighteen men of the second battalion of the 3rd regiment were wounded. The posts were relieved, and in order to obtain a better command of the country held by the jungle tribes, a chain of posts was established in the wild jungly country stretching to the north of the Sultan's Battery, namely, Porakandy, Pakam, and Moodramoly, besides Panamaram and Sultan's Battery.

1 Treaties, fc., u. CLXXXVI.

2 Treaties, #c., ii. DCLVIL.

In connection also with the rebellion in 1 808-9 of the Travancore and Cochin Nayars, an unsuccessful attempt was made on 28th December 1808 to murder the British Resident (Colonel Macaulay) in his house at Cochiu. And on the 19th January following the town was attacked by the rebels, 3,000 strong, in three divisions. They had also planted a battery of two gun9 on Vypeen point and did some execution with it. The place was gallantly defended 1 * by fifty men of Hirf Majesty's 12th Foot and by six companies of the 1st battalion of the 17th Regiment, all under Major Hewitt. The defence was conducted with great spirit notwithstanding several determined attacks from the rebels, who lost 300 men. The gallant defenders also suffered severely.**

But the rebels, though defeated, were not driven out of the field ; two days later they attacked the Dutch Governor's house on the outskirts of the town and destroyed the garden.

On the 25th another attack was made on the town from the eastward. " They 3 came on with their guns adorned with crimson shoe-flowers (Hibiscus rosa sinensis), sacred to Siva and the Gods of Blood. They did not, however, approach with any bravery, and were without much difficulty forced to retreat, many being taken prisoners."

For a month more they hovered about the town, doing mischief, and in particular subjecting the Syrian Christian community to great ill-treatment.

Few events of political importance remain to be noticed, except the outrages by Mappillas, which, unfortunately for the peace of the district, continue down to the present day. But mention requires to be made of the following : —

On 15th November 1806 the Principal Collector, Mr. Warden, and the Zamorin reduced to terms 4 the understanding with the latter and his family in regard to the payment of the malikhana allowance (or one-fifth share of the revenues of their districts) which had been set apart for their maintenance. The family receives Rs. 1,32,163 odd per annum, and it is " considered as the security for the good and dutiful behaviour towards the Company's Government of each and every member of the Rajeum {Raj yam) or family to which it may now and hereafter be payable."

The Government had on 21st November 1804 approved of the Principal Collector's suggestion to have similar written instruments interchanged with the other ancient chieftains of the district. But beyond this engagement with the Zamorin and his family no such interchange of written deeds appears to have

taken place.

1 Wilson's Hint. Madras Army, Vol. Ill, pp. 208-10.

i His Majesty's 12 th Foot— l private killed, 1 officer and 14 rank and file wounded ; 1«<

Battalion lllh Regiment— 10 sepoys killed, 1 officer and 45 rank and file wounded, the

former (Captain Read) mortally.

J Day's Land of the Permauls , page 188.

4 Treaties, $c., ii. CCLXII.

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In Appendix XX will be found a complete list of the m&likhana recipients, and the nature of the payments made to them has been defined as follows " It should 1 be understood that these allowances will be subject to revocation upon proof established of flagrant misbehaviour or rebellious conduct." In 1857 the Government 2 agreed with the Revenue Board and the Acting Collector "that the allowances are perpetual during good conduct and are not revocable at pleasure."

" These 3 varying allowances were permanently fixed at 20 per cent, of the net revenue of the year 1800-1."

The control of the Cochin State was transferred 4 to the British Resident in Travancore in April 1809.

In 1813 the Anjengo Factory was closed.

On 23rd February 1817, after the conclusion of peace between the two nations, "the establishment of Mah6 " was retransferred 5 to the French, and this was followed on 1st February 1819 by the delivery 6 to M. le Chef of Make of " the French factory at Calicut with the extent of ground to which that Government are entitled in virtue of their having possessed it in former days."

After much and protracted discussion it was further finally decided that the French had made good their claims to certain other bits of territory lying in the neighbourhood of Mah£, described as " the four villages of Paloor, Pandaquel, Chamberra, and Chalicarra, and of the three detached points or posts of Fort Saint George, the great and the little Calayi, as defined by the British authorities, without any of the territory in their vicinity, to which a claim was made on a former occasion." These bits of territory were accordingly delivered 7 to the French

on 14th November 1853.

The Coorg war in 1834 did not affect Malabar beyond that " an old and faithful servant of the Company," Kalpalli Karunakara Menon, the Head Sherishtadar of the district, was sent for the purpose of opening a friendly negotiation with the Raja, and was imprisoned by the latter. This outrage led 8 directly to the war.

Shortly after the close of the war with Coorg the district administration entered upon a period of disturbance, which unhappily continues down to the present time. The origin and causes of this are of so much importance that it has been considered best to treat the subject at considerable length with a view not only to exhibit the difficulties with which the district officers have had to deal, but to elucidate the causes from which such difficulties have sprung.

On the 26th November 1836 Kallingal Kunyolan of Manjeri amsam, Pandalur desam in Ernad taluk, stabbed one Chakku Panik-

1 Revenue Board to Principal Collector, 5th May 1804.

2 Ext. Min. Cons., 30th May 1857.

3 Proceedings, Board of Revenue, 1970, dated 11th June 1857.

4 Treaties, $c., ii. CCLXV. » Treaties , $c., ii. CCLXVIII.

« Treaties, $e., ii. CCLXXI— CCLXXXIX.

2 Treaties, $•«., ii. CCLXXX— CCXC. 6 Treaties, ii. CCLXXV.

kar of the Kanisan (astrologer) caste, who subsequently died of his wounds. He also wounded two other individuals, and a fourth who had been employed to watch him, and fled to Nenmini amsam in Walluvanad taluk, whither he was pursued by the tahsildar, taluk peons and villagers. He was shot by the pclice on the 28th idem.

*On the 15th April 1837 one Ali Kuttiof Chengara amsam, Kalpetta desam, Eroad taluk, inflicted numerous and severe wounds on one Chirukaranimana Na*rayana Mussat (a Brahman janmi), and took post in his own shop, where he was attacked by the tahsildar and the taluk peons, and shot by the taluk police on the following day.*

On the 5th April 1839 Thorayampolakal Attan and another, of Pallipuram amsam, Walluvanad taluk, killed one Kelil Raman and then set fire to and burnt a Hindu temple, took post in another temple, and there they were attacked by the tahsildar and his peons and were shot by a taluk peon.

On the 6th April 1839 Mambadtodi Kuttiathan stabbed and severely wounded one Kotakat Paru Taragan and then came among the polioe party, consisting of two tahsildars and others, who were occupied in framing a report connected with the preceding case, and stabbed and wounded a peon. He was oaptured, brought to trial, and sentenced to transportation for life.

On the 19th April 1840, in Irumbuli amsam, Ernad taluk, Para-todiyil Ali Kutti severely wounded One Odayath Kunhunni Nayar and another, set fire to Kidangali temple and took post in his house, where he was attacked by the tahsildar and his peons. He rushed out and was shot by a taluk police peon on the following day.

On the 5th April 1841 Tumba Mannil Kunyunniyan and eight others killed one Perumbali Nambutiri (a Brahman j an mi) and another at Pallipuram in Walluvanad taluk, burnt the house of the latter victim as well as four other houses (belonging to the dependents of the Brahmans), the owner of one of which died of injuries then received. The Mappillas then established themselves in the Brahman's house and defied the Oovernment authorities. They were attacked and killed on the 9th idem by a party of the 36th Regiment Native Infantry and the police peons and villagers under the direction of Mr. Silver, then Head Assistant Magistrate in the district. The military consisted of 1 jemadar, 1 havildar, 2 naigues, and 20 privates.

" The plan 1 of attack I formed was, a body of peons to rush close up to one of the doors with axes and break it open, closely followed by a storming party of sepoys, while the armed villagers and peons should be disposed round the building, among the trees, as skirmishers to keep up a constant fire on every aperture to protect as much as possible the

storming party . While we were waiting for the pick-axes,

&o., the door was flung open and forth rushed the ruffians."

1 Mr. Silver'fl report of 10th April 1841.

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" The jemadar's party of sepoys behaved extremely well, and without them many lives would have been sacrificed."

One man, Pulikot Raman Nayar, was killed and ten, namely, 1 sepoy, 5 peons and 4 villagers, were wounded. The Government in Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 22nd April 1841, No. 329, remarked : " His Lordship in Council considers that great commendation is due to Mr. Silver for the decision and promptitude displayed by him, and to the detachment 36th Regiment Native

.Infantry who aided him, as well as the tahsildar and others concerned."

The chief .criminal in this outbreak was one Kunyolan, and the cause assigned was the duplicity on the part of the Nambutiri Brahmans in the matter of a garden for which Kunydlan advanced Rs. 1 6, and of which he wished to remain in possession. Another Mappilla brought a suit in the Munsiff 's Court to evict Kunyolan on the strength of a deed of melkanam obtained from the Brahmans.

On the 13th November 1841 Kaidotti Padil Moidln Kutti and seven others killed one TottassSri Tachu Panikkar and a peon, took post in a mosque, set the police at defiance for three days, and were joined by three more fanatics on the morning of the 17th idem.

"On1 the requisition of the Zillah Judge, Mr. E. B. Thomas (the Collector having been absent at Ootacamund), a party of 40 sepoys of the 9th Regiment Native Infantry, under Lieutenant Shakespear, accompanied by Mr. Platel, arrived " on the scene.

" Mr. Platel2 made strenuous efforts to induce a party of peons to advance ; I found it was necessary to advance with them ; as we approached, the peons fired a few shots and drew off to the left, and when we arrived within 100 yards of it, five of the Mappillas rushed forward with big knives and shields to defend themselves ; two diverged to the left, who were instantly shot by the peons, and three made off to the right towards some paddy-fields, where they were assailed by a file or two of my men, and a few villagers and peons likewise joined them. A struggle took place between a sepoy and one of the Mappillas ; an adhikari came up and cut him down ; a second was attacked by a sepoy who threw him down, and whilst securing him was shot by one or two peons ; a third having severely wounded a villager, was also killed. Immediately after the rush of the first men, six more came running headlong down the eminence, similarly aimed, and from the desperation of their maimer the sepoys and peons opened fire upon them and they fell."

The cause assigned for the murder of the peon was that the peon dragged one of the Mappillas out of the mosque, and with the assistance

1 The District Magistrate's letter to Government, No. 29, dated 22nd November 184J.

- *Lieutenant Shakespear' s report of 20th November 1841.*

of Taclru Panikkar tied him up. But the Mappillas had previously resolved upon murdering the Panikkar because he had opposed the raising of a mud wall round a small mosque built in a garden obtained on kanam twenty-two years before from his predecessor.

On the 17th of the same month a large band of Mappillas, estimated at 2,000, set at defiance a police party on guard over the spot where the above criminals had been buried, and forcibly carried off their bodies and interred them with honors at a mosque. Twelve of these were convicted and punished.

On the 27th Deoemher 1841 Melemanna Kunyattan, with seven others, killed one Talappil Chakku Nayar and another, and took post in the adhikari's house on the 28tn idem: They rushed upon the police peons and villagers who had surrounded the house under the Emad tahsildar's directions, and were, before the arrival of the detachment sent out from Calicut, all killed and their bodies were brought to Calicut and interred under the gallows.

On the 19th October 1843 Kunnancheri Ali Attan and five others killed one Kaprat Krishna Panikkar, the adhikari of Tirurangadi, and proceeded, at the suggestion of a seventh Mappilla who joined them afterwards, to the house of a N&yar in Cherur, and posting themselves in it, avowed not only the murder they committed, but their determination of fighting to death. A detachment consisting of 1 lieutenant, 1 subbadar, 1 jemadar, 3 havildars, 4 naigues, 1 drummer, 51 privates, 1 puckalli, and 1 lascar of the 5th Regiment Native Infantry, under Captain Leader, was deputed to the spot. They attacked the Mappillas on the morning of the 24th, but upon the latter rushing out, the sepoys were panic struck and took to flight. The consequence was that 1 subbadar and 3 sepoys were killed, Captain Leader and 5 sepoys were wounded, the former in the neck and stomach, and, beside^ these casualties to the regular troops, 7 peons were wounded (3 of them severely). The fanatics, seven in number, were killed by the taluk peons and villagers. The sepoys were subsequently tried by a Military Court of Enquiry assembled at Cannanore.

" The military 1 detachment who had misbehaved were called into Calicut the next day and their place taken by a fresh body of 35 men, whom I thought it essential to keep in the disturbed locality until tranquillity was more secured."

It is this outbreak which is described in the verses translated at pages 102, 103. Tirurangadi, the adhikari of which was killed, lay close to the residence of the Arab Tangal or High Priest who was generally credited with having incited the Mappillas to commit these outrages. The Tangal died shortly afterwards and was buried at the Mambram mosque situated on the river bank opposite Tirurangadi. F anatics who

1 District Magistrate's report to Government, No. 29, dated 4th November 1843.

intend to commit outrages, and those who have committed them do, as a rule even now, proceed to this mosque to pray at the Tangal's shrine.

On the 19th December 1843 a peon was found with his head and hand all but cut off, and the perpetrators were supposed to be Mappilla fanatics of the sect known as Hal Ilakkam {lit. Frenzy-raising).

The following interesting account of this sect is taken from an official report by a native subordinate, dated November 1843 : —

" Particulars of the aoorab @oa<a»° {Hal Ilakkam = frenzy) among the Mappillas in Cherndd taluk and the neighbouring parte.

" Originally there was no Hal Ilakkam there.

" In the month of Metam last year, one Alathamkuliyil Moidin of Kotinhi desam, Nannambra amsam, Vettattnad taluk, which is on the skirts of Trikkulam amsam, went out into the fields (punja pattam) before daybreak to water the crops, and there he saw a certain person who advised him to give up all his work and devote his time to prayer at the mosque. Moidin objected to this, urging that he would have nothing to live upon. Whereupon the abovementioned person told him that a palm tree which grew in his (Moidln's) compound would yield sufficient toddy which he could convert into jaggery and thus maintain himself. After saying this, the person disappeared. Moidin thought that the person he saw was Grod himself and felt frantic (hal '). He then went to Taramal 1 Tangal, performed dikkar and niskaram (cries and prayers). After two or three days he complained to the Tangal that Kafirs (a term applied by Muhammadans to people of other religions) were making fun of him. The Tangal told him that the course adopted by him was a right one, and saying " let it be as I have said," gave him a spear to be borne as an emblem, and assured him that nobody would mock him in future. Subsequently several Mappillas affecting Hal Ilakkam played all sorts of pranks, and wandered about with canes in their hands, without going to their homes or attending to their work. After two or three days some of them, who had no means of maintaining themselves unless they attended to their work, returned to their former course of life, while others, with canes and Ernad knives 2 (war knives) in their hands, wander about in companies consisting of five, six, eight, or ten men, and congregating in places not much frequented by Hindus, carry on their dikkar and niskaram (cries and prayers). The Mappillas in general look upon this as a religious vow and provide these people with food. I hear of the Mappillas talking among themselves that one or two of the ancestors of Taramal Tangal died fighting, that the present man being advanced in age it is time for him to follow the same course, and that the abovementioned men affected with Hal Ilakkam ? when their number swells to 4U0, will engage in a fight with Kafirs and die in company with the Tangal. One of these men (who are known a&

1 The high priest referred to in connection with the preceding outrage.

- *See kod'ingakatli in the Glossary, Appendix XIII.*

*Halar) by name Avarumayan, residing in Kilmuri desam, Melmuri amsam, two months ago collected a number of his countrymen and sacrificed a bull, and for preparing meals for these men placed a copper vessel with water on the hearth and said that rice would appear of itself in the vessel. He waited for some time. There was no rice to be seen. Those who had assembled there ate beef alone and dispersed. Some people made fun of Avarumayan for this. 'He felt ashamed and went to Taramal Tangal, with whom he stayed two or three days. He then went into the mosque at Mambram, and on attempting to fly through the air into the mosque at Tirurangadi on the southern * 1 side of the river, fell down through the opening of the door and became lame of one leg, in which state he is reported to be still lying.*

" While the Halar of Munniyur desam were performing niskaram (prayer) one day at the tomb of Chemban 2 Pokar Muppan, a rebel, they declared that in the course of a week a mosque would spring up at night and that there would be complete darkness for two full days. Mappillas waited in anxious expectation of the phenomenon for seven or eight days and nights. There was, however, neither darkness nor mosque to be seen.

" Again in the month of Karkidagam last, some of the influential Mappillas led their ignorant Hindu neighbours to believe that a ship would arrive with the necessary arms, provisions and money for 40,000 men ; that if that number (40,000) could be secured meanwhile, they could conquer the country, and that the Hindus would then totally vanish. It appears that it was about that time that some Tiyyar (toddy-drawers) and others became converts. For some days some Mappillas gave up all their usual work and led an idle life. In those days Halar were made much of and treated by some.

" None of these predictions having been realised, Mappillas as well as others have begun to make fun of the Halar , who having taken offence at this, are bent upon putting an end to themselves by engaging in a fight. A certain individual known as Harabikaran Tangal (lit. Arab high priest), with long hair, has been putting up with the Taramal Tangal for the last two years, offering prayers with a cry called dikkar (oW,). The Halar appear to have adopted the dikkar from the said Tangal, as it was not known to the people before.*

" The man who first had the Hal Ilakkam in the punja fields is called by the people ' Punja Tangal .' "

On the 4th December 1843 a Nayar labourer was found dead with ten deep wonnds on his body, and his murder was believed to be the work of the Hal Ilakkam sect just described.

On the 11th December 1843 Anavattatt Soliman and nine others killed one Karukamanna Govinda Mussat, the adhikari of Pandikad in

1 And, it may be added, on the opposite side of the river, which here runs within high banks, of which the southern bank is the higher.

1 The famous rebel in the early days of the British Government, ronf. pp 530 532

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the Walluvanad taluk, and a servant of his while bathiDg. They afterwards defiled two temples, broke the images therein, and took post in a house. A detachment 1 of the 19th Regiment Native Infantry was sent out, but tho officer commanding deemed his force insufficient and consequently fell back a short distance. Two companies 2 of sepoys of the same regiment, under the command of Major Osbourne, marched from Palghat on the 17th, and on the 19th the Mappillas without waiting to be attacked, rushed at the troops directly they appeared and were shot, but not without loss of life, as one naigue of the force was killed.

" I moved 3 the detachment at half-past ten in the direction of the house occupied by the murderers accompanied by H. D. Cook, Esq., two tahsildars and peons. Immediately after filing through the paddy-field the murderers rushed upon the column, and in a few minutes were shot, ten in number."

On this occasion the fanatics were in an open plain without shelter, and charged deliberately, 10 men into the midst of over 200.

On the 26th May 1849 Chakalakkal Kammad wounded one Kan-nancheri Chiru and another and took post in a mosque. When the Chemad tahsildar (a Pathan) proceeded towards the mosque in the hope of inducing the murderer to surrender himself, he rushed forward with a knife, and a peon put an end to the fanatic on the same day.

On the 25th August 1849 Torangal Unniyan killed one Paditodi Teyyunni, and with four others joined one Attan 4 Gurikkal. They with others on the following day killed the servant of one Marat Nam-butiri and two others and took post in the Hindu temple overlooking Manjeri, the head-quarters of the Ernad taluk. They defiled the temple and in part burnt it. Captain Watt with a detachment of the 43rd Regiment Native Infantry proceeded from Malapuram to Manjeri, and on the 28th he formed a plan for attacking the temple. Ensign Wyse and his company were sent across the paddy flat separating the taluk cutcherry hill from the temple hill to attack the rebels, then only 32 in number, who were to be drawn from their position in the temple by parties of police and villagers who had been sent forward to fire at them.

The rest of the detachment was held in reserve on the cutcherry hill, Mr. Collett, the Assistant Magistrate, being with them. Ensign

1 Lieutenant Lynch, 1 subbadar, 1 jemadar, 3 havildars, 3 naigues, 1 drummer ad 30 Bepoys.

2 2 lieutenants, 2 subbadars, 2 jemadars, 11 havildars, 8 naigues, 3 drummers, 148 privates, 2 puckallis, and 4 lascars.

3 Major Osbourne's report, dated 19th December 1843.

4 A descendant of the Gurikkal who gave so much trouble in the early davs of the British administration. Attan Gurikkal was a worthless follow who preferred a life of idleness and shikar, varied by occasional dacoities, to any other kind of pursuit. He had gathered round him a considerable following of men of the same way of thinking as himself, but among them were two at least of a respectable family who had been reduced to poverty " by suit and otherwise in their ourir > >

Wyse's parly, with the exception of 4 men who were all killed, refused to advance to receive the charge of only a few of the fanatics who came down hill at them, and notwithstanding the gallant example set by the Ensign himself in killing the first man who charged, the party broke and fled after some ineffectual firing.

" Others now 1 came down upon Ensign Wyse, and I am informed that one of them seized him by the jacket and he received a wound, when he appears to have fallen and was of course quickly put to death ; but by this time three of the insurgents had fallen, and now those men in the detachment who alone had emulated their officer, fell, one of them having first gallantly bayonetted the man who gave Mr. Wyse his death wound."

The party held in reserve on the cutcherry hill, on witnessing this disaster, fled, although the fanatics were still at a considerable distance on the far side of the paddy flat lying at the bottom of the hill on which the reserve was posted. Only one of the insurgents crossed this paddy flat and he was killed by a police Kolkar.

A detachment of His Majesty's 94th Regiment2 from Cannanore, under Major Dennis, reached Manjeri on the 3rd September, and also a detachment of the 39th Regiment 3 Native Infantry from Palghat. The insurgents, whose ranks had been largely recruited in the interval, evacuated the temple during the night after the arrival of the reinforcements, and proceeded a distance of about twelve miles to the Bhagavati Kavu temple near Angadipuram, the head-quarters of the Walluvanad taluk. Thither next day they were followed by the troops, who, in spite of their forced march in tempestuous weather from Cannanore to Calicut, of being cooped up, wet and without regular food, in cramped positions in the boats, in which, in still more tempestuous weather, they were conveyed from Calicut to

Arikkod, and of the heavy march of the two preceding days, showed the utmost eagerness to close with the enemy. At 5 p.m. on the 4th. September the encounter took place at the forty-first milestone from Calicut on the Great Western Road (No. 6) and in the open ground (now enclosed) to the south of the road at that point. On receiving intelligence that the insurgents, now 64 in number, were coming to the attack, Major Dennis drew his men up " in column 4 of sections, right in front, so as to occupy the whole breadtb of the road, when the enemy came on with most desperate courage, throwing themselves on our bayonets ; after firing off their matchlocks, they took to their war knives, swords and spears, and when struck down to the ground, renewed the fight even on their knees by hurling their weapons at the faces of our men, and which continued until, literally, they were cut to pieces ; others, planted on the trees,

1 Mr_Collett's report of 28th August 1849.

- *3 officers, 6 sergeants, 5 corporals, 2 drummers, and 104 privates.*
- *2 officers, 4 native officers, 9 naigues, 2 buglers, and 132 privates.*
- *Major Dennis' report of 5th SeDtemhpr i«jo*

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kept up a most destructive fire with their matchlocks loaded with iron slugs. This attack was made by the enemy in three divisions, about 300 yards apart, the second led on in person by Attan Gurikkal (Coyah or priest), who fought with most desperate courage ;1)ut I am happy to say that through the steadiness, correct and low firingˆbf the men, our loss has not been so considerable as might have been expected from the desperate onset of these mad fanatics ; and in the space of half -an hour the enemy was completely annihilated, leaving 64 dead, their bodies lying close to each other, exhibiting most dreadful wounds, some having received four or five musket balls, besides bayonet stabs, before these fanatics could be stayed carrying on their determined work of destruction into our ranks."

" The power 1 of their fanaticism was astounding. One of the men had had his thigh broken in the engagement in which Lieutenant Wyse was killed. He had remained in all the agony attendant on an unhealed and unattended wound of this nature for seven days ; he had been further tortured by being carried in a rough litter from the Manjeri to the Angadipuram pagoda. Yet there he was at the time of the fight, hopping on his sound leg to the encounter, and only anxious to get a fair blow at the infidels ere he died."*

The casualties in the detachments were trifling when the numbers and determination of the insurgents are considered. Two privates of the 94th Regiment

were killed and three others and a sergeant wounded ; one officer received a deep flesh wound, and Major Dennis " had 2 a wonderful escape from a bullet, which grazed his wrist."

A sepoy of the 39th Regiment was likewise severely wounded. On searching afterwards, one of the insurgents, a lad of 17 or 18 years, was found to be alive. He lived for some time and told what he knew about the outrages.

The bodies of the slain insurgents were thrown into a dry well in the garden lying to the south of the Walluvanad taluk cutcherry at Perintal manna.

On the 2nd October 1850 information was received that the sons of one Periambath Attan, the Mappilla adhikari of Puliakod amsam in Ernad taluk had, with others, concerted to kill one Mungamdam-balatt Narayana Mussat and to devote themselves to death in arms. Security was required of nine individuals on this account.

On the 5th January 1851 Choondyamoochikal Attan attacked and wounded severely a Government native clerk named Raman Menon, who had been employed in inspecting gingelly-oil seed (cllu) cultivation in Payanad in Ernad taluk in conjunction with the village accountant in view to settling the Government share, and he then shut himself up in the inspector's house, setting the police at defiance. No persuasion could induce him to surrender himself. He declared he was

1 District Magistrate's report of 12th October 1849.

1 District AJagistrate's report of 4th September 1849.

determined to die a martyr. The tahsildar (a Mappilla) tried to induce him to deliver himself up, but he utterly refused to do so. Finally, rushing out and firing at the opposing party, he was shot dead. The reason assigned by the criminal for attacking the inspector was that his wife's gingelly-oil crop had been over-assessed.

On the 1/ th January 1851 three Mappillas were reported as contemplating an assault, and security was taken from them.

On the 15th April 1851 Illikot Kunyunni and five others were reported as designing to break out and kill one Kotuparambat Komu Menon and another. Evidence of the fact was deficient and the accused were released, but it subsequently turned out that the information was only too true.

On the 22nd August 1851 six Mappillas killed one Kotuparambat K5mu Menon (above referred to) and his servant on the high road between Manjeri and Angadipuram as they were returning home from the Mankada Kovilakam of the

Walluvanad Raja. They were joined by three others, with whom they proceeded towards Komu Menon's house. But finding a brother of Komu Menon's ready to meet them with a gun and a war knife, they left the place and went to the house of Ittunni Rama Menon, another brother, who was then bathing in a tank close by. They killed Kadakottil Nambutiri, who was seated in the porch of the house, the family of Rama Menon escaping in the tumult. The murderers next overtook Rama Menon, who had endeavoured to escape, and cut him down, Setting fire to the house, they marched towards the house of one Mundangara Rarichan Nayar, whom they wounded severely and who subsequently died of his wounds. They then set fire to the house of one Chengara Variyar. On the morning of the 23rd they were seen in Kuruva amsam, about eight miles distant from Ittunni Rama Menon's house. Thence they proceeded to the house of the Kulattur Variyar, an influential janmi who had opposed the erection of a mosque. They were in the meantime joined by five others. On their arrival, the attendants and family escaped ; all the women and children were told by the fanatics to go away. They next killed two servants of the Variyars. Two of the junior Variyars escaped. But the old Variyar, a man of 79, probably shut himself up in a room of his house where the fanatics eventually discovered him. The Hindus sent for the Map-pilla chief men of the place and others. About fifty persons appeared, two of whom joined the insurgents, calling out "the chief pig is inside." The old Variyar was then brought out into the paddy-field adjoining his house, to a distance of sixty yards from the gatehouse, and one Pupatta Kuttiattan and another there, in the sight of all the people assembled, hacked him to pieces, severing his head from his body. As soon as Mr. Collett, the Divisional Magistrate, heard of their having taken up. a position at Kulattur, he sent a requisition to Major Wilkinson, the officer commanding the 39th Regiment at Malapuram, who, in complying with the request, wrote to Mr. Conollv on Ihe 24th as follows : —

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" I despatched a party, under the command of Ensign Turner, of 65 rank and file with the proper complement of native commissioned

and non-commissioned officers.

" My reason for sending the party under the command of Ensign Turner was, that Mr. Collett had informed me, when at my house very early yesterday morning, that he had written expressly for the European troops stationed at Calicut."

In his two letters to Government of the 25th August 1851, Mr. Conolly thus described the operations of the Malapuram detachment: —

" The troops advanced by a muddy road towards the house" in which the insurgents were, "and attacked three abreast along a causeway leading to the

house through paddy-fields. After some firing, nine of the Mappillas came out from the house and advanced to meet the sepoys on the causeway. The leading sepoys were seized with a panic, which communicated itself to those in the rear, and a general retreat ensued. The Mappillas pursued the fugitives and cut down (killed) three — a naigue, a sepoy, and a drummer. They then picked up some of the muskets which had been thrown away by some of the sepoys in their haste to escape, and returned to their home. One or two of the party is supposed to have been badly wounded by the first firing. The scattered sepoys rallied after some time and have been posted in a house about a mile from where the Mappillas are."

This was (to use Mr. Collett's words) " a complete disaster." The European detachment 1 from Calicut arrived on the forenoon of the 27th, under command of Captain Rhodes.

They "were so fagged with their marches"2 and so "exhausted and footsore " that they were not able to act with sufficient steadiness against the fanatics, whose ranks had been, in spite of a close watch by villagers and police, joined by three others, and who now numbered seventeen. Moreover, the fanatics showed a disposition to attack directly the detachment arrived near their stronghold, and Captain Rhodes had no time to rest and recruit his men. The attack was thus sketched by Mr. Conolly 3 : —

" The Europeans were advance and the sepoys in the rear. The Europeans fired at the fanatics, who had the partial cover of a bank, till they were too tired to load. The fanatics then advanced and charged 4

1 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, 2 corporals, 2 drummers, 47 privates, and 2 puckallies of H.M.'s 94th Regiment.

2 They had " marched a good forty miles in two days, over a very hilly, stony and wild district," the route being by Beypore, Tirurangftdi, VenkatakOtta, and ChftppanangAdi to Rulattur.

3 Reports to Government of 28th and 30th August 1851.

4 The charge was made under cover of the smoko of the firing, which had lasted a quarter of an hour or more ; the detachment was drawn up in quarter column, and some of the fanatics, passing round the flanks under cover of the smoke, attacked the rear, while others attacked the front of the column.

them, and the soldiers retreated in order. The sepoys in the rear seeing this, of course retreated also, and the confusion was very great until the officers, by dint of exhortation, managed to rally their men. It was now that the sepoys, whose guns were loaded, did the good service1

1 spoke of * They brought down some of the leading pursuers and enabled the Europeans to halt and reload. Their confidence was at once restored, and they moved forward again with the sepoys in expectation of meeting more enemies. They were all in good order when I joined them in the house from which the fanatics had come out That the oheck was a very unhappy one cannot be denied, but it was satisfactory that it was so soon rectified. In the previous attack by the detachment of the 39th Regiment the rout was complete, and there was no rallying until the Mappillas had retired to their stronghold."*

In this second engagement on August 27th 4 European privates and 1 native subbadar were killed.

The result of the action as far as the Mappillas were concerned may be thus summarised. Of the 19 fanatics who were concerned in these outrages it seems that 9 were engaged in the first four ' murders on the 22nd, 1 joined them immediately afterwards, and 4 more during the night and next morning. 14 thus attacked the Variyar's house, where

2 more immediately joined them. Of these 16 men, one was killed in the affair of the 24th August, and another, mortally wounded, died on that night. 3 more subsequently joined the band, making 17 who fell on the 27th August.

On the 5th October 1851 information was received that Tottangal Mammad and three other Mappillas of Nenmini amsam, Walluvanad taluk, were found in possession of certain arms and were designing to commit an outrage. "They 2 had intended to join the fanatics who perished at Kulattur , but were too late. Their purpose, it was said, had been known to some of their co-religionists and they were subject to the contemptuous soubriquet of Minjina Sahid's (all but saints). There was but too much reason to fear therefore from former experience that they would take an opportunity of wiping off the reproach by organising an outbreak on their own account." Security to keep the peace was required from three of them.

On the 27th October 1851 information reached the head police officer in Emad that some Mappillas of Irimbuli amsam, Emad taluk, had likewise intended to join the late fanatical outbreak at Kulattur. Two of them were 'required to give security to keep the peace.

On the 9th November 1851 information was received that Choriyot Mayan and eight others were designing to break out and kill one Kalattil Kesuvan Tangal, a wealthy and influential Hindu janmi of Mattanur in Kottayam taluk. Evidence was lacking, and the tahsildar

1 Eleven of the fanatics were shot by a party of the 39th Regiment, who ran down to meet them from the house held by the sepoys about a, mile from the Variyar's house.

- *District Magistrate's report of 16th October 1851.*

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omitted to report the matter. The individuals in question did, however, with others subsequently commit the outrages next to be described.

On the night of 4th January 1852 the party named above and six others, making in all fifteen, supported by a large mob estimated at 200, proceeded to the house of the abovesaid Kalattil Tangal in Mattanur, Kottayam taluk. They butchered all the unhappy inmates (eighteen in all) aud thus extirpated the family, wounded two other persons, and burnt the house on the following morning. They then, unattended by the said mob, burnt four houses and a Hindu temple, killed four more individuals, defiled and damaged another Hindu temple, entered the palace of a Raja, took post there temporarily, defiled and destroyed two other Hindu temples, and finally fell on the 8th idem in a desperate and long-sustained attack on the house of the Kalliad Nambiar, another wealthy and influential janmi in Kalliad amsam of Chirakkal taluk. A detachment under Major Hodgson of the 16th Regiment, consisting of two companies of that corps and 100 Europeans of the 94th Regiment, were sent out from Cannanore, but before they arrived on the scene, the Mappilla fanatics had been all killed by the country people, retainers of the Nambiar.

On the 5th January 1852 information was received that certain Mappillas intended to break out and kill one Padinyaredattil Ambu Nambiar, and security was taken from five of them.

The District Magistrate, Mr. Conolly, in reporting on the outrage and wholesale murders of January 4th-8th, suggested that a commission should be appointed " to report 1 on the question of Mappilla disturbances generally. I wish," he stated, " for the utmost publicity. If any want of, or mistake in, management on my part has led in the slightest degree to these fearful evils (far more fearful in my time than they have ever been before), I am most desirous that a remedy be applied, whatever be the effect as regards my personal interests. I have acted to the best of my judgment, but my judgment may be in*

error, and I should be glad were it duly tested . No measures

taken as yet have reached the root of the evil, which there is too much reason to fear is growing in place of decaying."

When reviewing2 this report the Government decided to adopt Mr. Conolly '8 suggestion. "For some years past the province of Malabar has been disgraced by a succession of outrages of the most heinous character, perpetrated by the Mappillas of the province upon the Hindus. Bodies of Mappillas have in open day attacked

Hindus of wealth and respectability, murdered them under circumstances the most horrible, burnt houses or given them up to pillage, and finally, wound up their crimes by throwing away their lives in desperate resistance to the Police and Military." The order then proceeds to point out that

1 Report dated 28th January 1852.

1 .Extracts Minutes of Consultation, 17th February 1852,

the outbreaks had "beoome progressively more sanguinary and more difficult of suppression " in spite of the employment of the regular troops, and that, while on former occasions the fanatics spared women and children, they had (in the last outrage perpetrated in a part of the district "of late years distinguished for its quietness") put to death " men, women, children, the very infant at the breast, masters, servants, casual guests and ordinary inmates," in short, "every human being found " in the house first attacked. Mr. Thomas Lumsden Strange, a Judge of the Sadr Adalat, " whose former long service in Malabar and intimate acquaintance with the people and their peculiar habits and feelmgs eminently qualify him for the task, while his employment in a different sphere of late years saves him from the influence of any prejudice or bias," was accordingly selected " to be Special Commissioner for enquiring into the Mappilla disturbances, their causes and remedies." Mr. Strange was directed to enter into the freest intercourse with all classes, official and non-official, " to ascertain the causes of past outbreaks and the manner in which they may be most effectually prevented for the future. Referring to the many instances in which disputes respecting land have been, or have been assigned as, the causes of dmeutes, and to the position of the Hindu and Mappilla in their relations of landlord and tenant, mortgager and mortgagee, he will consider whether any measures seem called for for defining the landed tenures of the country and placing them on a better basis. He will report upon the various expedients proposed from time to time by tho present Magistrate, for preventing or repressing outbreaks, and if it should seem to him that the district functionaries require to be armed with larger authority than they possess under the existing law, he will suggest the extraordinary powers which should be conferred and submit draft of a legislative enactment for the purpose of giving them effect."

Among Mr. Strange's instructions it was pointed out that a subject to which he should give his earliest consideration was " the conduct of the Tirurangadi Tangal, and the measures to be employed in reference to that individual." The individual here referred to is the notorious Saiyid Fazl of Arab extraction, otherwise known as the Puldya,1 or the Tirurangadi or Mambram Tangal. He had succeeded at an early age to the position vacated by the Taramal Tangal (already alluded to), and it is certain that fanaticism was focussed at this time at and about the head-quarters of Saiyid Fazl at Mambram. Fanatics then, as now, considered it almost essential to success in their enterprise that they should have visited and prayed at

the Taramal Tangal's tomb at Mambram and kissed the hand of the Tangal living in the house close by. So great an ascendency had Saiyid Fazl at this time attained

1 Pu (Mai.) = flower, and Koya (? corrupt form of Khw&ja) = influential porson, gentleman.

that the Mappijlas regarded him " as imbued 1 with a portion of divinity. They swear by his foot as their most solemn oath. Earth on which he has spat or walked is treasured up. Marvellous stories are told of his supernatural knowledge. His blessing is supremely prized." And even among the higher class of Mappillas his wish was regarded as a command, and no consideration of economy was allowed' to stand in the way of its being gratified. On the very day (17th February) that the Government appointed Mr. Strange as Special Commissioner, Mr. Conolly reported that 10,000 to 12,000 Mappillas, " great numbers of whom were armed" met at Tirufangadi and held a close conclave with the Taugal on rumours being spread that he was at once to be made a prisoner and disgraced.

Mr. Strange was directed to report whether the tangal should be brought to a formal trial, or treated as a State prisoner, or be induced to quit the district quietly. But meanwhile Mr. Conolly had been successful in his negotiations to induce Saiyid Fazl to depart peaceably. The tangal avowed that he had done nothing " to 2 deserve the displeasure of the Government ; that he repudiated the deeds of the fanatics; and that it was his misfortuuo that a general blessing, intended to convey spiritual benefits to those alono who acted in accordance with the Muhammadan faith, should be misinterpreted by a few parties who acted in contradiction to its precepts." But he added " as his blessing teas sometimes misunderstood and his presence in the country unfortunately had led to deeds of horror, he was willing, if the Government chose it, to end further embarrassment by leaving Malabar and taking up his permanent abode among his1 people in Arabia." Mr. Conolly on his own responsibility then acted upon this proposal, a measure which the Government afterwards approved, and on the 19th March 1852 the Tangal, with his family, companions and servants (fifty-seven persons in all), set sail for Arabia. " The Tangal's own conduct since he resolved on going has been prudent and politic. He did all that was in his power to avoid popular excitement by remaining in his house and denying himself even to the gaze of the large bodies who came to visit him on hearing of his intention to quit Malabar. He continued in this seclusion, so far as it was possible, till the last. So soon as it was heard that he was leaving his house, (yesterday 3) a large crowd assembled, and by the time he got to Parappanangadi on the coast, six miles from his residence, from 7,000 to 8,000 men were collected, showing strong signs of grief at his departure. The Tangal had proposed to come in during the night to Calicut by land and embark with his family, who had preceded him from thence ; but foreseeing

the great excitement which might ensue from the crowd, which positively refused to leave him, and whose

1 Magistrate's report, dated '29th November 1851.

- *Magistrate's report, dated 21st February 1852.*

3 lath March 1852.

numbers would, no doubt, bave swelled in his journey along the coast, he resolved, as he sent me a message, to take boat to the ship from Parappanangadi itself. He reached it after a twelve miles' pull and at once got under weigh."

On the night of the 28th February 1852 one Triyakalattil Chekku and fifteen other Mappillas of Melmuri and Kilmuri amsams in the Ernad taluk " set out to die and to create a fanatical outbreak." Information of this was given by the principal Mappillas of the former amsam at about ten o'clock that night. They and their adherents remained on guard during the whole of the night at the houses of Pilatodi Panchu Menon and Purmekad Pisharodi, the principal Hindu janmis in the amsam, and respecting the former of whom there were on several occasions rumours that Mappilla fanatics were seeking to kill him. On the morning of Sunday the 29th, Panchu Menon hastened into Malapuram, having been alarmed by seeing some Mappillas moving on the hill at the back of his house. , He applied for protection to the officer in command at Malapuram, who, deeming the danger of an attack on Panchu Menon' s house imminent, proceeded with a portion of his troops to the house, where they remained for a few hours. He left a guard of twenty-five sepoys, who were withdrawn at night, a guard of villagers being substituted.

On the afternoon of the 1st March the suspected persons were secured in a mosque through the exertions of a wealthy and influential Mappilla named Kunyali. The case was enquired into by Mr. Collett, Assistant Magistrate, and the offenders were required to furnish security to keep the peace.

Ominous rumours of an intended Mappilla outbreak in the Kotta-yam taluk in April 1 852 drove many of the Hindu inhabitants into the jungles. From two letters — one from Mr. Brown of Anjarakandi, and the other from tha Kalliad Nambiar at the attack of whose house the fanatics were slain on 8th January of this year — the Joint Magistrate was led to believe that the storm, if it was brewing, was intended to burst upon the head of the latter, who had become a marked man by his late spirited defence of his house. The Raja of Chavasseri had received previous warning to leave his palace. The Joint Magistrate Bent off all the assistance in his power to the Nambiar, and wrote to the Raja requesting him not to leave the palace, and in the event of an emergency he would repair to his assistance with troops. The origin of the panic was that the Mappillas had given out that they

"were determined to avenge the supposed disgrace brought upon them by tho Hindu resistance at Kalliad, and also to erect a monument othe remains of the "martyrs" who died on that occasion. The Joint Magistrate adopted some necessary precautions and the panic subsided. But the Mappillas did attempt to erect the tomb in the course of a single night. It was immediately, however, destroyed under the orders of the Joint Magistrate, Mr. Chatfield.

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On the night of the 28th April 1852 the house of Kannambat Tangal in Kottayam taluk was fired into and the outbuildings of the Kallur temple were set on fire. The tahsildar (a Hindu) was of opinion that it was done by Hindus wishing to profit by the absence of the Tangal, the great janmi of the locality. The Sri Kovil (shrine) and the grain rooms were left uninjured, and this fact was urged in support of the tahsildar's opinion. But in the view of the Special Commissioner, Mr. Strange, this opinion had been expressed more to suit the views of the Collector (Mr. Conolly) than to report facts. Mr. Strange took a different view and attributed the affair to the Mappillas.

In April-May 1852 two Cheramars (the property of Kudilil Kannu Kutti Nayar, peon of Chernad taluk), after embracing Muhammadanism, reverted to their original faith after the departure of Saiyid Fazl, through whose influence they had become converts. Some Mup-pillas did not relish this, and consequently determined to murder Kannu Kutti Nayar and the two Cheramars, and thus become Sahids (martyrs). Although the Nayar agreed to relinquish his claims over these Cheramars on receipt of their purchase money, the impression made on the conspirators was that Kannu Kutti Nayar alone was instrumental to the Cheramars' apostacy. As the life of Kannu Kutti Nayar was thus threatened, he was allowed to carry a pistol with him for his self-protection. He was instructed to take good care of the pistol and also to send the Cheramars away to some distant place, which was agreed to by him.

In connection with this conspiracy two persons were apprehended by the tahsildar and steps taken for the arrest of every one who aided in and abetted the offence.

The result of the proceedings taken is not known, but Kannu Kutti Nayar was transferred to Ponnani, and subsequently to Calicut, with a view to avert the impending danger to his life. The Cheramars also were sent away to other taluks as their presence was considered a source of disturbance.

On the 9th August 1852 information was received that three Mappillas of Kurumbranad taluk had taken up a position in the house of the accountant of Puttur amsam in the same taluk, and had resolved to die as Sahids (martyrs). They wounded a Brahman and were on the 12th idem killed by the police, of

whom two received wounds.

Two Mappilla fanatics, Kunnumal Moidin and Cherukavil Moidin, murdered a Brahman named Chengalary Vasudevan Nambutiri on the 16th September 1853. They, failing to get any recruits and not finding any good house undefended, made their appearance on the 23rd on the top of a hill close to Angadipuram. The tahsildar at once went up to the spot with his peons. The fanatics, one an elderly man and the other a mere boy, rushed upon the assailing party as usual. Eighteen shots were fired at them. The elder man was brought down wounded but the younger was unhurt and fell on the leading peons and villagers, by whom he was despatched before inflicting injury on any one.

On the 25th September 1852 Mr. Strange had submitted the report called for by the Government, and this report was in due course reviewed by the Government and orders issued on the 23rd August 1853. Mr. Strange found that of all the persons engaged in the thirty-one cases, the circumstances of which he set forth in detail, there were " but fourteen for whom any personal cause of provocation was discoverable. In seven instances land has afforded the presumed ground of quarrel," and in the other seven cases the provocatives " were mostly of an equally unreal nature." In nine cases the parties had been " instigated to engage in crime by others who were to profit thereby or had malice to satisfy." Five were induced to crime "because of relatives having wrongs, fancied or real, to redress ; and the remaining 144 were without any personal provocations whatsoever." " It is apparent thus that in no instance can any outbreak or threat of outbreak that has arisen be attributed to the oppression of tenants by landlords. A great clamour is now raised on this regard prominently in the southern taluks visited by me, the Mappilla population seeking to throw the blame of these outbreaks upon the landlords by thus charging them with being the cause thereof. I have given the subject every attention, and am convinced that though instances may and do arise of individual hardship to a tenant, the general character of the dealings of the Hindu landlords towards their tenantry, whether Mappilla or Hindu, is mild, equitable and forbearing. I am further convinced that where stringent proceedings are taken, the conduct of the tenants is, in the vast majority of cases, the cause thereof, and that the Mappilla tenantry, especially of the taluks in South Malabar, where the outbreaks have been so common, are very prone to evade their obligations and to resort to false and litigious pleas." And Mr. Strange proceeded to review some instances — such as the taking of fines and fees on. renewal of leases and the granting of milkanam rights for the purpose of getting rid of obnoxious tenants — in which he thought some changes 1 in the

customary rules ought to be made.

He then went on to review the next ground for committing them dwelt upon by the Mappillas, namely, that the criminals were forced into them by destitution, but he

passed this by with the remark that most of the criminals were mere youths, and he could not believe that they " should be ready thus to throw life away from mere despair as to the means of supporting it."

But he next remarked " a feature that has been manifestly common to the whole of these affairs is that they have been one and all marked by the most decided fanaticism, and this there can be no doubt has

furnished the true incentive to them. . . .

And he then proceeded to state that the Mappillas of the interior

i These changes he proposed (paragraph 69) to leave to the Sadr Adftlat to declare by rule, and this was partly done. The rules issued hy the Sadr Adalat will be found printed in the Notes to Appendix XIII.

were always lawless, even in the time of Tippu's Government, were steeped in ignorance, and were on these accounts more than ordinarily susceptible to the teaching of ambitious and fanatical priests,1 using the recognised precepts of the Koran as handles for the sanction to arise and slay Kafirs , who opposed the faithf ul chiefly in the pursuit of agriculture.

The natural result was that " the Hindus, in the parts where outbreaks have been most frequent, stand in such fear of the Mappillas as mostly not to dare to press for their rights against them, and there is many a Mappilla tenant who does not pay his rent, and cannot, so imminent are the risks, be evicted. Other injuries are also put up with uncomplained of."

And he continued : — " To what further lengths the evil might not go if unchecked, it is impossible to say. Even the desire for plunder may prove a sufficient motive for the organisation of these outbreaks, some having already largely profited in this way. They will also, there cari be no doubt, be more and more directed against the landed proprietors. Six of the very highest class have been marked out for destruction in the course of the past outbreaks, of whom three were killed and several others of average property have suffered." In the Kulattur case in August 1851 the leading Mappillas had even asserted " that it was a religious merit to kill landlords who might eject tenants."

The condition of the Hindus had " become most lamentable," and even the prestige of the rule of Government had been " much shaken in the district."

Special legislation was necessary towards the following objects, namely : —

escheating the property of those guilty of fanatic outrage, fining the districts where such outrages occur, deporting the suspected, and placing restrictions on the possession of arms, and more especially of the war-knife, and on the building of mosques.

Mr. Strange further proposed the organisation of a special police force to put down these risings, and deprecated the resort to the use of the European force for the purpose. The Magistrate, Mr. Conolly, was in favor of this scheme, but he would " esteem it only as an adjunct to the European troops, in whom alone he has arty confidence ."

But Mr. Strange went beyond this and proposed 2 that the force should be exclusively composed of Hindus , a measure which it is needless

- *He named especially the Taramal Tangal mentioned in connection with the l<Hh October 1843 outrage, and his son Saiyid Fazl, who left the country under the circum-stances already related.*

- *Ifc 18 unnecessary to notice here some other almost grotesque proposals of Mr. , trange, all directed to the same end, the repression of the M&ppijla caste. The Government took no action upon these proposals.*

to say was not approved by the Government. The Government also, on •similar grounds, refused to entertain his proposals for putting restrictions on the erection of mosques as being a departure from the policy of a wise and just neutrality in all matters of religion.

But on all the other main points above adverted to Mr. Strange's views were adopted, and a policy of repression set in with the passing into law of Acts XXIII 1 and XXIV 2 of 1854, the latter for rendering illegal the possession of the war-knife, and the former for fining localities disturbed and for dealing with persons suspected of being privy to the commission of outrages.

In December 1854 Mr. Conolly proceeded on a tour to collect the war-knives through the heart of the Mappilla country, and brought in 2,725, and by the 31st of the following month of January 1855 (the latest date on which the possession of a war-knife was legal) the number of war-knives surrendered to the authorities amounted to the large number of 7,561.

The next report in connection with these Mappilla outrages conveyed to the Government the distressing intelligence that Mr. Conolly, the District M agistrate and Provisional Member of Council 3 for the Presidency, had been barbarously murdered by a gang of Mappillas.

The following is a copy of the letter written by Mr. G. B. Tod, Assistant Collector,

Malabar, to the Chief Secretary to Government, dated 1 a.m., 12th September 1855, reporting the occurrence : —

" It is my melancholy duty to inform you, for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council, that Mr. Conolly, the Collector of this district, was most barbarously murdered this evening, between eight and nine o'clock, in the presence of his wife. He received seven wounds, one of which at least was mortal.

" So far as the details at present are ascertained, the perpetrators were three Mappillas, who rushed into the verandah and completed their deadly work before assistance could be called. In the present state of Mrs. Conolly, it is impossible to gather further particulars of the tragedy of which she was the sole witness ; but immediately that I am able to do so, I will furnish more complete information."

The facts of this most tragio and melancholy ooourrence are narrated below : —

On the 4th August 1855 convicts Valasseri EmSiu, Puliyakunat Tenu, Chemban Moidln Kulti, and Vellattadayatta Parumbil Moidln escaped from their working party of jail convicts at Calicut and proceeded to Walluvanad. They loitered about in that taluk for a few days and left it finally on the 20th, visiting, on their way, the house of Tenu and taking -with them Ossan Hyderman (a barber lad), whom they

1 Continued by Act XXIV of 1859.

2 This Act came into force on the 1st February 1855.

» Mr. Conolly was shortly to have proceeded to the Presidency town as Member of the Council of Government.

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desired to show the way as far as the " new public road " running due east and west through the Payanad hills, which are connected with the Pandalur range. On the 23rd they (including the barber lad, who threw in his fate with the party) proceeded to Urotmala, whence they went to the house of Moidln Kutti at night to take their food. After a brief halt there of three or four hours they left the house, visiting some of their relatives on their way, and reached Mambram on the evening of the 24th. Here they prayed with Taramal Kunhi Koya at the shrine of the great Tangal referred to by Special Commissioner Mr. Strange as having been one of the great apostles of fanaticism and the instigator of the earlier outrages narrated above. At Mambram the intention of the murderers appears to have been disclosed to Kunhi K5ya, whose son, a boy 13 years old, heard his father speak of it to his wife, and subsequently gave evidence to that effect befoie Mr. Collett, who

enquired into the case. From the shrine they proceeded to Vettatt-pudiangadi, where they stayed for a short time. On the 29th and 30th they visited certain shrines of local reputation lying within easy distance of that station. After this they roamed about the country till the 9th September, on which date they were harboured by one Malakal Mammu, whose house was situated about three-quarters of a mile due east of Mr. Conolly's residence on West Hill, now occupied by the European detachment' at Calicut. On the 10th there was a nercha (feast when a vow is made) in Mammu's house, at which these assassins were present. The ceremony consisted in the recital of a song called Moidln Mala Pdttn, and their war-knife was passed through the smoke of the incense burnt on the occasion.

Thus prepared, the ruffians left Mammu's house on the evening of the 1 1th and noiselessly entered Mr. Conolly's residence between eight and nine o'clock. What followed is thus described by Mr. Collett, the Sub-Collector, in one of his official reports : —

" Nothing 1 could exceed the treachery with which the murder was begun, or the brutal butchery with which it was completed. Mr. Conollv was seated in a small verandah (as was his invariable custom of an evening) on a low sofa. Mrs. Conolly was on one opposite, a low table with lights on it being between them ; he wˆas approached from behind, and even Mrs. Conolly did not catch sight of the first blow, which would alone have proved fatal ; the next moment the lights were all swept off the table and the ruffians bounded upon their victim, slashing him in all directions. The left hand was nearly severed, the right knee deeply cut, and repeated stabs inflicted in the back. The wounds (twenty-seven in number) could have been inflicted only by fiends actuated by the most desperate malice. To the cries of poor Mrs. Conolly no one came ; the peons and servants are usually present in a passage boyond the inner room ; they were either panic-stricken, or, unarmed

Mr Collett's report of 21st September 18o5.

i

(as they invariably were) were 'unable to come up in time to afford any real assistance. One poor massalji who came forward and met one of the murderers in the inner room, received a blow which cut clean off four fingers of his left hand. A peon has also a slight wound, but it does not appear how he came by it. Doubtless this atrocity was rapidly completed, and perhaps the first thought of those servants who came up was to carry off their poor mistress to another part of the house. Mr. Conolly was soon after carried in, and Mr. Tod was the first who arrived to witness the terrible scene of domestic agony that ensued. Supported by Mr. Tod, Mr. Conolly lingered another half hour and then expired, having addressed a few words only to Mrs. Conolly, and apparently endured intense agony. Mr. Conolly

had received an anonymous letter warning him, but unfortunately thought it needless to take precautions, and had not even mentioned it to Mrs. Conolly."

Immediately after the murder the criminals proceeded along the high road to Tamarasseri to a village near Keravul, a distance of about twelve miles from Mr. Con oily's house. Here they went to the mosque. About 4 p.m. on the 12th they went to Makat Nambutiri's illam and remained there till about 9 p.m. They took away money and property to the amount of Ks. 300. Then they struck back to the main road to Tamarasseri and came to the house of Pulkutti Moyi. At night they went to the Bhavat mosque, where they remained till the following night (13th). On the 14th they were reported to have purchased provisions at the Tamarasseri bazaar. On the 15th they moved on to the Tiruvambadi amsam of the Calicut taluk. On the 16th they met a village peon and wrested his musket from him. They compelled one Chapali Pokar to act as their guide. He led them to Eddamannapara, which they reached at 4 p.m. on the 17th. They had not gone far from this place when they were seen, and, being followed up by the people of Kondotti (another sect of Mappillas), were driven at length to take refuge in the house where they were shot the same evening by a detachment of Major Haly's Police Corps and a part of No. 5 Company of H.M.'s 74th Highlanders under Captain Davies.

" The position 1 of the Mappillas was a most difficult one, consisting of gardens surrounded by ditches. After some practice with the mortar and howitzer, the troops charged into the gardens, and after turning the Mappillas out of one house, the offenders retreated to a stronger one, which they barricaded ; the outer door of this garden was on the edge of a deep nullah ; this door was first forced, and the troops were in the act of firing the house when the Mappillas threw open the door and rushed out upon the troops, and were, of course, quickly disposed of. It was quite impossible, I consider, to have secured them alive, though injunctions had been given to do so if possible. The men of the new

1 Mr. Collett's report of 17th September 1855, from " Morar, eight miles north-west of Manjeri.'

Police Corps emulated the Europeans in their steadiness, and were equally to the front at the last charge. I have, though with great regret, to report that one European was killed 1 by a shot from the house, and another very dangerously wounded by a cut on the throat whilst one of the Mappillas was on his bayonet."

Various causes have been suggested as the motive for the murder of Mr. Conolly, but the most probable of them seem to be that the ruffians, who were men of bad character, were exasperated at the orders of Mr. Conolly subjecting them to

restraint in the jail, and that they had resolved, probably at the suggestion of some outsiders, on avenging the banishment of Saiyid Fazl to Arabia.

The following amsams, implicated in the outrage, were fined in the sums noted against each : —

RS.

1.

1.

Nenmini, Walluvanad taluk

.. 1,857

Kariavattam, do. do.

.. 1,951

Kalpakancheri, Ponnam do.

.. 16,989

Kanmanam, do. do.

.. 1,869

Yadakkumpuram, do. do.

.. 1,991

Talaksd, do. do.

.. 8,842

Koduvayur, Palghat taluk

. . 3,003

Kacheri, Calicut taluk

.. 1,317

Kedavur, do. do.

Total

.. 38,331

The widow of Mr. Conolly was granted the net proceeds of the Mappilla fines aggregating Rs. 30,936-13-10.

In November 1855 Mr. Collett, the Joint Magistrate, suspecting two Mappillas who had deserted from the Malabar Police Corps of complicity with the murderers of Mr. Conolly, required them to produce sureties for good behaviour, and confined them on failure to give security for three years. They were afterwards permitted to leave the country.

A Muhammadan named Vanji Cudorat Kunji Mayan, a relative of the Kottayam Tangal, and who had been convicted on a former occasion of robbery and sentenced to eight years' hard labour, was arrested on the 3rd September 1857 on a charge of using seditious and inflammatory language in the public streets of Tellicherry, and of invoking the people in the name of God to rid the country of the Kafirs (Europeans). The country was then in a very disaffected state owing to scarcity cf rice and the outbreak of the Mutiny. The excitement caused by Mayan's preaching was so great as to induce the Brigadier commanding the provinces to adopt precautionary mea-

Two Hindus were also killed, one accidentally shot, and the other murdered by the Mappijjas when they took possession of the house.

sures at Cannanore and Tellicherry, and to place the former station in a state of defence. The Magistrate, Mr. Robinson, on proceeding to the northern division, found that the Head Assistant Magistrate had unwisely left the case in the hands of the subordinate police. Mr. Robinson, in consultation with the Sessions Judge, Mr. Chatfield, decided that the case should be summarily dealt with without the intervention of the Muhammadan Sadr Amin (native criminal judge), and particularly directed the Head Assistant Magistrate to pursue this course. The latter disobeyed the instructions given him and ordered the committal of the case to the Principal Sadr Amin, who, acting on an informal medical certificate given by Mr. West, Civil Surgeon, as to the man's insanity, and on the plea that the declamations made by Mayan in the public streets were not heard by men of his own persuasion, acquitted him of the charge, but kept him in jail as he was believed to be insane. The Acting Magistrate and the Sessions Judge disagreeing with the views taken by the Principal Sadr Amin, the Head Assistant was directed to send the prisoner with a report to Calicut, where he was kept under the surveillance of the Zillah Surgeon ; and as the Acting Magistrate could find no reason to doubt the man's sanity, he proposed to Government to put the Mappilla Outrages Act in force by deporting him. This suggestion was adopted and Mayan subsequently died in jail at Trichinopoly.

About the latter end of August 1857, Puvadan Kunyappa Haji and seven other Mappillas of Ponmala in Ernad taluk, the hot-bed at that time of fanaticism and disaffection, were suspected of conspiring to revenge the supposed insult offered to their religion by the relapse of a Nayar convert, and to make an attempt to rid the country of the Kafirs (Europeans), representing that the Government was weakened by the mutiny in Northern India. One of them, a mullah, who was mukri of the Ponmala mosque, and who was the depositary of the fanatical gono-s and ballads of the people, had collected the prisoners and incited them to deeds of violence and bloodshed by reciting to them the famous " Cherur 1 ballad," commemorating the feats of their relatives in the outbreak of 19th October 1843. Information of this was conveyed to the police by the inhabitants, who valued their property too much to connive at it. The conspiratorsˆ were surprised and taken prisoners by the police officer at Ernad (Koman Nayar) and by Mr. E. C. G. Thomas, the Special Assistant Magistrate. Seven of them were dealt with under the Mappilla Outrages Act and deported.

The Acting Magistrate of Malabar reported to Government on 9th February 1858 that the Mappilla Act should be put in force against three individuals, one of whom had purchased the piece of ground— the scene of the death struggles of the Mappillas killed in the outbreak of 19th October 1843— had built a small mosque there, and had msti-

i The ballad translated at pages 102-3 is sometimes thus called.

tuied a day for holding a festival in honour of the martyrs. Since 1849 the number of visitorsto the place had steadily increased, and the feast assumed a very threatening character in the opinion of Mr. Collett. The two others were mullahs who exercised a powerful influence for evil on the people, and their removal also was thought necessary. The three men were accordingly deported for short terms.

In 1860 two Mappillas of North Malabar were deported for short terms for threatening the life of an adhikari who gave evidence in a criminal case against them.

The District Magistrate, Mr. Ballard, reported to Government that on the 4th February 1864, during the Ramzan feast, a Mappilla of Melmuri amsam, Ernad taluk, named: Attan Kutti, in a fit of religious fanaticism, stabbed and caused the death of one Notta Panikkar, whom he found in the house of a Tiyan, his 'intended victim. Attan was convicted and sentenced to be hanged as an ordinary malefactor. It afterwards transpired that he had a confederate in his design, and astheir design must have been known to the people of the amsam, the District Magistrate proposed, and the Government sanctioned, the fining of the amsam to

the extent of Rs. 2,037 and the deportation oi the confederate.

Three Mappillas, Muhammad Kutti and two others, were convicted of the murder of one Shangu Nayar of Nenmini amsam, Walluvanad taluk, on the 17th September 1865. The circumstances of the case were such asto lead to the conclusion that the murder was planned and committed from personal and private motives, as the prisoners had money transactions with the murdered man ; but a religious cloak was thrown around the affair by the performance, three days before the act was committed, of a certain religious ceremony called macalud at a feast at the first prisoner's house. Several men were present on the occasion to whom the objects of the murderers must have been known. Six persons. were accordingly deported.

Shortly after midnight of 7th September 1873, Kunhippa Musaliyar, the priest of the Tutakkal mosque in Paral amsam of Walluvanad taluk, with eight others, visited the house of one Chattara Nayar, the Vclichchapdcl or oracle of the Hindu temple at Tutakkal,' which lies directly opposite to the mosque on the other or southern bank of the river. The Vclichchapdcl in one of his fits of inspiration had given offence to the Mappillas of the mosque opposite. The party, on arrival at his house, roused him up on the pretence that one of their number had been bitten on the foot by a snake. As the Vclichchapdcl stooped down to examine the limb, the leader of the gang struck him several severe blows with a sword across the back of the neck, and the party then went away leaving him for dead.

From the VchchchapdcV s house the gang proceeded tc, and reached in the early morning, Kulattur, the scene of the memorable outrage oi 22nd— 27th August 1851, a distance of twelve miles, expecting to

find the Y&riy&r (the present head of the family and a member of the District Board; at home. But he chanced to he absent. Two other male members of the family, however, were at the house, and one of these was decoyed downstairs by the leader of the gang and was immediately attacked and mortally wounded. The other man managed to escape.

Hearing from Paral in the early morning that the gang had started for Kulattur, the taluk tahsildar, a Mappilla, sent to Malapuram a requisition for troops. And Mr. Winterbotham, the Head Assistant Magistrate, who chanced to be in the taluk at the time, also heard of the outbreak while riding from Manarghat to Angadipuram, and pushed on to Kulattur, which he reached at 4 p.m.

Mr. Winterbotham had time to reconnoitre the buildings held by the fanatics before the troops 1 from Malapuram arrived at about an hour before dark. This enabled Captain Yesey to make his dispositions for attacking the fanatics at once.

The right half company under Lieutenant Williamson passed through the temple

attached to the Yariyar's house and took up a position in the level courtyard of the house flanking the left half company, which, under Captain Yesey, occupied the interior verandah of a raised gate-house.

As soon as these dispositions had been completed and just as the day was closing in, the fanatics attacked the gate-house party. They were armed with swords, spears, a knife, an axe, and a chopper, and notwithstanding the cross fire from both parties of military, charged home on the bayonets. The leader of the gang, a man of great determination, " received 2 two bullets in the chest, if not more, wounded first a front rank man, and then a rear rank man. receiving first the bayonet thrust of each, and was then killed by a third bayonet thrust. " " Another man was also wounded at the same spot."

Of the nine fanatics eight were killed, and one, " a mere child," was wounded and afterwards recovered.

The amsams concerned in this outrage were fined Rs. 42,000, and the proceeds were utilised in giving compensation to those aggrieved, and in constructing two cart roads to open up the tract of country where the outrage occurred, and a police station at Kulattur.

On the 27th March 1877 it was reported by the adhikari of Irim-buji amsam in Ernad taluk that Avinjipurat Kunji Moidln and four other Mappillas were designing to oommit a fanatical outrage, the reason assigned being that a Nayar had debauched Kalitha, the wife of one of the men, and consequently the grossest insult had been given both to him personally and to his religion. The injured husband had

1 1 lieutenant, 1 surgeon, 2 sergeants, 1 corporal, 1 bugler, and 31 privates of the 43rd or Oxfordshire Light Infantry under Captain Vesey.

2 District Magistrate's (Mr. MacGregor's) report to Government, No. 84 F, dated

12 th September 1873.

asked A. Kunji Moidin to join him, and had got five choppers made and well ground for the purpose of murdering the Nayar. The other three had been asked to assist in carryiug out the design. It would appear that these three men could not make up their minds to join, and that, in the meanwhile, news of tliei design had leaked out and was communicated to the authorities, who promptly dealt with the matter.*

Kunji Moidin had set out to join the fanatics at Kulattur in 1873, hut had arrived

too late. Security for his good behaviour for a year was therefore taken from him. It being considered unsafe to allow the two chief conspirators to remain at large, the Government directed that they should be proceeded against under Section 6 of Act XX of 1859 unless they undertook to leave India for seven years, and that security for good behaviour should be taken from the others. . The two men elected to leave Malabar for Mecca, to which place they were accordingly sent.

On the 20th June 1879 the Taluk Magistrate of Walluvanad received private information from one Teyan Mcnon of Cherapullasseri to the effect that Kunnanat Kunhi Moidu of Tutakal bazaar in Paral amsam, and the younger brother of Kunhippa Musaliyar, the ringleader of the Kulattur fanatics of 1873, had been inciting some six or seven young men to commit an outrage by inculcating into their minds at the mosque and other places that they would gain paradise if killed in an outbreak, and that Kunhi Moidu had also received money from, and seditious songs composed by, his father Moidin Kutti Haji, who was detained at Rajahmundry for complicity in the Kulattur outrage of 1873. Immediately on receiving this information the tahsildar proceeded to Tutakal, where he arrested Kunhi Moidu and other individuals suspected. The evidenceobtained in the case was of an unsatisfactory character, and the District Magistrate, Mr. McWatters, accordingly directed the release of the seven prisoners including Kunhi Moidu. But this action was subsequently overruled by the Government, who ordered the ringleader to be deported and security to be taken from the other six men. The Haji above referred to, as well as Nellayi Pokar, the chief of the persons banished to Rajahmundry in 1873, were reincarcerated in jail and the allowance sanctioned to five other men who were under surveillance at Rajahmundry was reduced to Rs. 6 per mensem.

On 9th September 1880 Matuminaltodi Ali, after waiting till he was tired at the gate of an East Coast Brahman landlord named Appatura Pattar in Melattur amsam, Walluvanad taluk, for the purpose of murdering him, started for the house of a Cheraman (slave caste) lad who had some years previously become a convert to Islam and had subsequently, much to the disgust of the Mappillas of the neighbourhood, reverted to Hinduism. Finding the lad at home, he went up to him in a friendly sort of manner as he was standing close to a wooden stile, and seizing him, he bent the lad back over the stile and deliberately cut his

throat with a knife. Thence he went to the village mosque, armed himself with the mosque sword, and started with the avowed intention of slaying the abovesaid Appatura Pattar, another landlord called Trippakkada Krishna Pisharddi, and another Hindu named Mannan Raman. Several other Mappillas were afterwards suspected of having intended to join Ali, but as matter of fact none of them did. On the afternoon of the 9th Ali wounded a potter who oamo in his way and thrashed with the flat of his sword a small Cheraman boy who met him and began imitating the way in which he was brandishing his weapon. On the early morning

of the 10th September Ali, dressed in martyr fashion (white with loins girt), went vapouring up through the paddy-fields to the gate-house of one of his intended victims — the Pisharodi — flourishing his sword and chaunting some hymn or other. But the door was shut in his face, and a Hindu watchman named Gopala Taragan, placed in the upper story of the gate -house and armed with a short gun, planted a charge of slugs and shot in Ali's breast from a distance of about teD or twelve feet, and sent him doubled up and dead into the water-channel running past the gate-house.

The Melattur amsam was fined Rs. 4,200, seven Mappillas privy to the design were deported, nine others required to give security, and the watchman who shot Ali was rewarded.

On the 14th October 1880, shortly after the last outrage above narrated, in which the lives of two prominent landlords (Appatura Pattar and Krishna Pisharodi) were menaced, the Government of his Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos received an anonymous petition, in which the grievances of the agriculturists were set forth, particularly in regard to eviction from their lands, and stating that the people, especially Mappillas, having conspired to create a disturbance, had been advised by some wise men to wait untila representation of the popular grievances had been made to Government and orders received thereupon. The petition went on to say that disturbances and bloodshed of a kind unknown in Malabar will take place," and that this was no vain threat. " By the Almighty God who has created all, petitioners swear that this will be a fact." And the petition wound up by praying for orders to prohibit the trial and execution of eviction suits, to forbid registration of deeds effecting transfers of land recovered in such suits, and for the appointment of a Commissioner " to inquire into complaints against landlords."

*This petition was referred for confidential report to the District Judge of South Malabar (Mr. H. Wigram), who was to hand it over for the same purpose to the District Magistrate (Mr. W. Logan), then just about to return from leave on furlough. Both officers agreed that Special Commissioner Mr. Strange had given far too little weight to agrarian discontent as the cause of the Mappilla outbreaks, and both officers, who had had to deal, the one in his judicial and the other in his executive capacity, with a very serious outbreak of dacoity which had imperille**

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the peace of the district in the years 1875, 1876, 1877, were also agreed that agrarian discontent was also at the bottom of that business. At the same time both officers were agreed that no general rising was imminent, but both thought it likely that the agrarian discontent would culminate in fresh acts of fanaticism directed against individuals, notwithstanding the tremendous penalties of Mr. Strange's

repressive legislation.

These opinions were in due course forwarded to Mr. A. MacGregor, the British Resident in Travancore and Cochin, who had been for several years Collector of Malabar, and in whose time, as such, the Kulattur outrage of September 1873 had occurred, and he in turn generally agreed in the views above expressed : — " First, as to the essential nature of Malabar Mappilla outrages, I am perfectly satisfied that they are Fanaticism is merely the instrument through which the terrorism of the landed classes is aimed at."

After consideration of the above reports, the Government of Mr. Adam decided, on 5th February 1881, tc appoint the Collector of the District (Mr. W. Logan) as Commissioner to "specially inquire into and report upon —

1. *The general question of the tenure of land and of tenant*

right in Malabar, and the alleged insufficiency of compensation offered by the landlords and awarded for land improvements made by tenants.

1. *The question of sites1 for mosques and burial-grounds,*

with suggestions for a measure rendering the grant of such sites compulsory under certain conditions if such a measure appears to him called for.

" He will further submit his views as to the best means for redressing any existing grievances which are, in his opinion, well founded, and which, after due inquiry, he thinks ought to be redressed, and will suggest appropriate remedies."

On receipt of these orders Mr. Logan proceeded, in February-October 1881, to visit all parts of the district (except Wynad), and after receiving in these tours 2,200 petitions presented by 4,021 persons, he was engaged from October 1881 till June 16th, 1882, in arranging the information gathered, in searching the voluminous district records, and in drawing up a report, which, on the last-mentioned date, was duly submitted to the Government of Mr. Grant Duff.

The facts and conclusions arrived at may be shortly stated thus : _

At the commencement of British rule, the janmi or landlord was entitled to no more than his proper share, viz., one-third of the net produce of the soil, and even that one-thud was liable to diminution if he had received advances from those beneath him,

- *Another fertile cause of disagreement between Hindu anfl Mappilja.*

The janmi was also entitled to various ranks and dignities of sorts — commandant of the Nayar militia; a man of authority in the Nayar guild, organised into villages called tar as; trustee of the village temples, &c.

The British authorities mistook his real position and invested him erroneously with the Roman dominium of the soil.

For certain reasons (on which it is unnecessary to enlarge) this change in the position of the janmi did not make itself much felt until Mr. Graeme, the Special Commissioner in Malabar in 1818-22, proposed to ascertain what the actual " rents " were in order to base upon them a scheme for revising the land revenue assessment on wet lands.

This inquiry brought the respective conflicting interests into sharp antagonism, and the result will be found sufficiently described in paragraph 266, &c%, of Chapter IY, Section (b).

Moreover, shortly after this (about 1832) a notable increase in the prices of agricultural produce began to be felt. The land revenue assessments, hitherto collected with great difficulty, began to come in with increasing1 ease.

This increase in the prices of produce, however, left a larger margin of profit than before to be scrambled for between the janmis and the ryots ; and the former, holding in the view of the Courts the dominium of the soil , began to evict such of the latter as would not yield to their increasing demands.

It was only a few years, namely, on the 26th November 1836, after these disturbing elements had been at work, that the first of the Mappilla outrages reported on by Mr. Strange occurred.

Mi. Strange's view was mainly to the effect that the outrages were due to fanaticism fanned by the ambition of two Arab priests, and the legislation proceeding from that idea had been purely repressive.

Finally this repressive legislation had failed to fulfil its objects, as

the above narrative abundantly shows.

Mr. Logan next turned his attention to the present condition of the

agricultural classes and elicited the following facts .

Fully two-thirds of the land revenue of the district comes from wet or rice land ; there is still a considerable extent of land to be taken up (about five acres 2 per man of the agricultural classes).

The cultivators are all more or less in debt, and have to pay excessive interest on their debts.

Socially the cultivators are subjected (particularly if they are Hindus) to many humiliations and much tyrannical usage by their

landlords. _ . . ,

The common Imam tenure has degenerated into an outrageous

system of forehand renting, favorable only to the money-lender.

1 Chapter IV, Section (6), paragraph 315.

2 Of course this is the worst land, and very }ittle

of it can be irrigated.

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The improving lease (kulikkanam) tenure is also unsatisfactory, as tenants, when evicted, do not get the full market value of their improvements.

The ordinary ryot (the verumpattam holder) no longer enjoys the one-third of the net produce to which he was by custom entitled, and his terms have of late years approached the starvation limit.

Moreover, the bulk of the ryots tend to become such ordinary ryots (verumpattam holders).

And this is more especially noticeable in the grain-producing portion of the district (the Mappilla taluks), where rack renting is so much easier than in the fruit-bearing portioru)f the country, which chiefly lies along the coast line.

Of the ordinary ryots' (verumpattam holders) grain land holdings, no less than 2,483 1 out of 3,817 1 (over 65 per cent.) are year to year holdings, which have been held by present occupants for periods less than twelve years. Suits for eviction of cultivators and for rent have become increasingly numerous between 1862-1880.

Quinquennial periods.

Average annual numbers of

Suits of eviction.

Persons against whom eviction decrees have been passed.

Rent decrees, excluding Small Cause suits against persons.

1862-66 .

2,039

1,891

1,473

1867-71 .

2,547

3,483

2,549

1872-76 .

3,974

6,286

4,314

1877-80 .

4,983

8,355

6,498

The excessive hardship of evictions was specially dwelt uponby the petitioners.

And when tenants are evicted, they do not, owing to court costs and other expenses, realise anything like the full market value of their improvements.

The big janmis ' property is scattered widely over the face of the country and is rarely held in compact blocks capable of effective management.

*Most of them do not know where much of their property lies haring never even seen it. **

They do not know the persons who cultivate it, and do not concern themselves as to whether their tenants sublet or not.

Most of them care nothing for the welfare of their tenants.

And the tenants are, as a rule, largely in arrears with their rents.

Moreover, the men employed by these big janmis to manage their scattered properties are all men of common education, who get very small pay, and their chief duty is to grant receipts for rent collected.

1 These figures relate only to the lands actually examined in all parte of the dutrict

This granting of receipts places large power for evil in the hands of these low-paid and ignorant agents, and they have to be bribed by the ryots in order that they may be allowed to remain in the good graces of the janmis, who in regard to local details are completely in their agents' hands.

Mr. Logan finally formed the opinion that the Mappilla outrages were designed " to counteract the overwhelming influence, when hacked by the British courts, of th ejanmis in the exercise of the novel powers of ouster and of rent raising conferred upon them. A janmi who, through the courts, evicted,1 whether fraudulently or otherwise, a substantial tenant, was deemed to have merited death, and it was considered a religious virtue, not a fault, to have killed such a man, and to have afterwards died in arms fighting against an infidel Government which sanctioned such injustice."

It is unnecessary to say anything here of Mr. Logan's proposals for legislation, as the matter is still (1886) under consideration, but it may be mentioned here that he proposed to adopt as principles for legislation the following : —

1. *The only person interested in the soil, to whom the Government should look in the pending legislation, is the actual*

cultivator or ryot :

1. *The landlord's power of ouster must, in the public interests,*

be curt ailed :

1. *The landlord is perfectly entitled to take a competition rent,*

provided he is dealing with capitalists : and

1. *The tenants must have the full benefit of the ancient ■cus*

tomary law entitling them to sell the improvements on their

holdings.

While Pulikkal Raman of Pandikad amsam, Ernad taluk, was cleaning his teeth at a channel on the 31st October 1883, Asaritodi Moidin Kutti of the same amsam attacked him from behind with a sword, cut him on the back of the neck, and, as he rose, inflicted another wound on the shoulder. Raman fled pursued by Moidin Kutti, who held the sword in one hand and a book in the other, and used unintelligible expressions as he ran. After dancing about on a rock for some time, brandishing his sword and striking the back of his neck with it, Moidin Kutti, on the intervention of his brother Avaran and a Mappilla named Mammad, threw the sword and book down and surrendere . He was afterwards tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity

On the 4th March 1884 one Marakkar and four others, of (diem-brasseri amsam, Ernad taluk, presented a petition before the Taluk Magistrate charging one Yakkayil Moidin Kutti and another of the

game amsam with conspiracy to murder the East Coa®rahni| ' lord named Appatura Pattar of Melattur amsam m Walluvanad taluk,

i Mr. Collett's report on the first KulattOr outrage of 22nd August 18ol.

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already mentioned in connection with the outrage of 9th September 1880, and to die subsequently as martyrs. Moidin Kutti was a son of one of the petitioners, and his companion (0. Kutti Mammu) was a tenant of the Brahman who had rendered himself obnoxious as a landlord generally, and who had prevented Kutl-i Mammu from ploughing his land until arrears of rent due had been paid or until security had been given for its due payment. Moidin Kutti was merely a tool in the hands of Kutti Mammu, and there were also five others who had been arrested on suspicion. The two ringleaders were deported, two of the remaining five had to furnish security to keep the peace, another was released unconditionally, and the other two were released with a warning. The man who disclosed the design received a reward of Rs. 200.

A Hindu of the toddy-drawer caste, named Kannancheri Raman, who had several years previously embraced and subsequently renounced Islam, was proceeding by a river foot-path from his house to work at the Malapuram barracks at about 6-30 in the morning of the 18th June 1884. He was there waylaid and attacked in a most savage manner by two Mappillas armed with hatchets, and was very severely

wounded. He managed, however, to get free and fell into the river close by, whence he contrived to make his escape to the house of his brother, by whom he was taken to the barrack hospital. He at once denounced Avarankutti and Koyamutti as the men who had wounded him, and stated that a third person, one Kunhi Mammad Mulla, was present and held him whilst the others attacked him. These men had intended to run the usual fanatical course, but their courage failed them at the last moment and they were in due course arrested, brought to trial, and, being convicted of attempt to commit murder, were sentenced to transportation for life.

Three other persons were afterwards deported in connection with this case and five others released with a warning. The Acting District Magistrate (Mr. Gal ton) proposed to fine the amsam (Kilmuri) in the sum of Rs. 15,000, of which he proposed to assign a sum of Rs. 1,000 to K. Raman as compensation for his wounds, and these proposals were in due course sanctioned by the Government.

It was found neeessary subsequently to reduce the fine to about Rs. 5,000 by reason of the poverty of the Mappilla inhabitants.

The proposal to assign Rs. 1,000 of this sum to the apostate K. Raman appears to have rankled in the minds of the Mappillas generally. These hold the perverted view that an apostate should suffer death, and viewed the idea of granting a reward to an apostate for his wounds as a covert attack on this cherished dogma of their religion. This, and the fact that the pseudo-sa/tu/s (martyrs) in this case had set out fully resolved to die as such, and had not had courage enough to adhere to their resolution, were viewed as slurs upon the faith of Islam which could only be washed out in blood. Champion of the faith*

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were required, and these were found, not among the recreant inhabitants of Malapuram, hut away in the north of the taluk among the wild timber-floating population, who earn a precarious living amid hardships and dangers of no common sort.

And the following narrative sets forth how they fared in their self-imposed mission in defence of their " pearl-like faith."

At 4 a.m. on 27th December 1884 Kolakkadan Kutti Assan and eleven other Mappillas proceeded to the house of Kannanoheri Choyi Kutti, the brother of the apostate K. Raman mentioned in the narrative of the preceding outrage, in search of the latter, who, fortunately for himself, was absent. The house is on the river hank within sight of the barracks of the European infantry stationed at Malapuram , and. is situated less than half a mile distant therefrom. When Choyi Kutti, hearing a noise at his cowshed, opened the door to ascertain what it was, he

was greeted by a volley from the firearms carried by the party. Two of the shots took effect on him and he fell badly wounded. His son, a small boy, was also wounded. The gang set fire to the thatched roof of the house and drove the women and children out of it. On leaving the house in flames they raised the Mussulman cry to prayers. The noise was distinctly heard in the barracks, hut no one paid any attention to it as firing of guns at that time was quite common in the neighbourhood.

After this exploit the gang formed up and marched right through the Malapuram bazaar, passing within twenty yards of the police station, and continued on their course along the Great Western road (No. 6) for a distance of over eight miles, warning people whom they met to get off the road. A Brahman who faded to comply with this peremptory demand, was mortally wounded by the leader of the gang with a bullet from a No. 6 gauge single-barrelled muzzle-loading elephant rifle 1 which he carried, and received besides a cut from a heavy knife behind the ear. Long before they left the road it was broad daylight, and they sent sundry messages to the Officer commanding Malapuram and to the District Magistrate of what they had done.

On reaching the 21st mile 4th furlong they diverged to the north into the wild hilly and jungly country stretching thence to the Beypore river. At the river they halted a short time to take some food. After doing this a party of seven of them proceeded straight across that river, which was at the time fordable, to the Hindu temple of Trikkallur, lying in the Urngattiri amsam of Emad taluk. They halted, for a short time only, at the Churott mosque, which lies about three-quarters of a mile from the temple on the opposite bank of a large paddy flat.

The seven men broke into the temple and took possession of it, raising the Muhammadan cry to prayer, and firing their guns out of the four windows of the upper-storeyed gate-house.

i The rifle haa " Samuel Nock invenit " on the lock -plate.

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The above occurrences happened during the Christmas holidays, and both the Special Assistant Magistrate and the Assistant Superintendent of Police quartered at Malapuram were absent from the station. The head constable of police however put himself, as soon as the particulars were ascertained, in communication with the Officer commanding (Captain Curtis of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry), and the latter with a party of his men started in pursuit of the gang, which, however, having had a long start, was never overtaken, and the detachment returned the same afternoon to their barracks.

The District Magistrate (Mr. W. Logan) and the Police Superintendent (Major F.

Hole) were at Calicut when the news of the outrage arrived late in the forenoon of the same day. Hastily gathering as many as possible of the police reserve under Inspector Sweeny, they marched in the afternoon and evening to Kondotti, and before midnight received authentic intelligence that the gang of fanatics had taken possession of the temple at Trikkallur.

Hearing that the gang had firearms, the District Magistrate sent from Arikod, which was reached in the early morning of 28th, urgent requisitions to Malapuram and Calicut for dynamite, as it was not at all improbable that this gang of fanatics meant to depart from the tactics of their predecessors and to fight from behind walls with firearms, instead of charging the troops in the open as had been the practioe heretofore. After events fully justified this anticipation.

The paddy flat beneath the temple on the east was reached at 10-80 a.m., and the Mappilla inhabitants of the locality were assembled and despatched to bring in the fanatics if possible. But in this they failed and only brought back a message to this effect from the fanatics : " K.

Raman committed an offence worthy of death by becoming an apostate. You not only did not punish him for this offence, but you actually proposed to reward him with Rs. 1,000 " (the sum proposed by Mr. Galton as compensation for his wounds) " for doing it. How could we let him live under such circumstances ?" One of the members of the deputation had the hardihood to remain behind when the rest of the party retired from the temple and joined the gang of fanatics. They now numbered twelve, the heart of one of the original party having failed him when the neighbourhood of the temple was reached on the preceding afternoon.

The fanatics had burnt two houses in the neighbourhood in the morning as a warning to the people that they must be supplied with provisions. They had also caught and killed for food a cow which they found near the temple.

The first shot was fired by the fanatics shortly after the deputation of Mappillas retired from their interview with the gang.

About 2 p.m. a party of 28 men of the Oxfordshire Light Infantry,

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oommanded by Lieutenant Day and accompanied by Surgeon-Major Joseph Eeath,1 reached the spot from Malapuram.

It was determined to attack the temple from the west, on which side the ground was open, whereas the direct route on the east side was not only steep, but, owing to the sloping nature of the ground, no musketry fire could he directed on the building until close range was reached, and even then there was no room for more

than ten men in the first line of attack. On the west the building, and in particular the upper-storeyed gate-house in which it was beJieved the fanatics meant to make their stand, could be seen from a distance of over half a mile. It was known that the fanatics had but one rifle in their possession, the one already described ; the rest of their armament consisted of a double-barrelled muzzle-loading percussion gun, about 14 bore, by Westley Richards, a smooth-bore muzzle-loading percussion musket, and two smooth-bore muzzle-loading percussion country guns, besides several heavy chopping knives, &c. The temple, and in particular the upperstoreyed gate-fyouse, occupied a most commanding position except on the east, where the view was obscured by trees.

As Lieutenant Day's party came in sight at a distance of about 500 yards the fanatics opened fire from the upper-storeyed gate-house with their rifle throwing conical bullets of over three ounces, which, from their ragged shape and high velocity, due to excessive charges of English sporting gunpowder, flew over the heads of the detachment with a scream like that of a small cannon ball.

The Light Infantry assumed the attack formation, advancing by rushes of a few yards, and having the police in reserve behind them. No casualties occurred until the military and police had both entered the spacious outer temple square through the ruined western gate. Here they found themselves, with massive bolted wooden doors, stone walls, and thick tiled roofs separating them from their enemies, who held the spacious inner square and the upper-storeyed eastern gatehouse.

But the walls which sheltered the Mappillas also afforded shelter to the military and police, for the fanatics, not expecting the attack from the western side, had only partially loopholed it.

As Lieutenant Day was reconnoitring the building he received what at the time appeared to be a fatal wound from a bullet at the southern door of the inner square and had to retire. And the fanatics began to come down from the upper-storey building into the inner square and to make loopholes in the roof for shots at close range. Axes were procured, hut it was soon found to be an impossible task to break open the massive doors.

1 Shortly afterwards killed by dacoita in Burmah to the great regret of a wide circle of friends.

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A retreat from the outer square became necessary, and just as this critical operation had been successfully accomplished under a brisk fire, but without casualty, Lieutenant Cardew of the Oxfordshires came up shortly before sundown with 28 more men.

The fanatics had all this while kept up a brisk fire from the upperstoreyed building and the western doorway of the inner square, and numerous very narrow escapes from their bullets had occurred.

The reinforcement enabled Lieutenant Cardew to guard during the night two of the four gates leading through the walls of the outer square of the temple, and the charge of a third, the eastern one, was taken by the police reserve. The southern gate was left unguarded during the nights This fact was probably not known to the Mappillas in the temple nor to those in the neighbourhood, several of whom, armed with guns, had been seen suspiciously hanging on the flank of Lieutenant Day's detachment as it marched up to the temple, and from others of whom there came defiantly at intervals across the interven-ing paddy flat a wild Muhammadan call to prayers during all the time that the musketry was playing in the temple front, in sympathetic response to similar cries raised by the fanatics in the temple. Two men unarmed attempted to pass into the temple during the night, but were stopped by the sentries. It is certain, judging from previous experience, that recruits would have joined the gang in large numbers during the night had these precautions not been taken.

Captain Curti3 arrived during the night with some dynamite, and Mr. Twigg, the Special Assistant Magistrate, who had travelled all the way from Madras after receiving news of the outbreak, also arrived in the early morning.

The Mappillas had been busy loopholing the western side of the temple during the night, and at the first dawn, as the party of six officers stood closely together in a group talking, the first shot from the new loopholes in the temple was fired, and the bullet from an overloaded gun fortunately whistled harmlessly over their heads.

The means of getting access to the temple had now arrived, but a difficulty which had not been foreseen occurred, for no one present knew how to handle the explosive. And those who eventually prepared the cartridges had never even seen the explosive before. A series of experiments were made separately first with fuse, then with fuse and detonator, and finally with fuse detonator and cartridge. The experiments being successful, about twenty-five cartridges were tied together and enveloped in a thick coating of wet clay.

, J ust as these preparations were being made, Captain Heron Maxwell arrived from Calicut with Surgeon Cusack and 50 men of the Royal Fusiliers.

The troops and police were then divided into three parties ; the larger number, including nearly all the police, were posted at every available spot round the ruined outer wall of the temple to fire upon the upper-

storeyed gate-house and all the loopholes in the doors and roof of the north-west and south sides of the inner square. Another hut very small party of picked men

were told off to line the few practicable places in the ruined wall on the east side. A third party was held ready to receive the fanatics with the bayonet if they charged out.

These arrangements having been completed, a brisk fire was opened on the north-west and south sides against the loopholed doors and roof of the inner square. And when the firing ceased, Private Barrett of the Oxfordshires ran up to the western door of the inner square and placed a dynamite cartridge on the sill. The fuse went out ; a second cartridge was brought and placed in like manner beside the first one.

After an interval which seemed an age to those waiting for the result, a loud report shook the ground, a dense cloud of smoke and dust rose from the doorway, and when this cleared away it was seen that the dynamite 1 cartridges had successfully done their work by blowing in the door and displacing the beams with which the fanatics had strengthened it inside. Another five pound cartridge had subsequently to be used to clear away the wreck.

After this the taking of the stronghold was only a matter of time. But it was not accomplished without further bloodshed. Private Miles, one of the steadiest shots in the Oxfordshire detachment, had been told off as one of the marksmen at the eastern gate to protect Private Rolfe of the Eoyal Fusiliers, who laid the dynamite charge at the eastern door. Rolfe had laid one charge, but the fuse had gone out. Miles was peering through some bushes growing on the ruined outer wall with his head only exposed, when a fanatic shot him dead from one of the loopholes in the upperstoreyed gate-house. Rolfe, nothing daunted, successfully laid the second charge in spite of a brisk fire from the fanatics and smashed in the eastern door.

The north door was next destroyed, and a cross-fire poured through the north and west doors drove the fanatics in the inner square up into the upperstoreyed building.

Their determination to resist desperately to the end was remarkable. They had a bullet-proof parapet extending to a height of nearly thirty inches above the floor of the upper-storeyed room in which they were now all gathered. By lying or even kneeling behind this, they were absolutely safe from injury from the bullets, which crashed through the broad wooden planks which closed in the room on all sides abothis thirty inch parapet. In the interstices between these planks loopholes had been cut. Each fanatic took his turn to fire at the military and police sharp-shooters lining the outer wall. As the muzzle of his gun was seen protruded from the loophole and in act to fire, some twenty or thirty of the marksmen lining the ruined outer wall, fired a

» It is believed that this was the first occasion on which dynamite was used in

actual warlike operations in face of an enemy in India.

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volley at the spot, and some of their bullets orashing through the wooden planks, hit the fanatio in several parts of his body simultaneously, but usually in the head or throat or chest. It was thus that they all died one by one.

As their fire slackened the interior of the temple was gradually occupied by the military and police, and the last dynamite cartridge was used to blow open the massive trap-door giving access to the upperstoreyed gate-house room where the final stand was made.

Of the twelve fanatics, three were still alive, but two of them were speechless and died immediately ; the third man lived about twenty-four hours.

The casualties among the military were one private killed and one officer (Lieutenant Day) and one private wounded. It is marvellous that the casualties were so few in number, considering that the fanatics were afterwards estimated to have fired not less than two hundred and fifty shots at the party of order.

This serious outbreak was followed by several other small affairs, all pointing to the existence of widespread excitement and fanatical zeal, the particulars of which it is unnecessary to relate here.

The Soudanese Mahdi was at this time (JanuaryApril 1885) occupying a large share of public attention. One fanatical teacher at least selected his exploits for the theme of many exciting discourses, and a mysterious Hungarian stranger, under the guise of a priest, who admitted that he had known Olivier Pain, the Soudanese Mahdi's Frenchman, made his appearance shortly afterwards at Cochin.

The risks run by the party employed in suppressing the Trikkallur gang from the firearms used by the fanatics made the Government decide to disarm three taluks of the district (Calicut, Ernad and Wallu-vanad). And this ticklish operation was, notwithstanding the excited state of the Mappilla community at the time, successfully carried out in the month of February 1885 by the district officers. It had a most beneficial effect on the population of the tracts in which the order was enforced.

Five disarming parties were organised, each in charge of a Magistrate with a police officer to assist him. To each party were attached a havildar's guard of sepoys and a head constable's party of the Police Reserve of the district. Troops furnished by the 1 2th Regiment were imported by rail, and stationed at all the important centres, and a considerable body of European troops furnished by the Oxfordshire Light Infantry was located at Malapuram and Calicut, in the heart of the country

to be disarmed, ready to act in any direction in which their services might be required.

" The general 1 plan of the operations was to start from a common centre — the country lying round Malapuram, where the bulk of the

1 District Magistrate's report, No. 1871, dated 1st May 1885, to GoTemmont.

European force lay in readiness for any emergency — and, by sweeping clean all amsams lying in the rear and on the flanks of the several disarming parties, to concentrate eventually three of the disarming

parties on the country where the gang of rebels was originally recruited."

*The military and other preparations were kept secret up to the very last moment, until in fact the troops (brought by rail from Bangalore) were at their appointed stations. " The sudden 1 descent of the troops, their swift and sudden seizure and firm hold of all the important places, the sudden and widespread issue of the demand for the surrender of all arms, the shortness of the time allowed to the people to think othe matter, the enforced surrender of their arms, and the ease with which, on the failure of the telegraph line, we were enabled to open up communication almost as swift and far more secure, were all well calculated to impress the population with a wholesome fear of the resources of the Government."**

The allusion to the failure of the telegraph line relates to a curious coincidence which happened on the very day (10th February) on which the troops arrived in the district. In the afternoon of that day communication between Calicut and Malapuram was suddenly interrupted ; it was known that some people iu Calicut had been discussing the effect which an interruption to the wires would have had on the outbreak of December 1884. It was thought at the time that the interruption might have been caused by design,2 and in any case the necessity for a substitute made itself strongly felt. Signalling parties were accordingly organised. The Urot hill (1,573 feet) near Malapuram was occupied in force by a signalling party of the Oxfordshires, who communicated by-helio by day and by lamp at night with the General Officer commanding at Calicut, 22 miles ; with Malapuram, where the bulk of the European force was stationed, 6 miles ; and with the District Magistrate's disarming camp, as it moved to its various disarming stations, namely, Manjeri, 8 miles ; Pandikad, 16 miles ; Wandur, 17 miles ; and Arikkod, 10 miles.

The number of arms of all kinds collected was very large, namely, 17,295, of which no less than 7,503 were firearms of different kinds.

A marked change for the better was immediately perceived in the demeanour of

the people of the disarmed tracts directly these operations were brought to a close.

But the people of the neighbouring taluk of Ponnani were the next to betake themselves to acts of violence.

During the night of 1st May 1885 a gang of Mappillas, consisting of T. V. Virankutti and eleven others, broke open the house of a Chera-man (slave caste) called Kutti Ivariyan, and murdered him and his wife

1 I hid.

2 It was lonsr afterwards satisfactorily ascertained that this was not the case.

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and four of their children, and set fire to the house and a neighbouring temple. The victim had become a convert to Islam many years previously, and had reverted to his original religion fourteen years ago. The Mappillas of the neighbourhood had been in the habit of taunting him with his lapse from Islam, and he in his turn had made free use of his tongue in returning their taunts.

After effecting the murders, the gang, who had one gun with them, proceeded to a police station (Kalpakancheri) with a view to help themselves to the police arms, but finding that guarded, they struck a course northwards towards the Urot hill near Malapuram, just above-mentioned, with the avowed intention of there taking post in a small Hindu temple on the summit of it. But want of water compelled them to descend the hill on the west, and the attitude of their co-religionists in that part of the country, which had just been disarmed, being unfriendly, they retreated during the night of the 2nd May to their own oountry side, and in the early morning of the 3rd they seized the house of a wealthy Nambutiri Brahman landlord of Ponmundam amsam in the Ponnani taluk.

On the afternoon of that day they were there attacked by a party of the South Wales Borderers from Malapuram under Captain Logan, accompanied by the Special Assistant Magistrate, Mr. Twigg. They opened fire from a window in the third or top storey of the house at the military, and wounded four of the men ; upon this the fire was returned, and, as it afterwards turned out, the few shots poured in at the windows of the room to/ silence the fire killed all twelve persons. Three, including a child, had joined the gang in place of three men whose courage had failed them, and who had deserted during the night. Their determination to be slain was perhaps quite as strong as that of the Trikkallur gang, and they adopted similar tactics in trusting to their firearm to do damage to their opponents.

The disarming of the Ponnani taluk was next ordered by the Government. And this operation was also successfully carried 1 out by the district officers in June 1885,

on the same plan which had been adopted in the previous February. One company of the 2nd Battalion South Wales Borderers was brought by rail from Madras and stationed at

Vettattpudiangadi, where it remained during the disarming operations.

On the morning of 11th August 1885 a Mappilla named Unni Mammad entered the house of Krishna Pishar5di, referred to in the account of the outrage of 9th September 1880, under the pretence of buying paddy. The Pisharodi was at the time engaged in having an oil-bath. The Mappilla slipped past the attendants, and with one blow of a hatchet which he had brought with him, he inflicted a mortal wound on the recumbent Pisharodi's head. He was immediately seized and disarmed, and was, after trial in the usual course, eventually hanged.

1 Arms collected 3,300, of which 1,010 were firearm.*

He thus missed the martyr's fate which he repeatedly, during Ips examinations, avowed to have been the mainspring of his actions. But the real fact was that the man slain was what would have been called in Ireland a " land-grabber," and the persons (Mappillas) for whose lands he was intriguing set up Unni Mammad to commit the murder.

This closes the narrative up to date of these fanatical outrages, whioh have been a special feature in the district administration during the last half century. And it only remains to add that the policy of repression advocated by Mr. Strange has signally failed to fulfil what was expected of it.

Fanaticism of this violent type flourishes only upon sterile soil. When the people are poor 1 and discontented, it flourishes apace like other crimes of violence. The grievous insecurity to which the working ryots are exposed by the existing system of landed tenures is undoubtedly largely to blame for the impoverished and discontented state of the peasantry, and a measure to protect the working ryot, of whatever class, is the means which seems to commend itself the most for the amelioration of their condition. With settled homesteads and an assured income to all who are thrifty and industrious — and in these respects the Mappillas surpass all other classes — it is certain that fanaticism would die a natural death.

Education is looked to by many as an equally certain means to the same end, but starving people are not easily taught, and, if taught, it would only lead to their adopting more effectual measures to obtain for themselves that security and comfort in their homesteads which it would be much wiser to grant at once. With increasing comfort at home, an increasing demand for education would certainly spring up. Without comfort, and with education, discontent would only be increased.

From the foregoing narrative it will be seen that the Malabar district of the present day is made up —

First — of the " Province of Malabar ," the government of which was fixed by Sir R. .Abercromby, Governor of Bombay, and the Joint Bengal and Bombay Commission, on the 18th March 1793,

Secondly — of the Dutch possessions of the town of Cochin and its outlying pattams , and of Tangasseri, which were acquired on 20th October 1795, and

Thirdly — of the district of Wynad, acquired at the end of the last Mysore war on the 22nd June 1799.

Few changes except the restitutions already described to the French have occurred in its limits since that last event happened. In 1830 the Nilgiri plateau was attaohed to Malabar, and its precise limits as

1 That they are both poor and discontented Mr. Logan's Special Comm.ssion conclusively proved.

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*a " separate oharge " were defined * 1 in 1836. In 1 843 the Nilgiri* were transferred * to Coimbatore, leaving to Malabar the range of the Kundahs. In 1860 the Kundahs were also transferred1 to Coimbatore and "a small nook of land at the confluence of the Moyar river and its Western tributary on the confines of the Mysore territory was at the Same time transferred from Coimbatore to Malabar. On 6th October 1870 an interchange1 of some small bits of land in the Walluvan&d and Ponnani taluks took place between Malabar and the Cochin State. In 1873 "the tract known as Ouchterlony valley" was transferred 3 from Malabar to the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of the Nilgiris. And finally the three amsams of South-East Wynad— Nambolakod, ChSrankdd, and Munnanad — were in like manner also transferred 2 to the Nilgiri district from and after 31st March 1877.*

The Collector 3 and District Magistrate has political, revenue, and magisterial authority over the whole of these territories, except in regard to the revenues of the outlying bits of territory at Anjengo and Tangasseri, which are leased 4 for terms of five years to the State of Travancore, and in regard to the territories of Ali Raja of Cannanore, comprising the kirar limits at Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands of Agatti, Kavaratti, Androth, Kalpeni, and Minicoy. The Collector and District Magistrate has ordinarily5 only magisterial jurisdiction over the kirar limits on the mainland, while the Raja collects the revenue there and exercises full authority over the islanders.

» Treaties , $c., ii. CCLXXVII, CCLXXIX, CCLXXXI, CCXCI.

1 Treaties , ii. CCLXXXIY, CCLXXXV.

- *In Appendix XIV will be found lists of the British officials, Chiefs, Residents,*

Commissioners, Supravisors, Principal Collectors and Collectors from the earliest timec down to the present day.

- *Treaties , ii. CCLXXXVI, CCLXXXVII.*

- *Since 1877 the islands have, however, been under attachment for arrears of revenue due by the Raja, and the administration is in process of reformation.*

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAND.

Section (A).

LAND TENURES.

N The author puts forward the views contained in this section as those which he has adopted after an attentive study of the sources of information at present available on the subject of the Malabar Land Tenures. These views are not to be taken as an authoritative exposition of this most difficult subject , which requires further study and a more detailed elucidation than the author has been able to give to it. The Glossary in Volume II contains the information gathered by Special Commissioner Mr. Grame in the years 1818-21.

The unit of the Hindu social system was the family, not the individual.

An association of families formed a body corporate, as, for example, the gramam (village) among the Brahmans, the lara (foundation, street, village) among the Nayars, the cheri (assemblage, village, street) among the Tiyar (Cingalese, Islanders) and other foreigners.

These guilds or corporate bodies had each distinct functions 1 to perform in the body politic, and those functions were in old times strictly hereditary.

In their administration of the land the Hindus seem to have made no exception to the rule governing their social organisation. The chief agricultural class appears to have been the Vellnlar ,2 * 4 the water rulers, that is, the irrigators. To them was given the duty 3 (kdranmei or karayma) of regulating the distribution of water for the irrigation of the paddy or rice fields. The Tiyar or Islanders who, it is said, came from the south (Ceylon), bringing with them the southern tree, that is, the cocoanut (Tengnga or Tengnga 4 or Tengayi), were appointed the planters of the body politic. These two guilds seem to have formed the bulk of the agricultural population, as indeed they do down to the present day if the Nayars, who have been classed 5 * as belonging to the protector and governing classes, be

relegated to the agricultural class to which they appear to have originally ˆbelonged, and to which as matter of fact they belong at the present time.

Why the Nayars ha been classed in the protecting or governing class has already been explained.7

1 Conf p. 112.

2 From Vellam = water, and the verb dtuka = = to rule, possess, have.

8 Conf. pp. 110-12. So common became the use of this word and its derivatives that kdralar came to signify in time husbandmen, or ploughmen.

4 From Tekku = south and kdy = fruit. 5 Page 114.

• The tradition is strong that KSrala was conquered by ChSla and Pandya Velldfars.

i Pages 111, 112, and 115, 116.

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The Nayars were, as the Keralolpatti 1 expressly says, the people of " the eye," " the hand," and " the order," and it was their duty " to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse." So that they had as a guild higher functions in the body politic than merely ploughing the rice-fields and controlling the irrigated lands.

What these higher functions were has already also been more than once alluded to. They were probably the holders of the " sharing-staff " 2 3 of office and they were also supervisors (kanakkar) and as kanam or the supervision right is the name 8 applied to one of the commonest tenures at the present day, it is essential to a proper understanding of Malayali land tenures that the original idea attached to the word kanam should be thoroughly understood.

It is unfortunate, under such circumstances, that so little evidence of the early use of this word is as yet forthcoming. It occurs twice in deed No. 3 and once in deed No. 4, Appendix XII. In the two first instances Dr. Gundert has translated it as " right " and in the last as " possession " or (with some hesitation) as " mortgage."

In considering its meaning it is well to notice in the first placo that the word itself— kanam — comes from the Dra vidian verb kanuka (= to see, or to be seen), and the root from which that verb is derived is kan (= the eye).

Now to the Nayars as a caste belonged the duty of supervision (literally, “ the eye ”) as the Keralolpatti expressly says, so that kanam in its original sense seems to have denoted this function of theirs in the body politic.

And there can be little doubt that it is in this sense and not as either “ possession ” or “ mortgage ” that it is to be understood in deed No. 4, Appendix XII. The phrase in which it there occurs runs as follows “ The purchase of this domain of the Padarar with all that belongs to it has then been made by the Ruler of Cheranadu and his Officers, and the image of the God of the Padarar with their sovereignty has been subjected to the Six Hundred, and is kanam held under the king.” The Six Hundred were the heads of the Nayar militia of the nad, the ka.ma.vaT (elders or managers) of the families of authority —Taravads 4 * * *— in the iards (Nayar villages) constituting the nad (county). The Nayar guild were in short constituted the supervisors (kdnakkarar) of this domain purchased from the Padarar.

But what was this supervision duty or right (, kanam) ? Clause (i) of deed No. 3, Appendix XII, proves conclusively that the Ron (Shepherd, King) and the Pati (Lord, Master) had shares of the produce due to them

1 Con-fP- 1332 Varakdl— Deed 3, Appendix XII.

3 This is however only a very modern use of the name. The proper name for the

tenure is given coˆectly in Mr. Graeme’s Glossary (Appendix XIII), namely, Pattold, or

PaHamola. The Kanakkaran was in fact, as asserted in these pages, the person respon

sible to the ruling authority the (pad) for the ancient land revenue assessmentˆ,™,).

This modern use of the word kanam as applied to the tenure has tended not a little to obscure the facts-see foot-note No. 1, to Deed 57, Appendix XII.

- From Tara (— Nfcy&r village) and pddu (= authority).

as the persons of authority in the land. And the specific words used in the nmth century A.D to denote these shares have probably survived to the present day , and are still in common use in a contracted form as pattam For pattam seems to he a compound word signifying the pddu (authority s) varam (= share) and it was perhaps used in its uncontracted form m this clause of deed 3. The exact words of the clause will he found printed in the

appendix. To make the matter clear the translation is here given • * * that Anjuvannam * and Mani-

• I 1 • . « A in every coming generation, that in the

space within the four gates and on the spot where land for sale 3 (or

“ under prohibition” 3) is given in trust 4 the Palace (or Supreme Government) having received the King’s tithe, Anjuvannam 4 and Mani-gramam 1 2 receive the Lord’s tithe.” In respect to the lands referred to in this deed it is clear that the Jews and Christians in their corporate capacities had conferred on them the chief function in the State usually performed by the Six Hundred Nayars, viz., Protection. Indeed, as will be seen from clause (x), they were specifically associated with ’the local Six Hundred in that function. It is peculiarly significant therefore that to them also should have been assigned the Fati (= Lord’s) tithe or share of produce. For it follows that this share of produce did ordinarily at that time go either to the Six Hundred or to the Fatis (= Lords) of the Six Hundred. In fact the other function appertaining to the Six Hundred, namely, kdnam (= supervision), appears to have been the function of giving the land in trust to the proper workers in the body politic and of gathering from them in due course the shares of produce due to the persons in authority. The Nayars were no doubt spread over the whole face of the country (as they still are) protecting all rights, suffering none to fall into disuse, and at the same time supervising the cultivation of the land and collecting the kon or king’s ■hare of the produce — the public land revenue in fact.

If this reasoning be accepted it brings the Malayali land tenures very appreciably nearer to those prevailing in the rest of India, for it has, up to very recent years, been a matter of accepted belief with the British authorities that, prior to the advent of the Mysorean Mussulmans, there was no publio land revenue in Malabar. The Honorable the Court of Directors were, and with good show of reason, very sceptical5 on the point. The above facts seem to afford the clue to all the confusion of ideas which has prevailed. There teas a public land revenue in Malabar originally, just as in every other Indian province, but with the extinction of the supreme kon or king in the ninth century A.D. the

1 The Jew* as a body corporate.

2 The Christians as a body corporate.

- This is Dr. Gundert’s translation, but as suggested in the foot-note to the clause an alternative reading is “ for cultivation.”

- K&rdnmei = Kardyma. The use of this word signifies very clearly that the land was given in trust to the appointed workers or functionaries in the body politic. Conf. foot-note 3, p. 600.

- Tara. 246 of Section (R) of this chapter.

share of produce due to him did not pass to those (the present Rajas) who supplied in some measure his place, but to the great bulk of the people — the Ndyars , the Six Hundreds — with whom, in their corporate capacities, all power rested.

Tn order to understand the Malayali land tenures aright it is therefore tirst of all necessary to realise the fundamental idea that certain castes or classes in the, State were told off to the work of cultivation, and the land was made over to them in trust for that purpose, and in trust that the shares of produce duo to the persons in authority should be faithfully surrendered.

The next most important point to keep in remembrance in regard to Malayali tenures is the fact that from the earliest times (about 700 A.D. the date of deed No. 1, Appendix XII) grants of land by the ruling power were customary, and what those grants conveyed requires to be examined attentively.

In the first place the grants were of a hereditary character. This is fully borne out by the earliest deeds (Nos. 1, 2 and 3, Appendix XII). The distinctive phrase used was pern. It occurs in various combinations. Vidup&r, Attiperu , Attipettola ,* * Perumartham , Epperpeftatu, &c. P the padu or authority's, varam or share) oollected by him for the janmi a quantity of produce sufficient to meet the interest on the sum lent. The interest was calculated at certain oustomary 1 rates, and the balance of produoe alone went to the janmi.

Sometimes the interest on the sum borrowed was sufficiently large to wipe put the whole of the janmi' 8 share of produce. In that case the kdnakkdran's interest in the land was styled an otti.

It might be thought that a janmi having borrowed enough to wipe out by way of interest the whole value of his share of produce had but little proprietary right left in the land, but this was not so, for the obvious reason that, besides his share of the produce, he held authority of various kinds over the persons located on his hereditary land, and it was oustomary to value this remaining right at one half of what had already been advanced to purchase the otti.

The deeds by whioh these further transactions were effected were : — (a) the Ottikkum PuramSyullakanam, by which the janmi borrowed ten per oent. or more on the sum received for the otti right ; (5) the Nirmutal , by whioh the janmi borrowed another ten per cent, on the money already advanced for the otti and ottikkum puram rights. He pledged himself to confer the water (nir) right on his creditor ;

1. the janmapanayan or pledge of the jantnam right. Under this deed a still further advance was made on the sums borrowed, and there was but one step beyond this, and that was the conveyance outright of th ejanmam right itself.

The general effect of this system of borrowing was that the janmi first mortgaged up to its full value his own share of the produce, and, when that was no longer available for payment of the interest, he had to meet the interest out of his other resources as janmi.

3 See Pahf* in Appendix XIII.

What he pledged was evidently not the soil itself but only his share of its produce so far as that went, and after that his other income and emoluments attaching to his status as janmi of the land. But the Civil Courts, acting on the idea that the janmi was a dominus and as such entitled to take what he could get out of the land, viewed his pledges as pledges of the soil itself, and in this way they have almost completely upset the native system of customary sharing of the produce.

Under that system of customary sharing of the produce the kdnak-karan's advance to the janmi used to be periodically 1 revised in one or other of two ways, namely : —

1. A deduction of about thirteen per cent, of the advance was made, and a renewed deed showing the loan diminished by this percentage was prepared, or

(h) no deduction was made, but instead of it the kanakkaran made to the janmi a payment equivalent to the customary deduction described in (a) and the renewed deed showed the full original sum advanced.

When (a) was the method adopted of revising the relations between the parties the portion of the janmi s share of the produce which had been pledged for the advance was of course released to the extent of thirteen per cent, from .the pledge and the kanakkaran had to account for that thirteen

per cent, to the janmi.

When (b) was the method adopted, it is clear that the portion of the janmi' s share of the produce which had been pledged for the advance remained still fully under pledge, and no portion of it was released.

The latter method (b) is that which has generally been adopted, and the periodical renewal fees — now however extravagantly enhanced, amounting in the most favourable cases to about twenty-five per cent, of the mortgage advance — form one of the regular 2 sources of a janmi' s income.

The idea at the root of this system of renewals was that in due course of time the janmi' s customary share of the produce should be freed from the mortgage with mutual advantage both to the janmi and to the kanakkaran. If, on the other hand, it was to their mutual advantage to maintain the existing relations, the payment made in lieu of the customary deduction was of advantage to both of them. The system was admirably conceived for binding the two classes together in harmonious interdependence.

This excellent arrangement necessarily fell to pieces at once when the Civil Courts began to recognise the force of contract — the Western or European law — as superior to the force of custom— -the Eastern or Indian law. And this supersession of the unwritten native law was the final blow which ruined a system already endangered by the erroneous idea that a janmi was really a dominus.

These renewals originally do not seem to have taken place more frequently than at successions to the janmam and kdnam holdings respectively. They appear to have been in fact succession duties. Cnnf. Purushinlaram in Appendix XIII.

2 The renewals now take pluce after every twelve years.

Under the native system when, after a series of renewals by the method (a) above described, the janmam holding had been freed from mortgage, the parties {janmi and kanakkaran) simply resumed their original stations. The kanakkaran began to yield up again to the Janml the wh°le of the janmi' s customary share, as he had been in the habit of doing before the loan had been made, and remained on the holding in bis capacity as supervisor (kanakkaran).

But the Civil Courts viewing the janmi as a dominus , and the kdnak-karan's advance as a mortgage of the soil , began to hold under the law of contract that on full payment of the advance the kanakkaran was bound to yield up the soil itself.

This is the latest development of the law resting on the decisions of the Courts, and it is probably not of earlier date than about 1856 when the Sadr Adalat circular, which has been published in extracts in Appendix XIII, was sent to the Courts for criticism. Though that circular was never formally promulgated, there is no doubt that the decisions of the Courts in the last thirty years have generally followed the law therein laid down. Prior to 1856 or thereabouts, when a janmi wished to get rid of a kanakkaran he allowed the pattam to fall into arrears and then sued for the arrears and in execution sold the kdnam interest.

To save all trouble and doubt the janmi frequently now embodies in his kdnam deeds a clause expressly contracting that the soil shall be given up on demand.

The tenure which comes next in order of importance to kdnam and its connected tenures, otti , &c., is that known as kulikkanam. The agricultural workers in the State organisation not only cultivated the lands already reclaimed, but were constantly bringing fresh waste lands under cultivation. .And kulikkanam was the term applied to the admirable system under which this was arranged.

The customary sharing of the produce of freshly reclaimed land took place (in the case of gardens at least) at the end of a certain number of years (usually not more than twelve years) from the time the land was taken up. Up to that time the cultivator enjoyed the whole of the produce, and all he had to pay was a trifling fee of two fanams (about nine annas) on entry on the soil, paid more as an act of fealty to the janmi than as recompense for the privilege of possession.

When the janmi — the pddu or authority — wished to take his customary share of the produce (pattam) of the newly reclaimed land he had to buy it from the cultivator at the rates recognised as customary in such transactions. But the money thus due was seldom or never paid down in eash. It was allowed to remain as a debt bearing interest at customary rates, and that interest was made good from tjanmi' s customary share of the produce. This sum, however, under the system (a) described in regard to renewals of kdnam deeds, was in due course of time gradually wiped off, or under the system (5), also described above, the janmi might content himself with taking periodically the renewal fee. The renewal did not come round very frequently in former, days ; the longer the janmi

lived, and the longer the cultivator lived, so much the better it was for both

of them, and when a succession did take place it was only thirteen per cent, of the debt that was wiped off, or an equivalent payment that was made.

This system — another necessary result of the Hindu social organisation — was evidently conceived in much wisdom for protecting the interests of the cultivating castes.

Here again however ideas borrowed from the European law of property in the soil have come in to upset the well-conceived customary law of Malabar. The courts have viewed the janmi' s payment of the customary improvement rates as payment in full to the cultivator for the improvements made by him in the soil , whereas there can be no doubt that the rates so established by custom were intended merely as compensation for the customary share of the produce — the pat tarn — due to the pddu or janmi by reason of those improvements and as in no sense whatever compensation to the cultivator for his customary share of the* net produce.

The leading principle however has very fortunately been preserved, and it is now the well-recognised practice of the courts that a tenant making improvements in the soil has to be paid for them if deprived of his holding, and the courts have even gone further than this and have awarded compensation for improvements even to a cultivator 1 who had not taken the trouble to recognise any one as janmi before beginning his reclamation of the waste land.

Under the native customary law the cultivator could not be ousted except by a decree of the tara ,2 for the janmi was powerless unless he acted in strict accordance with the Ndyar guild whose function was " to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse " as the Keralolpatti expressly says. So that in fact the holders of the kanarn and kulikkdnam tenures were practically permanent 3 tenants.

This practical permanency of possession of their holdings, coupled with the preservation and observance of the customs regulating the shares of produce among all concerned, naturally enough created proprietary rights in the soil, and those rights are, and always have been, objects of free 4 transfer by sale, gift or mortgage. What teas sold , given or mort-

1 The courts view him as a trespasser, but the original idea is that all cultivators are in duty bound to reclaim waste land in Malabar and trespassers on waste land are unknown.

1 The kanakkar used evidently to transfer themselves and the janmi" s shares of the produce of the lands they supervised from one janmi to another as their interest or inclination dictated. And even down to the present day a

kanakkaran considers it a perfectly legitimate manoeuvre on his part to transfer himself and his lands to any janmi who, he thinks, is an abler man than the one under whom he holds. It is such a well-known device that it has now become the settled law of the courts that a kanakkaran denying his janmi' $ title operates the forfeiture of his own. See Kanam in Appendix XIII.

3 Mr. Rickards, the second of the Principal Collectors of Malabar, entered Parliament after retiring from the service, and in a book published by him in 1832— (" India, or Facts submitted, &c. Smith, Elder & Co., London. — Vol. II, page 279) he recognised the fact that they were practically permanent tenants.

4 Con/. Inakkumuri in Appendix XIII.

gaged however woe confined strictly to the interest of the person making the transfer.

That being so, it is evident that the recognition by the courts of the janmi as dominus and the enforcement by them of contracts have wrongfully benefited the janmis and have deprived the others of their just rights. These others were in effect co-proprietors with the janmis , and the action of the courts has virtually expropriated them.

On the 5th of February 1881 the Government of the late Mr. Adam appointed Mr. W. Logan as Special Commissioner to inquire into and report on the general question of the tenure of land and of tenant-right in Malabar and the alleged insufficiency of compensation offered by the landlords and awarded for land improvements made by tenants.

Mr. Logan visited, in the course of his inquiry, all the taluks in the district except Wynad ; he received petitions .from 4,021 individuals ; and on the 16th June 1882 submitted, for the orders of Government, the result of his investigation in a report of 112 pages, with two additional volumes of appendices, one of papers on various connected subjects and one of the evidence collected.

The foregoing is an abstract of the chief points treated in the report with some slight revisions, and tho following gives some further insight into the relations between the parties.

For any further information the glossary published in Appendix XIII should be referred to, as it contains the earlier views of the British officers on the subject as well as the views of the Honorable the Judges of the Sadr Adalat in 1856 and references to many decisions of the courts in the time which has since elapsed.

When the Mysorean invasion occurred there was neoessarily a disturbance of the customary sharing of produce which up to that time had prevailed. For the Mysorean Government of Hyder Ali and Tippu assessed the whole of the country with an ordinary Indian land revenue settlement. And this land revenue assessment had necessarily to .be carved out of the customary shares of produce.

What the Mysoreans did 1 was to take everywhere as land revenue a certain portion more or less of the pdttam (i.e., of the patfu or authority's customary share of the produce). This portion encroached more or less on the customary shares of both kdnakkaran and janmi (who seem to have generally divided the pdttam equally 2 between themselves) and to have left the customary share of the cultivator intact.

Stated in few words it may be said the Mysoreans took as Government land revenue a proportion of the pdttamˆ varying, when taken in kind, from ten per cent, (on the wet lands in the Chera n£d) to a hundred per oent. (on the garden lands in all South Malabar).

1 For details see Section (B) of this chapter.

3 The influential Nayars who set themselves up as pntit or overlords or janmis appear to have generally divided share and share alike the whole of the paffam between themselves and their subordinate kapakkar.

LAND TENURES.

But the collection as land revenue of a hundred per cent, of the pattam 6imply meant the expropriation of the whole of the janmi's and kanak-karan's customary shares of the produce, and this was no doubt intended by the Muhammadans in all the localities where a hundred per cent, was the share taken of the pattam.

In practice, however, matters arranged themselves differently, and in consequence of the variations in the commutation rates used for converting the shares of produce taken as land revenue into a land revenue assessment payable in money a greater degree of equality in the assessments was obtained than would at first sight appear probable. For instance, the ten per cent, of the pattam of wet lands taken in the Chera nad in produce was commuted at Rs. 250 per 1,000 Macleod seers, while fifty per cent, of the pattam of wet lands in Kadattanad was commuted at only Rs. 40 per 1,000 Macleod seers. In reality then, other things being equal, the ten per cent, assessment in the Chera nad was really heavier, when taken in money , than the fifty per cent, assessment in Kadattanad.

In the tables to be found in Sub-sections III and VII of Section (B) of this chapter the money rates imposed by the Muhammadans on the various classes of land in Malabar and those subsequently imposed by the British Government have been reduced to certain common standards of produce assessments, and the result may be roughly stated thus : —

(fl) Assuming that in 1805-6 the actual market prices of produce were the same as those which Special Commissioner Graeme thought to be fair averages in 1822, no earlier figures being available, then in 1805-6 the assessments (which were still practically those imposed by the Muhammadans) averaged in the case of —

1. Wet lands— about 86 1 per cent, of the pattam.

2. Coconut gardens — about 67 per cent, of the pattam.

Areca-nut do.

do. 53

do.

do.

Jack-tree do.

do. 69

do.

do.

1. 189

Average for gardens

i … 63 1

do.

do.

1. Modan lands about <32 per cent, of the gross produoe Punam do. do. 42 do. do.

Ellu do. — market prices not available.

In many cases, however, and over large tracts of country the assessment rates greatly exceeded these proportions, and swallowed up the whole of the pattam.

1 Special Commissioner Graeme, working by different methods, found that these centages came respectively to, wet lands fully 90 per cent., gardens over 62 per cent also " Modern Land Revenue " in Appendix XIII.

per-

Seo

1. Whereas now the assessments, owing to the enormous rise of late years in the prices of all kinds of produce, average no more than in the case of —

1. Wet lands about 34 per cent, of the patiam.

2. Coconut gardens — about 18 per cent, of the patiam.

Areca-nut do. do. 17 do. do.

J ack-tree do. — present pattam rates not available.

2)35

Average for gardens … 17 per cent, of the pattam.

1. Modan lands — about 7 per oent. of the gross produce.

Punam do. do. 4 do. do.

Ellu do. do. 7 do. do.

The various kinds of pattam adopted for revenue purposes in different parts of the district are fully explained in paragraphs 226, 226(a), 226(5), 227, 228, 290, 306 of Section (B) of this chapter.

The general result may be thus stated : — In some cases the pattam was at first wholly expropriated, and nearly everywhere the share taken of it as revenue was very large ; whereas of late years, owing to the rise in prices, the share taken of it as land revenue has become very moderate.

The effeot of this disturbance of the ancient system of customary sharing of the produce has next to be traced.

The Mysoreans made their land revenue settlements with the kanak-karar.

The reason of this was that the janmis — the Nambutiri Brahmans and petty ohieftains of the Nayar caste — had fled from Malabar owing to the terror inspired by Hyder Ali's and Tippu's ferocious administrations, or if they remained in Malabar the same terror prevented them from ever trusting their persons at the Muhammadan cutcherries. " When, therefore," so wrote the Bengal and Bombay Joint Commissioners 1 in 1793,- "the system of establishing a general money rental, payable to these latter (the Mysoreans) was to be carried into execution, the local delegates of the Mysore Government had in general no other choice than to settle the assessment on each portion of territory with these kanoomar 2 or kanumkar,2 who, making some reservation3 out of the gross produce for a payment to their jenmkaars4 or landholders (which appears from Oodhut Roy's examination, entered in

1 For the settlement of Malabar on its cession by Tippn.

- The Joint Commissioner's spelling has been retained. The proper spelling is of course kdpakkdrar.

3 Special Commissioner Graeme's inquiry in 1818-22 proved conclusively that no such special reservation was made, except in two instances to benefit the Muhammadan community. Paras. 147 and 192 of Section (B) of this chapter.

- This is the Joint Commissioner's spelling. The proper spelling is janmakkdrar or shortly jatimi.

the Voucher No. 4, to have been in proportion of three-twentieths), together with a further deduction of about eleven-twentieths 1 for their own support and profits and for the charges of cultivationˆ agreed to pay the residue, being about six-twentieths,1 to Government.

There is no doubt whatever that Oodhut Roy, a Mysorean Mahratta Revenue officer, misled the Joint Commissioners. The latter, acquamted only with European ideas on the subject of property in the soil , naturally enough looked on the janmis as European landed proprietors and on the kanakkarar as " cultivating farmers." Mr. Farmer, one of the Commissioners, made some inquiries, and that was the result he obtained. But he seems to have been correctly informed as to the ancient system of the customary sharing of the produce which, in the case of wet lands, was thus described to him From the quantity of seed the produoe was calculated according to the qualities of the soil. Of this produce one-third was allowed to the farmer2 for his maintenance, profit, &c., one-third for the expenses of the Tiyars , Cherumars

or other cultivators attached to the soil, one-third went as rent to the jelmkaar 3 or landlord.”

Understanding here by the word “ produce that net produce was meant,4 it will be seen that the parties interested in the soil divided the net produce among them share and share alike.

A.gain at an interview between Mr. Jonathan Duncan, President of the Joint Commission, and a number of influential Mappillas, the latter told Mr. Duncan that “ since Hyder’s time the right of the jenmkaars5 had been taken or absorbed by Government, and consequently the Mappilla kanakkarar were at the time paying nothing to the janmis except what they gave them out of charity, and they specifically asserted that nothing had been reserved for the janmis in making the Mysorean land revenue settlement, and they denied that the janmis were “ of right ” entitled to anything.

This was the beginning of the serious misunderstanding of the janmCs true position in regard to the land, which has since, as already set forth in the beginning of this section, produced so much hardship to the classes beneath them. For the Joint Commissioners viewed the Mappilla assertions as a claim on their part to the janmarn right itself, whereas it is clear that what they really meant was that the janmi’s authority and customary share of produce had been “ absorbed ” by the Government, not by themselves.

It was long a matter of wonder and surprise among the earlier British administrators that the Mappillas had been so easily satisfied

1 It is perhaps needless to say in the light of the facts stated in Section (B) of this chapter that these are fanciful figures likewise.

2 Styled elsewhere by the Commissioners the “ cultivating farmer” or kanumkar, i.e., kdnnhkdran.

3 Properly janmakdran or janmi.

4 Con/, para. 228 of Section (B) of this chaptor.

5 I.c., jamnakdr* or janmis.

when all the janmis fled to Travancore. It was thought that ther could then have easily seized the janmam right itself, thft is, as it waˆ then bought the absolute ownership of the soil according to European ideas. What the

MappiUm ready did at this time was to advance Inall

rights m°ney aDd t0 ˆ de6d8 aSSˆinS to them large te2,n

Had janmam meant in those days dominium , as it does now , and had amrn meant a mere .ease liable to canoelment every twelfth year, as it does now, it may he shrewdly guessed that the Mdppillas would not have made such indifferent bargains.

But the fact was that kdnakkdran was as much the proprietor of the soil as the janmi himself was in former days. They were in short

as already set forth, co-proprietors bound together in interest by admirable laws of custom. J

The Joint Commissioners however looked on the janmi as the owner of the soil, and on the kdnakkdran as the owner's lessee and as such liable to be turned out of the lands " when the time they leased them for expires," and on 28th October 1793 these views were embodied in a proclamation and promulgated throughout the district.

From that date forward the land disputes and troubles began, and the views above described of the Joint Commissioners were not the only causes contributing to the anarchy which ensued. The revenue management of the country was made over, on behalf of the Honorable Company , to the petty chiefs, who, freed by the irresistible power of the British Government from such ties as previously bound them, were only too eager to seize the opportunity of bettering themselves at the expense of those who had formerly been the mainstay of their power. Writing of the chiefs of North Malabar — but the same thing held good of those in the South the Joint Commissioners observed "they have (stimulated, perhaps, in some degree by the uncertainty as to their future situations) acted, m their acidity to amass wealth , more as the scourgers and plunderers than as the protectors of their respective little States."

From 1792 till 1802 the district was in a state of constant disturbance from rebellions and organised robberies, and in these the Mdppillas took a conspicuous part.

In 1803 Major Alacleod, the first of the Collectors of Malabar, attempted in the short space of forty days to revise the land revenue of the district, and he also at the same time raised the rates of exchange. The fabrication of accounts, the over-assessment of produoe, the assessment of produce that did not exist, the assessments imposed on wrong people, and the rigid exaction of the revenue under these inequalities were sufficient of themselves to raise a

rebellion, but when to this was added that the ryots found to their astonishment, after paying in their full assessment

1 See No. LXVIII, Part II, of Mr. Logan's "Collection of Treaties, &c., relating to British affairs in Malabar."— Calicut, 1879.

in fanams, they had not, owing to very ill-advised ohanges in exchange rates, paid enough, the whole country rose en masse.

Major Macleod, with a view to lessen the excitement, summarily resigned his charge into the hands of Mr. Rickards, the First J udge of the Provincial Court then located at Mahe. Mr. Rickards had been employed in the district for some years, and was well acquainted with the people. His first steps were to canoel the revised assessment and to restore the former rates of exchange, and finally he took an early opportunity of calling together the principal j an mis of South Malabar to confer on the important question of fixing the Government share of the produce.

The result of the deliberations is stated in detail in paragraphs 226, 226(a), and 226(6) of Section (B) of this chapter, and the proclamation embodying the details will be found in Appendix XV .

The net produce was ascertained in the customary method — this net produce was then assigned to the parties interested in manner following

Wet lands.

One-third to the cultivator. Two-fifths to the Government. Four-fifteenths to the Janmi.

Gardens.

One-third to the cultivator. One-third to the Government. One-third to the Janmi.

In regard to Miscellaneous Lands (Modan , Funam and Ella) the sharing system generally adopted 1 was : —

Three-fifths of the gross produce to the cultivator. One-fifth do. do. Government.

One-fifth do. do. Janmi.

Even Mr. Rickards seems to have been misled as to what " net produce "

really meant, for Special Commissioner Graeme, who made a very full inquiry into the subject afterwards (1818-22), found 2 that there were besides customary shares of the produce deducted, at the time, for harvesting, threshing, &c., and for the carpenter, blacksmith, &c., amounting in all to about twenty per cent: of the gross produce, which customary shares were, as a matter oj course, deducted from the gross produce, and did not form part of the gross produce distributed under the system adopted by Mr. Rickards in consultation with the janmi s.

The scheme also failed to provide for the Jcanakkdran's customary share. The kdnakkdr were not, it seems, consulted at all in the matter. They were, it will be seen from what has been said above, entitled to a customary share equal to that of the janmi. But in this distribution scheme if the kdnakkaran's position ever came up at all in the discussion, it must have been passed by with the reflection that he was a mortgagee, an investor of his money — which was to some extent true — and that he might be trusted to look after his own interests and investments.

1 Taras. 232, 254, 273, 277, 278 of Section (B) of this chapter.

- Con/. Kolulfthham in Appendix XIII.

Malabar district.

of Tu th'9 8°heme finaIly aud fulIy cognised ae the lord

no iIm8Jrd(n0»at th.e time matter very much t0 the tenakkdr, because

Banc«m,oH j f 7°* ^ '° aC' Up0n the ^tribution scheme thus

debt Wn tb T l^6611 'umany plaCeS the janmi* were 60 heavily in debt to the kanakkar at this time and for years afterwards that they were

unable to pay off their claims. Even when Special Commissioner Gneme

made h,s enquiry in 1818-22 the kanakkar were still in some places paying

778 (Paragraph 551 of his report) and in other places were allowing the only twenty per cent.1 2 of the balance left over of the

f, after defraying the Government assessment and the interest on the sums advanced by them (the kanakkar) to the janmi,. (Grmme's report, paragraphs 632, 732, 733, 734, 735, 802, 803.)

For years, therefore, it was a matter of hardly any importance to the kunaUcfir on what principles the Government assessment had been fixed,

ihey were virtually in full enjoyment of their rights.

But about 1831-32 a most important change took place, for prices of produce began to rise.

Prices which wtre abnormally low just then rose in 1831-32 to about fifteen per cent, after the setting in of the rains. In the following year they again rose twelve per cent. Prices were again higher in 1833-34. Next year grain prices were a little lower, but garden produce more than maintained its position. The year following grain prices again fell, but garden produce prices were maintained. In 1836-37 grain quite recovered its position and garden produce fell considerably. In 1837-38 grain prices were maintained, while garden produce fully recovered its previous good position. And so it went on. There occurred a marked all round rise in the five years 1852-53 to 1856-57, and a still more marked rise 3 all round in the three following years 1857-58 to 1859-60.

Under such favorable circumstances the Government land revenue was of course, collected with great facility. This was first noticed in the year, 1832-33, and in 1833-34 the ease with which it was collected was still more noticeable. Since then the Collectors have had no difficulty in maintaining clean balance sheets.

But higher prices would enable the tenants to pay more to the janmi as well as to pay the Government demand with increasing ease, so a very material motive came into action straining the hitherto quiescent relations between the parties.

Unfortunately also, just before this rise in prices occurred, the parties interested in the soil had at last been brought face to face with, and

1 Principal Collector Warden to the Board of Revenue, 12th September 181o,paragraph 12.

2 In Ernftd at least there seems to have been some agreement come to to this effect in 1790-91, and in 1818-22 Mr. Graeme mentions the fact that the courts were acting upon this custom in adjudging cases that arose. (Graeme’s report, paragraphs 732-35; Com/.

Ristom and Pattinnu rmuhi in Appendix XIII.

Seo para. 315 of Section (B) of this chapter.

enabled to realise, the innovations brought about in their relative positions by the British administration. This began in consequence of the inquiry set on foot by Special Commissioner Graeme in 1823 into " actual rents " as a basis for his scheme of fixing the Government assessment on wet lands. Sir W. Robinson's graphic account of the measures adopted to this end, and of their utter failure* (paragraphs 266-08 of Section (B) of this chapter) gives some insight into the burning jealousies and strife thus engendered. The country teemed with false deeds, the courts were crowded with litigants. These heartburnings and disputes had no time to subside, for in 1833 there was commenced another similar inquiry by the same agency, and this continued for no less then ten years or till 1843.

It must have been at this time that the parties interested began to realise the enormous changes wrought by European ideas of property in their relative positions, and it is a very significant and ominous fact pointing in this direction that on the 26th November 1836 — at a time when, looking at the high prices obtained for their produce, the cultivators one would have thought had every reason to be satisfied — there occurred the first of the Mappilla outrages reported 1 on by Special Commissioner Strange in 1852.

From that time down to the 14th September 1857 thirty-eight such outrages or attempted outrages occurred, including among the number the one which, shortly after Mr. Strange's special commission, resulted fatally to the Collector Mr. Conolly.

In reporting on these fanatical outrages Mr. Strange forcibly pointed 2 out that by means of fanaticism " the power of the Mappilla caste and the prostration of those of the adverse persuasion have been much advanced, and out of this substantial benefits to the aggressive body have arisen." And again, "the evil has become deep-rooted in the country, and being based not on simple delusion merely, but upon actual criminality and prospect of gain, it will not of itself expire and he continued, " even the desire for plunder may prove a sufficient motive for the organization of these outbreaks, some having already largely profited in this way ; " and finally, " they will be more and more directed against the landed proprietors."

He found 3 that in one instance the relatives of certain of the fanatics avowed " that it was a religious merit to kill landlords who might eject tenants, and in Mr. Collett's (the Special Assistant Magistrate's) report on the first of the Kulattur outrages (22nd August 1851) there occurs the following very significant passage: — "The most perverted ideas on the doctrine of martyrdom, according to the Koran, universally prevail and are fostered among the lower classes of the Mappillas. Iho late inquiries have shown that there is a notion prevalent among the lower ordeis that, according to the

Mussulman religion, the fact of a

' Paras. 399-407 of his report. 2 Taras. 38 and 39 of his report.

3 Para. 39 of his report.

3 inmi or landlord having, in due course of law, ejected from his lands a mortgagee1 or other substantial tenant, is a sufficient pretext to murder him, become sahid (or saint), and so ensure the pleasures of the Muhammadan paradise. This opinion has been openly stated before me by Mappillas , some indeed making a distinction as to whether the ejection was accomplished by fraud or otherwise, but others believing that the fact of the tenant being thus reduced to poverty was sufficient." And the same feeling is more than2 once alluded to in the correspondence on the subject. Mr. Strange further pointed3 out " The spirit prevailing against the landlords I have remarked, as found by me, to be very strong, and greed of land unquestionably inflames it." Finally it is well known that the favorite text of the banished Arab Priest or Tangal — Saiyid Fazl — in his Friday orations at the mosque in Tirurangadi was : " It is no sin, but a merit, to kill a janmi who evicts."

" The land is with the Hindus , the money with the Mappillas f observed 4 Mr. Strange, so to get the land the Mappillas in his view encouraged fanaticism.

That " greed of land " inflamed the movement there can be no manner of doubt, but, in the light of what has been set forth above, it may be permitted to question the accuracy of Mr. Strange's conclusion that this greed was exhibited by the Mappillas alone.

The real fact seems to have been that th ejanmis, influenced partly by the rise in the prices of produce and partly by the novel views of the courts as to their real position, had at last begun to feel their power as Lords of the Soil and to exercise it through the courts. The Mdp-pillas , who had been peacefully in possession of the lands since the time of Hyder Ali's conquest, felt it no doubt as a bitter grievance that the janniis should have obtained power to evict them — a power which did not intrinsically belong to them — and the influential men among them, looking about for means to protect themselves, set fanaticism in motion, and at first experienced great benefits from it.

Mr. Strange holding, or perhaps rather never suspecting the accuracy of, the view that the janmi was really the Lord of the Soil , did not much concern himself with the land question. He suggested that the Sadr Adalat should issue the circular of 5th August 1856 already referred to defining the law as then held by the Honorable the Judges, and on three points he suggested that

amendments in the practice of the courts should be made. These were — (1) that the fine on renewal of the kdnam deed should not be taken oftener than once in twelve years ; (2) that the fees of various descriptions, but of a petty nature, should be regulated ; and (3) that melkdnam (an advance on the kdnam debt)

1 I.©.-, a KanakJcdran.

a MdppiJla Outrages Correspotutence , Vol. I, pp. 194, 195, 205, 355, 360,451, 453.

- Report, para. 39. 4 Roport, para. 28.

LAND TENURES.

should not operate to a tenant's disadvantage during the currency of Ins

kanam lease. . .

- He directed his main efforts towards the repression of the rampant

fanaticism, and the chief measures finally sanctioned may be shortly described as (1) a sort of permanent repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act in so far as the Mappillas are concerned in all disturbed tracts, and (2; the fining up to total confiscation of property, if necessary, of all Mappillas resident within the limits of portions of the disturbed district.

The G-overnment of India, when passing the first of the Mappilla Outrages Act, observed : " Within that period " (the period of five years, to which the operation of the Act was first of all limited) " it is hoped these fanatical outrages will be entirely suppressed by means of the increased powers conferred upon the Government of Madras and the judicial authorities, and by the establishment of the proposed police corps, and that the continuance of the Acts will be no longer necessary."

This was written on the 31st March 1854, and unfortunately the Act does still remain on the Statute Book.

The policy of repression failed to fulfil its objects, and outrages or attempts at outrage have, notwithstanding the enormous penalties of the repressive Act, unfortunately occurred on 19th February 1858, 8th July 1860, 4th February 1864, 17th September 1865, 8th September 1873, June 1874, 20th March 1877, June 1879, 9th September 1880, December 1880, .July 1884, 27th December 1884, 2nd May 1885, and 11th August 1885.

The exhibition of fanaticism on these occasions is still used as a means towards an end, and Mr. Strange's description of the results is still true — " The power of the Mappilla caste, and the prostration of those of the adverse persuasion have been much advanced, and out of this substantial benefits to the aggressive body have arisen." Fanaticism through the fear inspired by its exhibition exalts the Mappilla religion, and this carries with it the exaltation of the Mappilla caste. This exaltation of the Mappilla caste enables them to make better terms with their j annas. The janmis do not fear the Hindus as a caste. Therefore Hindu tenants have to submit to terms which Mappilla tenants would not endure. And finally the result is that there is a steady movement whereby in all the Mappilla tracts the land is passing slowly but surely into the possession of the Mappillas and the Hindus are going to the wall.

Out of 14,034 pieces of land examined by Mr. Logan in the course of his inquiry as Special Commissioner in 1881 it was found that —

The cultivator held direct from the janmi . . 10,328

Do. from intermediaries between

himself and the janmi . 3,706

Total

14,034

These 10,328 pieoes or land were held on the following tenures

Permanent tenures with or without rent II. Tenures with advances secured on the land but without rent, not liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (Otti)

1. Tenures with advances secured on the land but without rent, liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (Quasiˆolti)

IY. Tenures with advances secured on the land, and with rent, not liable to renewal fees at fixed intervals (Quast-kdnam)

1. Tenures with advances secured on the land, and with rent, liable to renewal fees at

fixed intervals (Kanam) .

YI. Mortgages with or without rent for definite or indefinite periods (Panayam) . .

II. Leases for twelve years or more (Verum

pattam) .

1. Leases for more than 1 year and less than

twelve years .

1. Leases for one year or at will . . . .

NOS.

3,472

2,752

2,589

Total.. 10,328

Similarly the 3,706 pieces held by the cultivators through intermediaries gave the following results : —

Held by inter medi-aries.

Held by cultivators from intermediaries.

NOS.

NOS.

Under Tenure I as above..

ff yy ˆ y y • •

ft 9 9 III yy • •

„ „ iv „ ..

y 9 9 9 ˆ 9 9 • •

2,976

„ ,, VI „ ..

„ ,, VII „ ..

„ } y VIII „ ..

ft ft I X yy. • I

2,360

Total . .

3,706

3,706

The kancim tenure is being steadily abandoned in favor of ordinary leases and more particularly in favor of leases from year to year or at will.

As regards the length of possession by the cultivators of the 14,034 pieces of land examined, the general results were found to be as follows : — The largest proportion (over forty-three per cent.) of the grain cultivators have held possession of their lands for less than twelve years. The

LAND TENURES.

ne’ˆt largest proportion of them (over thirty-four per cent.) have been in possession for over thirty years. Whereas in regard to the garden cultivators these proportions are exactly reversed ; forty-three per cent, having been in possession over thirty years, while over thirty per cent, have held their lands for periods under twelve years.

The statistics in regard to eviction suits supplied the following very suggestive figures : —

Quinquennial

periods.

Average annual number of

Suits of eviction.

Persons against whom eviction was decreed.

Persons against whom rent was decreed. 1

1862-66 ..

2,039

1,891

1,473

1867-71 ..

2,547

3,483

2,549

1872-76 ..

3,974

6,286

4,314

1877-80 ..

4,983

8,355

6,498

These figures prove that in the nineteen years preceding Mr. Logan's inquiry evictions had been steadily on the increase. Eviction does not however necessarily follow on a decree for eviction. The janmis have by this power of eviction been simply forcing up rents, which were formerly very moderate by force of custom. If the tenant agreed to enhancement of his rent then eviction did not usually follow on the decree against him. But if he refused he was ejected and a more amenable tenant took his place.

The complaints against these eviction proceedings were both numerous and bitter, and ranged themselves under a few general heads, the chief complaints being of eviction (a) from ancestral lands; (b) on demand of the land by the janrni ; (c) just as the trees begin to bear ; (d) after due payment of renewal fees ; (e) before being permitted to reap standing crops ; (f) for refusing to permit tenants' trees to be cut by the janrni ; [g) for refusing to give up the janrnam title to other lands ; (4) for sending petitions of complaint ; (i) of widows and orphans.

On only three out of ninety-eight estates examined in the low country taluks

it was found that the cultivators were enjoying the share of produce set apart for them under Mr. Ttickards' scheme of assessment ; on all the others the cultivators' shares of produce had been encroached upon most seriously in most cases and most outrageously in some.

Consequently complaints of excessive rent and excessive renewal fees were very common and well founded in most instances.

Another very important subject of complaint was the inadequacy of the rates paid to the ryots for " improvements " when being evicted from their holdings. The cause of this has been already explained : the customary rates for improvements were the rates at which the janrni1 8

1 Exclusive of those sued in the Small Cause Courts.

share of produce had to be bought, and not at all the value of the ryots' interest in his holding. When he (the ry ot) wished to get rid of that (his interest in his holding) he sold it at its full market value, and this he does still though the janmi's power of ouster has greatly neutralised the value of the privilege.

Among other miscellaneous matters complained of were the following : (a) The insecurity to purchasers of kanam rights. This was a very well-founded complaint looking to the practical permanency of the tenure in former times, and the tenant's free power of transfer of his interest in his holding. (6)* Breaches of contract to renew kanam deeds. The system of renewal as now developed is an outrageous system of forehand renting requiring extravagant sums to be paid down on entry or renewal. These extravagant payments having exhausted the tenants' resources and tenants' credit they cannot readily raise such sums. Renewal fees are therefore now paid in driblets as the money can be scraped together, and the janmi frequently ignores such payments and gives away the land over the tenant's head, thus forfeiting the payments made for which receipts are never given, (c) Having obtained his renewal deed the tenant is still not left at peace, for, under the guise of extra payments, fines, gifts, demands of produce, &c., and subscriptions he has to contribute in many illegal ways to his janmi' s comfort and convenience. If he refuses, he is evicted at the next periodical renewal. (dj The courts having viewed the kdnakkaran > s advance to his janmi as having been, made to secure payment of the rent (pattam) and as having been also made on the security of the land, it follows that the tenant cannot be ousted for allowing rent (pattam) to fall into arrears, and if rent is allowed to fall into arrears it can be recovered when the kanam advance is paid off at the end of the tenant's term of occupation. This being so it has become usual to write off from five to fourteen years' arrears of rent from the kanam advance at the

end of the term of occupation. In one case, that of a poor widow, nineteen years' arrears of rent were so written off, the tenant being unable to produce receipts for the rent. (e) Very numerous and well-founded were the" complaints that it is usually impossible to obtain receipts for rent paid, and (f) the janmis' managers were as a body impeached, and with good show of reason, for fraudulent dealings in various ways with the tenants under them.

This brief sketch of some of the contents of MrLogan's report on the land tenures brings matters down to the present day, and the following conclusions seem to be justified : —

1. The original Malayali system of land tenure was a system of customary sharing of the produce, each oustomary sharer being permitted the free transfer of his interest in the land.

2. Under British rule one of these, customary sharers has been exalted into the position of a European proprietor . holding the plenum dominium as the Romans called it.

1. The other customary co-sharers have consequently been

gradually pushed to the wall and do not now receive their customary shares, and their right of free transfer of their interests has been virtually expropriated.

1. The insecurity to the ryots thus occasioned has resulted in

fauatical outrages by Mappillas and in a great increase of crime.

The remedies to be applied are still (1886) under the consideration of the Government of Madras.

Section (B).

REVENUE ASSESSMENT.

EXAMINATION OF THE PRINCIPLES WHICH REGULATE THE LAND REVENUE ASSESSMENTS IN MALABAR AS BEARING ON THE SUBJECT OF RENT.

Sub-Section I. — Preliminary Remarks and Plan.

The objects which have necessitated the preparation of this paper 1 are

Objects of this mainly two, viz. : — paper.

1. To ascertain, first, by reference to the past Revenue History

1. To ascertain proportions between Government Lind assessments and net produce.

of Malabar, the proportions which the land revenue assessments bear to the fund available out of the net produce of the land, for paying a rent to the proprietor and an assessment to Government.

(b) To discover, in the

(b) Are these proportions any where excessive ?

second place, whether these proportions are any where so oppressive at the present time, as to take from the people more of the produce than by the fixed principles regulating

the assessments the Government intended to take.

The former object is merely precedent to the latter. Regarding the latter, it was absolutely necessary to obtain accurate and exact notions, before proceeding to the main object of the present Commission, the consideration of the existing state of the relations between cultivators, intermediaries, and proprietors. It is sufficiently obvious, and, moreover, it has always been recognized that private property in land in this country depends on the share of the produce which remains to the cultivator, after satisfying the demands

Private property in land in India depends on the share left over after satisfying the Government demands.

1 Note.— This paper formed Appendix II to Mr. Rpgan's Report on the Malabar Land Tenures.

The British policy has been to restore property in land. This has, perhaps, already proceeded far enough.

of Government. The administrations, Muhammadan and others, prior to the Biitish, on the East Coast of the Presidency, had practically holished private landed estates by raising the Government demands so as to absorb the whole of the surplus produce. The policy of the British Government has hitherto been to restore property in land on that coast. Evidence is not wanting {see the Famine Commissioners' Report) that that policy of restoring landed property has, perhaps, already proceeded far enough. The lessons to be learnt

by an attentive study of the progress of events in Malabar, where the condition of landed property desired for the East Coast has never ceased to exist, may, perhaps, be found to be under such circumstances capable of more general application, and, at any rate as regards Malabar itself, it is absolutely necessary to a proper understanding of the land tenures, that exact ideas should first be obtained regarding the shares of produce which Government leaves to be divided between the private individuals interested in the land.

1. Some reasons will be found set forth elsewhere (Section (A) of this Chapter) for thinking that the idea hitherto generally received that in ancient times there was no such thing as a land assessment in Malabar is, after all, a mistaken one. Knowledge on this subject is at present extremely limited, and it is now doubtful whether the point, if it is eventually cleared up, will hereafter be

of any other than antiquarian interest. It will be sufficient for the present purpose here to observe that the position occupied by the Kanakkars in ancient society, will repay the best study that can be devoted to it, and that it will almost certainly turn out that the proceedings, which will be found hereinafter detailed in due course, of the Kolattiri Raja in 1736-37 in Kolattunad, and of the Zamorin Raja a few years later in the Palghat country, were not after all, as hitherto usually accepted, the first essays to assess a land tax in Malabar.

1. Before proceeding to give in detail an account of the measures

adopted, first by Hyder Ali and Tippu and afterwards refVrcnoe'to certa?n the Honorable Company, for introducing a regular preliminary matland tax throughout the district, it will be necessary ter8to advert to some preliminary matters necessary to the

correct appreciation of those measures.

1. First, as to the Malayali mode of determining, or rather of stating, the extent of grain-crop lands, it appears that Malabar has preserved on this point (as on so many others) the traditionary custom of other parts of the Continent. The quantity of seed-grain which it takes to sow a oertain field, depends so much on the quality of the soil that it js impossible to form from it any but the very roughest approximation to the extent of the field,

Contrary to the view usually accepted, Malabar probably at first had a land revenue assessment like all other Indian countries.

The Malayftll mode of stating the extent of grain-crop lands

is by the quantity of seed required to 6ow them.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Reason for this.

Custom, and not competition, distributed the produce in former times.

but, on the other hand, the quantity of seed required for any particular field is, other things being equal, pretty constant, and the-outturn multiple being pretty constant also, the gross produce of the field is easily calculated. It will be seen from the paper on Tenures (Section (A) of this Chapter) that custom — and not, as in these modern days, competition — ruled everything : it was essential that the gross produce of each field should be known in order that it might be distributed by custom ; and hence the adoption of a mode of stating areas, which, under any other system, would have presented difficulties.

1. As regards gardens, the produce of which, as in the case of grain And so with garlands, was likewise ruled by custom, it had been usual

<icnsto count the fruitful trees only and to form an estimate

of their produce for distribution in the allotted shares. A garden, therefore, came to be known as a garden of so many coco, areca, or jack trees, and of so many peppervines.

1. The subject of patiam or so-called rent has been considered, as

fully as the extent of present knowledge will permit which this customunder the head of I enures, and nothing more is ary sharing of the required here than to observe that when the Mysoreans the Mysoreans for descended into Malabar under Hyder Ah, they found, assessing a land as ft were, a system made ready to hand for easily and quickly assessing a land tax. The seed sown on each field, the gross produce of the field, the shares into which this gross produce was divided, the number of fruitful trees in a garden, the produce of the garden and the customary shares of it were all points which were, and it may be added are still, known to the most illiterate husbandman ; and it was with the husbandmen, and not with the landlords, that the settlement was made. (Paragraph 196 of the Joint Commissioners' Report, 1793.) That settlement proceeded (as will be seen further on) nearly everywhere on the plan of taking for the Government a certain portion of the patiam or so-called rent paid by the husbandman.

6a. Finally, it has been too often and too easily assumed in many The Mysorean public reports that the Mysorean settlement of a land

systematic taX Proceeded on a defi™te system, and was carried

out completely and universally on such a system The

KWslare inTt* g°od *nt unfl»tunate Mysorean Governor Arshad Beg Khan s name has been too often quoted as the official who, at least in South Malabar, carried out this system ; but it Mull be seen presently what was in reality the part that he played. The country was not settled enough for the introduction of any systematic and complete plan, and the Mysoreans, even under Hyder's strict rule, were not the persons to introduce such a scheme if it had been

m

1. The Bengal and Bombay Joint Commissioners, in 1792-93, j obtained from a Brahman named Jinnea a statement

mi88ioner8,nin 1792purporting to give details of Arshad Beg Khan's set93, were misled by tlement of the southern portion of the district for the Jiimea.111*11' year 1784-85, and on this the Joint Commissioners

proceeded (paras. 39, 41, 42, 196 to 200 and 269 to 278) to discuss the principles on which that settlement was based, and being satisfied with its general correctness, they directed (para. 458) its adoption in the southern districts. It was conclusively ascertained, however, by Mr. Commissioner Graeme in 1822 that the Joint Commissioners had been misled into believing that the settlement was more orderly and systematic than the reality proved it to he. The Brahman Jinnea's statement had set forth that so many measures of seed sown produced so many rupees, and so many fruitful trees produced so many more rupees. The Joint Commissioners thereupon judged that the Mysore settlement had been fixed at certain money rates per measure of seed sown and per fruitful tree respectively, which rates they ascertained by dividing the total revenue from wet lands and the total revenue from gardens by the number of measures of seed sown and by the number of fruitful trees respectively. Mr. Graeme in 1818-22 ˆ found, however, by comparing Jinnea's account with

pointed out ** the certain others subsequently prepared, that the discre-

m consistencies in nancies in regard to " seed sown" and "fruitful trees" Jmnea' s account. r °

were enormous.

In South Malabar except P&lghat.

Number of Paras of Seed sown.

Outturn

Multiple.

Gross.

Produce.

As per Jinnea's account . . . .

704,645

7,046,450

As per the Jamabandi of 1800-1 founded on Jinnea's account . . . .

782,194

7,821,940

As per the Janmi Pymaish account given in by the people themselves in 1805-6. . .

1,865,040

about 6

11,262,125

So also with coconut trees.

In South Malabar, excluding Palghat and Temmalapuram.

Number of Productive Trees.

As per Jinnea's account . . • • • •

As per English Surveys made between 1793-4 and 1800-1 … • • • •

As per Major Macleod's Survey, 1801-2

As per the account which regulated the collections up to the end of 1804-5 … • •

As per the Janmi Pymftish account prepared by the people themselves in 1805-6 . .

733,591

1,273,138

1,452,816

1,306,735

2,033,905

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

The real facts relating to the Mysorean settlement were gathered by Mr. Gra? me.

Jinnea's " factitious seed of assessment " and " artificial tree of account."

It is unnecessary to go into further details regarding the other garden productions, except to say that the Joint Commissioners' calculations as to the rates of assessment were equally erroneous regarding them. Mr. Graeme, after satisfying himself that " it would be delusive to regard the principles of assessment pointed out in that Report" (Joint Commissioners' Report, 1793) " as correct," proceeded on a four years' tour through the different districts of Malabar and collected most of the details which will be found below relating to the period prior to 1823.

1. It may be stated as the general result of Mr. Graeme's enquiries that he found Jinnea's account to be as misleading as he at first suspected it to be; and he found that the rates which had been deduced therefrom by the Joint Commissioners had been applied to " a factitious seed of assessment" and to " an artificial tree of account"

respectively. The Mysorean officials, it would seem, imposed an apparently severe tax on the " seed of assessment " and " fruitful tree " respectively, probably for the sake of throwing dust in the eyes of the people at head-quarters in Mysore, while in reality, in distributing the lump sums thus assessed on particular districts, they found congenial and remunerative employment in fixing the assessments on individuals. The rates were so heavy that, even when an attempt was made to assess the lands fairly, the

quantity of seed sown and the number of productive trees had to be understated in order to find an assessment which the lands could bear. And of course this under-estimating of the capabilities of the land was not procured for nothing. Individuals who could manage to square the officials got off with comparative immunity, while those who could not do so had their lands excessively assessed. Much has been done since to equalize the assessments, but tire commutation rates have since become so favorable to the cultivators that many inequalities which would otherwise have come to the surface (so to speak) have remained hidden, and it is only when local investigations are made into existing facts that the immense differences which do really still exist, especially as respects the wet lands, are laid bare.

1. Notwithstanding, then, its great inequalities in regard to individuals, it was Arshad Beg Khan's so-called Jamabandi which was adopted by the Bengal and Bombay Joint Commissioners. In the Southern Districts, it continued to be the standard to which all partial revisions of assessments were made to approximate, until Mr.

an it continues Gr£Brae'8 elaborate investigation (1818-22) put fresh

materials into the hands of Government. As regards

The rates were so heavy that the quantity of seed sown and the number of fruitful trees had to be understated in order to find an assessment which the land could bear.

The inequalities of assessment are still excessive.

Arshad Beg

Khan's so-called Jamabandi was

adopted by the J oint Commissioners,

down to the present day to influence

materially the land revenue in South Malabar.

InNorthMalabar the system in force was understood by the Joint Commissioners to lead to the same results, and it, too, is to some extent in force down to the present day.

wet lands, it will be seen in the course of this narrative that the so-called Arshad Beg Khan's settlement continues even down to the present day to be the standard in the southern portion of the district, while in the north the

settlement adopted under orders of the Joint Commissioners (Report, paragraph 459), though differing in details from Arshad Beg Khan's, was understood to lead to the same results, and it, too, remains to a considerable extent to -influence down to the present day the collections from wet lands in North Malabar.

9 a. It only remains to add that the revenues of North Malabar were to a great extent managed by the respective chieftains of that part of the country as 5?ms/-Zemindars during the Mysorean occupation, while South Malabar was more or less directly under the management of Mysorean officials. During the first years of the Honorable Company's Government, each Nad was respectively managed for longer or shorter periods by its hereditary chieftain. Owing, however, to the accumulation of arrears of revenue, which on 30th September 1801 had reached the large amount of over Rs. 1 1,40,000, this system of management was gradually abolished. On the winding up of the first or Joint Commission of Bengal and Bombay Officers who controlled the district during 1792 and part of 1793, a Supra visor with two Superintendents under him constituted the executive authority. This system remained in force till May 1796, when a second Commission was sent down to execute the office of Supravisor. This Commission continued till Malabar was transferred from the

North Malabar was managed by its chieftains as quasi-Zemindars under the Mysoreans.

This system con-i tinued under British,

but owing to accumulation of arrears it was gradually abolished.

The Joint Commission.

The Supra visors.

The second Commission.

Transfer from Bombay to Madras.

Major Macleod the first Principal Collector.

Scheme of

arrangement for

the historical details which follow.

Bombay to the Madras Presidency, and Major Macleod was appointed the

first Principal Collector in 1801.

1. In arranging the following historical details it will be best to adopt a uniform scheme, and the one that seems best to suit the subject is —

{a) To take up one by one, proceeding from north to south, the different Nads or districts into which Malabar was divided

at the time of the Mysorean conquest, and to set out in regard to each, as briefly as possible, the series of measures which were introduced therein, first under the Mysore and afterwards under the British Government, down to the year 1805-6, after which year the low-country portion of the district was treated on an uniform and systematic plan as regards land rovenue.

1. The measures adopted subsequently to 1805-6 in the low-country taluks will then be detailed.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1. The exceptional cases of (1) Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands, (2) Wynad, (3) Cochin, (4) Tangacherry and Anjengo will finally be dealt with.

Moreover, in order to secure clearness, it will be necessary, in treating of each Nad, to detail under the separate heads of —

1. Wet Lands,

2. Garden Lands,

3. Miscellaneous Lands,

the measures adopted in regard to each. This plan will lead to some repetition, but it is impossible otherwise to prevent confusion in detail.

Sketch Map Nads.

Sub-Section II.— Historical Facts down to 1805-6 relating to

the low Country.

q{ 11The accompanying rough sketch map will enable any one to pick out, at a glance, the particular portion of the district dealt with.

(I)-KOLATTUNAD.

1. The domain in which the Kolattiri or Chirakkal family was regarded as the suzerain comprised the following modem amsams of the modern taluk of Chirakkal viz. : —

Limits of KAlat tanad.

Payyannur.

Yellur.

Karuvellur.

Korom.

Eramam.

Kuttur.

Kuttiyeri.

Chulali

Kanyileri.

Kalliad.

Malapattam.

Koyyam.

Kurumattur.

Taliparamba.

Pattuvam.

Elom.

Cherutalam.

Kunynyimangaiam-

Madayi.

Mattul.

Cherukunru.

Kannapuram.

Irinava.

Pappinisseri.

Kalliassen.

Moraya.

Kayaralam.

Kuttiyattur.

Maniyur.

Munderi.

Cheleri.

Kannadiparamba.

Chirakkal.

Alikod.

Pulati.

Elayavur.

Wet Lands.

1. Iu 1731-32 the Kolattiri dominions were invaded by the Bedniir Raja's forces, and the Kolattiri Raja had in consequence to impose a tax of 20 per cent, of the pattam (rent.) on all rice-landˆ.

2. From this time forward the Kolattiri Raja was in straits for

money to settle the Bednur Raja's demands, and tlm

country seems to have been twice at least invaded aiterwards.

A.D. 1731-32.

Invasion of the Bednur Raja.

1777-80.

1781-83.

1.
2. In 176o-66 Hyder Ali descended into Kolattunad. The country

1766-66. was 'n a distraoted state: sometimes in Hyder's

in (Ui j , possession, sometimes in the Raja's, and sometimes

in the hands of the Cannanore Bibi, and 30 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was imposed. r •

1. This continued till 1776-77, when Ramalioga Piilay, an officer

1776-77. ° ^der 8 > 8ent one Koonjamaram Pillay, his gumasta

• , . CA 0r dePut7 » who fixed an assessment on each field at

the rate of 50 per cent, of the pattam.

1. In 1777-80 Hyder exacted an annual tribute or Nuzzur of Rs. 4,00,000, and people say that 100 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was taken to make good the demand.

2. In 1781-83 the Raja exacted 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), taking the paddy in kind.

3. In 1783 one Harpenhully Venkappa made some alteration, but what it was, is not clear.

4. In 1/85-88 Tippu, while the country was in possession of the 1785-88 Raja, sent a Commission to make a survey and to detect frauds, and the assessment was fixed at 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers of paddy. This commutation rate was increased to Rs. 41 1 per 1,000 seers because of the substitution in the revenue collections of the Sultani fanam (3£ to the rupee) for the fanam Current in the country.

1788-89 the people deserted the country

owing to Tippu's attempts at wholesale Islamism.

1. In 1790-92 the revenue was managed by the Raja, and the

1790-92. assessment was 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), taken in kind for rice-lands.

1. In 1792-93 a survey was made by the Company's and Raja's servants, and the Raja alleged that he collected only 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent).

2. A deficiency occurring in the collections, the Company in 1798-99 assumed the direct management.

3. In 1799-1800 Mr. Hodgson, the Sub-Collector, made a settle

ment on the principle of taking 50 per cent, of the

1799-1800 • ° 1

pattam, commuted into money at Rs. 41 1 per 1,000 seers of paddy.

1. It had been customary for the inhabitants to give 10 seers per

Potipad (Poti = 30 seers; Potipad = land requiring

1799-1801 A 1 a o

30 seers to sow it), under the denomination of Potipattu (literally, 10 per poti), for the use of the Devasvam or Hindu temples. In 1799-1800 or 1800-1 half of this Potipattu, or (say 8ˆ- per cent, of the pattam) was assumed on behalf of Government at the ordinary commutation rate of Rs. 41ˆ per 1,000 seers.

1792-93.

1798-99. The Hon'ble Company assume direct

management.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1799-1801.

1801-2.

1. It had also been customary for the proprietors to give for every 100 seers of pattam (rent) 16 seers, under the names of Veli nellu (paddy for hedges) and Kythee nellu

(grain for ropes), for raising hedges and providing ropes for keeping out and fastening up cattle which strayed into the rice-fields. In 17991800 or in 1800-1 half of this also was assumed by Government at the ordinary commutation rate (Rs. 41ˆ for 1,000 seers).

1. In 1801-2 Major Macleod, the first Principal Collector of the district, made a survey. Owing to the rebellion which arose, the survey was rescinded and Mr. Rickards, the

second Principal Collector, reverted to the assessment of 1800-1.

1. In 1805-6 Mr. Warden, the third Principal Collector, for the 1805-6. purpose of carrying out the scheme of assessment

proposed by Mr. Rickards and approved by Government (see Appendix XV), obtained a return from all proprietors of the seed, produce, &c., of all their fields. This return is usually known as the J anmi Pymaish of 981 M.E. On receipt of the returns for this Nad, the assessments, which were found to fall short of the proper proportion (50 per cent.) of the pattam (rent), were raised, but excesses similarly ascertained were not similarly reduced.

Garden Lands.

1. It will be unnecessary to do more than refer to the following A.D. 1731-92. dates and paragraphs of this note for a description of

the circumstances under which the revenue share of the pattam on gardens was, like that on ricelands, assessed at the

following rates

1731-32,

paragraph 13 …

1731-65,

do.

1765-66,

do.

15 …

1776-77,

do.

16 …

1777-80,

do.

17 …

1781-83,

do.

18 …

1783,

do.

1790-92,

do.

22 …

20 per cent.

30 per cent.

50 per cent.

100 per cent.

50 per cent. (Pepper was taken

in kind)

50 per cent. (Taken in money-)

1. Between 1 < 92 and 1798-99 the Raja, who continued at this 1792-99. period to collect the revenue, had increased the percentage of assessment on garden produce to 60 per cent, of the pattam, except on pepper, which remained at 50 per cent. The pattam was ascertained by taking 20 per cent, of the gross produce as the. tenant's share, except as regards pepper, the tenant's share of

which was not properly ascertained. The commutation rates for the produce were —

Coconuts . Rs. 10-0-0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts . „ 0-6-1 do.

*Jaclc8 . Six-tenths of pattam, whatever the

number of trees might be.

PePPer . Rs. 130-0-0 per candy of 640 lb.

1. In 1805-6 (as in the case of wet lands, paragraph 29 above) 1805-6. ascertained deficiencies in the proper proportion (50

. . P61* cenˆ-) the pattam (rent) on garden lands were

raised on receipt of the Janmi Pymaish account of 981 M.E., but similarly ascertained excesses were not similarly reduced.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. In 1776-77 Puttdda crops (rice grown on uplands, similar to the 1776-77. Modan. ˆ-o4an of South Malabar) were assessed in the Elom,

Madayi, Cherutalam and Kunyimangalam Amsams at 30 per cent, of the gross produce, commuted into money at Its. 35 per 1,000 local seers, and in the other portions of the Nad at 40 per cent, of gross produce commuted at the same rate.

1. And in the same year (1776-77) Punam crops (rice and other 1776-77. Punam. grajns au(t pulses, and occasionally some cotton grown

on jungl6 lands felled annually for the purpose) were similarly assessed at 30 per cent, of the gross produce in the Elom, Madayi, Cherutalam and Kunyimangalam Amsams, and at 40 per cent, of the gross produce in the rest of the Nad ; and the commutation rate

was the same throughout, viz., Rs. 35 per 1,000 local seers as in the case of Puttada.

1. Likewise, in the same year (1776-77), Ellu crops (gingelly-oil 1776-77. Ellu. 8ee(t) were assessed throughout the Nad at 20 percent.

of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 local seers.

(2)— RANPATARA.

1. Randatara (or, as it is sometimes called, Poyanadu in reference to the tradition that it was from this Nad that Chera-man Perumal took his final

departure on his journey to Mecca) comprised the following modern amsams of

the modern taluk of Chirakkal : —

Limits of Randa tara.

1. Edakad.
2. Chembilod.
3. Iruveri.
4. Makreri.
5. Anjarakandi.
6. Mavilayi.
7. Mulappilangad.

It originally formed part of the Kolattunad under the Kolattiris, Its connection but it had come in the course of time to be treated as a separate Nad owing to the English factory at Tellicherry having taken the four ruling families of Achanmar and the 500 Nayars of the Nad under their special protection in the year 1741. The intention of

with the Honorable East India Company's Settlement at Tellicherry.

A.D. 1741-93.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

this measure was " to give the Honorable Company authority over the Achanmar, as also to interpose with the Prince " (Kolattiri) " if he should oppress them by extravagant taxes, which has heretofore happened," — an allusion to the exactions which followed upon the Bednur irruption into Kolattunad in 1731 and following years. The transaction took the form of a mortgage for 60,000 fanams of the Nad, which was rich in pepper. This was the beginning of a long series of transactions, which ended on the 26th April 1793 in an agreement between the Achanmar and the Joint Commissioners in allowing to the former a deduction in the amount of the revenue payable by them for their own lands equivalent to the 20 per cent, of the revenue allowed to the other chieftains of Malabar as Malikhana.

Wet Lands .

1.
2.
3. In 1765 collections were made by the Honorable Company at 15 per cent, probably of the pattam or rent on rice-lands, and this share of produce was taken in kind.

In the agreement with the Achanmar cited in paragraph 36, this arrangement is alluded to as having been in force from 1741, but, owing to disturbances in the country, the arrangement had evidently been broken through and it was renewed on 16th May 1705.

1. Jn 1792 the assessment was raised by the Commissioners to 50 per cent, of " the produce," commuted into money at Rs. 43 per 1,000 seers. " The produce " here seems

to mean the " pattam " (rent).

1. In 1793 the agreement alluded to in paragraph 36 was made

with the Achanmar, whose wet lands were permanently

A permanent ei %

assessment of the assessed at 15 per cent, of "the pattam (rent), Achamrar s private commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers. In

addition to the private estates of the Achanmar, those of the Bihi of Cannanore and of the Raja of Chirakkal were also similarly assessed. The agreement itself is very indefinite in its terms, but the above has been ascertained to be the actual settlement. The lands of other proprietors continued to be held on the footing detailed in paragraph 38.

Garden Lands.

1. In 1765 collections were made by the Company at 20 per cent, probably of the pattam or rent on gardens, the produce of which was generally commuted into money probably

at current market rates. The terms of the agreement of 16th May 1765 are very indefinite.

1. In 1792 the Commissioners raised the assessment to 50 per cent, of " the produce " (which seems to have here mean* pattam or rent calculated on the customary share

2.

3.

the customary pattam rates for produce), except on pepper. The rates were —

Coconut tree Betel-nut tree Jack tree Pepper-vine

1.

1.

% • •

n

n

• •9

n

0tV(J

1. In 1793, under the agreement alluded to in paragraph 36, the Permanent asgardens on the private estates of the Achanmar were sessmentGt Achanpermanentlii assessed at 20 per cent, of the pattam

estates. (rent), commuted into money at the following rates : _

RS. A. P.

Coconuts . 10 0 0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts . 0 8 0 do.

Jacks … … … 0 6 4-£ per tree.

In addition to the private estates of the Achanmar, those of the Bibi of Cannanore and of the Chirakkal Baja were also similarly assessed. The agreement itself is very indefinite in its terms, but the above has been ascertained to be the actual settlement. The lands of other proprietors continued to be held on the footing detailed in paragraph 41.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Puttada, Punam and Ellu (see paragraphs 33, 34, 35) were „„ . assessed alike at 25 per cent, of the gross produce.

commuted into money at Bs. 40, Bs. 40 and Bs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively, but it is not certain when this assessment was fixed.

(3)— THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT TELLICHERRY AND DHARMA-

PATTANAM ISLAND.

n

Limits of the Honorable East India Company's settlement.

1. The settlement consisted of the following modem amsams of the Kottayam Taluk : —

Dharmadam. Tellicherry . .

Mailanjanmam.

Tiruvangad.

The settlement also originally formed a portion of the ancient Kolattunad. The Honorable Company sent agents acquired" W en' to Tellicherry about 1683-84. In 1708 a formal

grant was obtained from the northern regent of the Kolattiri family to erect a fort at Tellicherry, which thenceforth remained uninterruptedly in British occupation. The island of Dliarma-pattanam, lying adjacent to Tellicherry on the north, was acquired by a#roem£ttt0 from the Kolattiri and Kottayam Bajas and the Bibi of Caananore, who all had claims on it, in the years 1734-35, and remained

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

from that time forward, with one short interruption (1788-89), in British occupation. The factory became a Residency in 1776, as, owing to the Mysore occupation, it was not continuing to pay. But the chiefship was afterwards restored.

Wet Lands.

1. Those belonging to the Company were assessed at 100 per cent, the pattam (rent), equivalent to about 40 per cent, of the gross produce, and commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers. .

2. Those belonging to private individuals in Tellicherry were free

of assessment till 1772, when they were rated at 10 1772-76. cen£ 0f n produce," This continued till 1776,

when 25 per cent, of the " produce " — here, however, intended to mean the pattam or rent — was taken and commuted into money at Rs. 43 per 1,000 seers, which rate was subsequently raised to Rs. 45 per 1,000 6eers.

1. Those belonging to private individuals in Dharmapattanam Island were assessed at 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

2. Those belonging to temples in Dharmapattanam Island were assessed at 35 per cent, of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers.

Garden Lands .

1. Those belonging to the Honorable Company in Tellicherry were, prior to 1793-94, rated at 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), and in that year the rate was increased to 66f per cent, of the pattam (rent). '

2. Some of those belonging to private individuals in Tellicherry had, prior to 1772, been rated at 25 per cent, of the " produce," and in that year all of them were sorated. This continued till 1776, when the following rates were imposed : —

Coconuts

Betel-nuts

Jacks

Peppervines …

1. 1.

1 7| per fruitful tree.

0 9f do.

6 4* do.

3 2£ per fruitful vine.

But what constituted a “ fruitful tree ” or “ fruitful vine ” is not known. If the customary share of produce was taken and commuted into money at the customary pattam rates of produce, then it would appear as if it ad been meant to take 50 per cent, of pattam on coconuts, 1 00 per cent, of pattam on betel-nuts, and 100 percent, of pattam on jacks.

- it it DharmaPattanam Island all garden lands, whether belonging to theHcmcnrabfe Company, to private persons, or to temples were assessed alike at 60 per cent, of the pattam (rent).

MAI, A BAR DISTRICT.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. In Dharmapattanam Island, Puttada and Ellu (ride paragraphs „ . 33 and 35) on all lands were assessed at 25 per cent.

i ear uncertain. £ r

ot the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 40 and Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively. It is not certain when this assessment was fixed.

1. —IRUVALINAD.

1. Was also a portion of Kolattunad under the suzerainty of the Kolattiri Raja. When the . English factory was Nian-bfarlnna’’lnad established at Tellicherry it was held by six families

of Nambiars, viz., (1) Kunnumal, (2) Chandrott, (3) Kilakkedatta, (4) Kampuratta, who were known collectively as the Kulatta Nambiars, and by (5) Narangoli Nambiar and (6) Kariyad Nambiar. The Kurangott Nayar’s possessions also probably formed part of the original territory of Iruvalinad, but this portion will be more conveniently treated separately.

Iruvalinad proper consisted of the following Their limits. modern amsams of the modern taluk of Kottayam, viz. : —

1. Panur.

2. Puttur.

3. Triprangottiir.

4. Panniyannur.

5. Perinkulam.

6. Kariyad.

Owing to the position of their territory, these Iruvalinad Nambiars were early brought into relations with both of the wUhheithe English neighbouring settlements of the English at Tellicherry and French settleand 0f the French at Mahe. There were accordingly mcnts' many engagements entered into between the Honor

able Company's Factors at Tellicherry on the one hand and the Nambiars on the other. The Nambiars are also frequently referred to in engagements between the English and French settlements, and between the English Company and other Native chieftains. It does not seem, however, that the Nambiars were in any way subject to the Honorable Company till 1782, when, owing to the successes attending the raising of the siege of Tellicherry, the Nambiars and two other country powers agreed to become tributary to the Company. Whether this agreement was carried out is doubtful, because it was followed soon after by the Mangalore treaty of peace with Tippu Sultan in 1784 and by a return to the mutual positions held by the respective parties before the war.

Wet Lands.

54 In Hyder All's time (1765-82) this Nad was managed by the Raja of Chirakkal, who took 50 per cent., of the 1765-82. p&ttam (rent), payable either in kind or commutable

into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1. In Tippu's time the rate continued the same, the revenue being collected in kind.

2. To prevent illicit trade with the French at Mah£ the Nad was taken under the direct management of the Company at the rupture with Tippu Sultan -in 1790-91 ; 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was collected.

3. In 1793 the commutation rate was raised from Us. 41 per 1,000

6eers to Its. 45 per 1,000 seers on the Narangoli 1793. Nambiar's private estate ; it remained at the former rate elsewhere.

1. In 1793-94 the Nambiars were entrusted with the management

of the Nad, and in 1794-95 they fixed the assessment 1793-94. at 50 per

cent, of the pattam (rent).

1. In 1795-96 the assessment on all lands -was 1795-96. raised to 60 per cent, of the pattam (rent) at the same commutation rates.

2. In 1799-1ˆ00 the assessment was further raised to 72 per cent.

of the pattam (rent), except on the Narangdli Nam1799-1800. biar's private estate, and except in four desams of Panur amsam.

Garden Lands.

1765_g2 61. Under Hyder Ali (1765-82) the Chirakkal Raja

collected an assessment at the following rates : —

1. 1.

Coconuts … … …] 7ˆ per fruitful tree.

Betel-nuts . 0 9£ do.

Jacks . 3 2f do.

1. In Tippu's time these rates were altered as follows : —
1. 1.

Coconut8 . 2 3} per fruitful tree.

Betel-nuts . 0 9f do.

Jacks . 4 6f do.

But these rates being found burdensome, the whole jama (demand) on

the Nad was reduced from Its. 34,000 to Rs. 30,000, and the people were themselves allowed to regulate the rates.

1. The Nad being under the direct management of the Honorable 1792 Company in 1792 (vide paragraph 56), the rates were raised so as to take 50 per cent, of the pattam.

2. ®4. In 1793 the rates were again altered as

follows : —

Coconuts

Betel-nuts

Jacks

Pepper

1. 1.

… 1 71 per fruitful tree.

… 0 9$ do.

… 6 4| do.

… 2 Oif per fruitful vine.

These rates were, however, subsequently reduced as too high.

1793_94 65. The Narabiars were in 1793-94 entrusted with

the management of the Nad.

1. The Nambiars in 1794-95 fixed the assessment at 50 per cent. 1794-95 Pˆtam (rent). The assessment on pepper

seems to have remained at this rate of 50 per cent, of the pattam, commuted into money at Rs. 120 per candy of 640 lb., down to the final abolition of the assessment in 1 806-7.

9g 67. In 1795-96 the assessment was raised to CO

0 per cent, of the paffam (rent).

1. In 1796-97 Narangoli Nambiar's lands were assessed at 100

1796 97 Per cenˆ the pattam (rent), probably for misconduct in intriguing with the rebellious Pychy Raja.

1. In 1799-1800 the assessment was again raised (except on. Narangoli Nambiar's lands and except in four desanˆ of Panur amsam) to 72 per cent, of the pattam (rent).

1799-1800.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. In 1790-91 the assessment on Puttada, Punam, and Ellu (see 1790 9i

paragraphs 33, 34, 35) was fixed at 25 per cent, of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 35r Rs. 35 and Rs. 80 per 1,000 seers respectively.

7R In 1792-93 the assessment on these crops was professedly raised to 40 per cent, of the gross produce, much too high a rate, leading to extensive concealment of produce.

1. In 1806-7 the assessment was extended, on the same principles, to Puttada and Ellu crops raised on land already assessed for garden produce.

1792-93.

1806-7.

(5)— KURANGOTT NAYAR'S NAD.

1. For remarks, see paragraph 53 above. This Nad lay directly between the English and French settlements at Telli-Posmon and limits, an(j Mahe. respectively, and consisted of the

following amsams of the modern taluk of Kottayam : —

1. Olavilam.

2. Kallayi.

From the position of his Nad, the Nayar was early brought into relations with both the English and French Compa-thoi8English8Tnd nˆe8' an<* tried his best to play off the one against French and Mysothe other, not without loss to himself. He was the rcanR* first chieftain who tried conclusions with the arms of

the Honorable Company. This was in 1719, and he came out of it worsted, and was obliged to cede to the Company the desam of Mailam in the modern amsam of Mailanjanmam. After this he remained more

under French than under English influence till 1766, when, on Hyder Ali's descent into Malabar, he was the only chieftain 1 besides Cochin permitted to retain his district. He was, however, subsequently compelled to pay tribute to Hyder Ali. In 1779 he assisted the English Company at the taking of Mahe, and in 1782 he was in turn taken prisoner by the English Company at the successful sortie which closed the siege of Tellicherry. Remaining a-prisoner

at Tellicherry, he paid tribute to the Company for his Nad till 1785, in which year he was again claimed by the French as their ally. In 1787 Tippu caught and hanged him and annexed his Nad to the Iruvalinad Revenue Cutcherry. In 1790 the English Company drove the Mysoreans out of this Nad, and reinstated the Nayar, who again turned to the French alliance, in consequence of which he was arrested and sent a prisoner to Calicut in 1793. In 1797 the Nayar was reinstated in his Nad, which he managed down to 1805-6.

Wet Lands.

1. There is nothing to show on what principles the Nayar collected

,70* the revenue between 1795 and 1805-6. In the latter

year he resigned the management and received a

Malikhana.

1. In 1805-6 the assessment was fixed at 60 per cent, of the 1805-6 pattam (rent) as entered in the Janmi Pymaish

account of 981 (1805-6), and commuted into money at Rs. 45 per 1,000 seers. Whether the pattam (rent), of which 60 per cent, was taken, was the actual pattam (rent) being paid to the Janmis, or whether it was the pattam (rent) calculated on Mr. Rickards' plan (see paragraphs 226, 226a, 22 65 below) is not known. It was 'probably the latter, because the garden assessments were fixed on Mr. Rickards' plan.

Garden Lands.

1. In 1805-6 the assessment was fixed at 50 per cent, of the

1805-6 pattam (formed of two-thirds of the gross produce on

Rickards' plan, vide paragraphs 226, 226a, 2265 below) and the commutation rates were fixed as follows : _

Coconuts

Betel-nuts

Jacks

RS. A. P.

10 0 0 per 1,000 nuts.

0 6 4| do.

0 3 2 1 per tree.

10 0 per fruitful vine.

Pepper .

It is not known, however, what this “ fruitful vine ” was expected to yield in produce.

- The Randatnrn Aehanm&r being under the protection of the Honorable Company were

likewise at first undisturbed. 1 - e 0

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. No details are available.

(6)— KOTTAYAM OR COTIOTE.

1. Was also formerly a portion of Kolattunad. The Cotiote or

Kottayattu Rajas, who are also styled Puranattu (i.e .

Rojas0. K6Uayam foreiSn > Kehatriya) Rajas, received their territory fiom the Kolattiri. this event took place some centuries ago, and when the English settlement was formed at Telli-cherry, “ the Cotiote ” (as the Raja was generally called) was one of the first with whom the Honorable Company came into formal relations. The Raja steadily supported the Honorable Company in the conflicts with Hyder and Tippu, first in 1780-82 and again in 1791-92. Chi the cession of Malabar to the British in 1792 some unfortunate mis-

understandings arose, and the Palassi or Pychy Raja, Raja’s rebellion, J the de/acto head of the house, rose in rebellion, and

maintained a sort of independence so long as Wynad (which was claimed both by Tippu Sultan and by the Honorable Company) was at hand for him to flee to. On the fall of Seringapatam in 1799 Wynad was formally ceded to the Honorable Company, and a struggle

and death doth immediately commenced with the Palassi or Pychy November

1805. Raja. The conflict lasted till near the end of 1805 >

and was terminated on 30th November 1805 by the death, in a skirmish, of the Palassi Raja. The Kotta-yam country, omitting Wynad, which will be considered separately, consisted of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Kottayam, viz.: —

Pinarayi,

Nittur.

Katirur.

am.

Limits.

Ivudali.

Mulakkunnu.

Sivapuram.

Pattannur.

Gannavam.

Talassi.

Chavasseri.

Manatana.

Kandamkkunnu .

V eliyambra.

Kannavam.

Paduvilayi.

Wet Lands.

1. It will be gathered from the above that this Nad was in a more

In a more or less or ˆess unscttled state both under Mysore and under unsettled state till British rule until 1805-6, but a settlement was concluded

between the Mysoreans and the Raja some time after Hyder Ali's second invasion, and its principles were to take 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 41-8 per 1 , ˆ00 seers. There was supposed to be an annual survey, and if this was properly conducted, the assessment would not, according to the recognised customs of the country as regards deductions for cultivation expenses, &e., have amounted to more than 25 per cent, of the gross produce.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1. The above principles were professedly followed down to 1805-6, when, on the receipt of the Janmi Pymaish accounts (ride paragraph 29 above), the assessment was raised in the cases in which it fell short of the proper proportion of pattain (rent) as returned in the said accounts, but similarly ascertained excesses were not similarly reduced.

i

Garden Lands.

1. The Mysorean settlement with the Raja was on the principles of taking 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent) and of commuting it into

money at the following rates : —

Coconuts …

Rs. 10-0-0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts

„ 0-6-4$. do.

J acks

The p&ttam was ascertained as

precisely as possible.

Pepper

Rs. 130-0-0 per candy of 640 lb*

1. These rates remained professedly unaltered down to 1805-6,

1805-6 when, as in the case of wet lands, on receipt of the

Janmi Pymaish accounts (paragraph 29 above) ascertained deficiencies were raised and ascertained excesses were not reduced. The commutation rates remamed as before, except that betel -nuts were rated at 8 annas per milje and jacks at 6 annas pies per tree.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Puttdda and Punam (ride paragraphs 33, 34 above) were assessed

Year uncertain. at 40 Per cent* tlie gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 35 per 1,000 seers, and Ellu (vide paragraph 35 abo) was assessed at 25 per cent, of the gross produce, commuted into money at 11s. 80 per 1,000 seers. It has not' been ascertained when this settlement was made. It was very severe, and it must have led to extensive concealment of produce.

(7)— kadattanad.

1. This was also formerly a portion of Kolattunad: it in fact formed

The K.H,,u„ad 'he C'"®f Portion of the temtoy uuder the juristic-Rajas. tlC)R oi the lekkalankur (Southern Regent), or second

Rajasthanam of the Kolattiri. When the English Company settled at Tellicherry, Kadattanad was subject to the ancestors of the present Raja of Kadattanad, who was at that time usually Limits. known as the " Boyanore" or "Bavnor 1 of Badagara,'

fiom the chief port of the Nad, and who, tradition says was connected in the male line with the Kolattiris. It was composed of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Kurum-branad, viz. : —

1 Corrupt transliterations of " Valunnavar ' = rultr.

Aliyur.

Yalayam.

Kummangod.

Muttungal.

Yelliyod.

Ponmeri.

Eraraala.

Kunnummal.

Arakkilad.

Karttikapalli.

Kavilampara.

Yadakara.

Purameri.

Kuttiyadi.

Memunda.

Edaeheri.

Yelarn.

Palayad.

Iringannur.

Cherapuram.

Putuppanam.

Tuneri.

Kottappalli.

Maniyur.

Veliur.

Ayancheri.

Tiruvallur.

Parakadavu.

Kadameri.

Chekkiyad.

Kuttipuram.

The amsams of Kavilampara and Kuttiyadi belonged, when the Honorable Company acquired Malabar in 1792, to K&vilampara and the Kottayam or Cotiote Raja, but it will be more convenient in the present narrative to include them in Kadattanad.

Kuttiyadi.

1766-67.

1768-69.

1768-73.

Wet Lands.

1. In 1766-67 the Kadattanad Raja agreed to become tributary to Hyder Ali for his Nad in the sum of Rs. 50,000.

2. No levy was made from the people on the above account till 1768-69, when, in order to defray arrears, a survey of gardens was made, but no assessment was imposed od rice.

3. Hyder Ali's forces having retired, no collections were made between 1768 and 1773.

4. It was only in 1778-79 that rice-lands were first assessed by the second Raja, acting under the orders of Bulvunt 1778-79. Row, Hyder Ali's general. The assessment was at

the rate of 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent), commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers.

1. This continued in force till 1781, the Raja having meanwhile been relieved from management by Sirdar Khan, who took charge in 1780-81.

2. In L781 no revenue was paid.

3. From 1782-83 till 1786-87, under Arshad Beg Khan's governorship, the collections continued at the former rate of 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent).

4. In 1787 the Raja was directed1 by Parvana from Tippu Sultan to take 50 per cent, of the gross produce as the Sirkar's

1787' share, but the arrangement was never carried into effect.

1. In 1788 Ramalinga Pillay, an agent, who was originally appointed by Hyder Ali, and who had made sundry settlements in South Malabar, completed a survey

1780-81.

1.

1782-87.

1.

1 Treaties, ft., i. CXLVIII.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1789-91.

1791-98.

1798-99.

1773-74.

of the Nad and assessed the rice-lands as follows : — Each local jmra (10 local seers), of seed was assessed at 3 Cunteray fanams, but whether this assessment per para of seed was imposed on the actual number of paras required to sow all the wet lands in the Nad, or whether it was only imposed (as in South Malabar) on a certain proportion of the actual number of paras so required, has not been ascertained.

1. The above assessment (whatever it was) was collected by Tippu Sultan's officers, who, in the absence of the Raja, 'managed the district in the years 1789-90 and 1790-91.

2. The Raja having returned to his Nad on the expulsion of the Mysoreans, it is not clear on what principles the assessment was levied by him between 1791 and 1798.

3. In 1798-99 a survey was made and 60 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was assessed on rice-lands, and commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers.

Garden Lands.

1. See paragraphs 85 and 86 above. In order to defray the 69 arrears of

tribute which had accrued, 100 per cent, of

the pattam on gardens was levied in 1768-69.

1. In 1773-74 arrears had again accrued to the extent of Rs. 3, 00, <>00, and to defray this an estimate of the number of gardens was made, excluding unproductive and

waste. It came to 15,000, and on this number a rate was levied at Rs. 10 per garden. This was made at the instance of Burki Srinivas Row, Ilyder's Civil and Military Governor, who had descended into Malabar with an army.

1. In 1774-75 a contribution per garden of Rs. 5 was levied.

10<>. In 1 1 1 5-76 the contribution per garden was again raised to Rs. 10.

1. This continued till 1777-78.

2. In 1778-79 the second Raja, as already alluded to in para1778-79 graph 88, aided by an auxiliary force of 500 Mysoreans,

whose pay he had to defray in addition to the tribute, made a survey of the gardens and fixed the assessment at two-thirds of the gross produce (i.c., 100 per cent, of the pattam), the commutation rate for coconuts being Rs. 8 to 10 per 1,000 nuts.

1. This continued in force under the Raja and under Sirdar Khan

2. 1782: in which year Sirdar Khan having been

taken prisoner at Tellicherry, no revenue was raised

beyond Rs. 2 per garden levied by the Raja to defray his military charges. J

1. From 1782-83 till 1786-87, during Arshad Beg Khan's governorship, the collections were made on the principle of taking 100 per cent, of the pattam (rent) on gardens.

1774-75.

1775-76.

1777-78.

1782-83.

1. In 1787 Tippu Sultan's Parvana to the Raja prescribed certain

2. rates ^0r gar(*en8>. which, however, as they were never enforced, need not be detailed.

3. In 1788 Ramalinga Pillay (mentioned in paragraph 93 above)

1788 made a survey of the gardens and assessed them at the following rates : —

Each coconut tree 6 Betel-nut trees Jack tree

Cunteray fan am.

l

• • i

Pepper gardens were inspected, the produce in dry pepper estimated, and each seer of dry pepper was assessed at 12^ annas of a Cunteray fanam, equivalent to about Rs. 75 per candy of 640 lb.

1700 91 107. The assessment remained at these rates during

1789-90 and 1790-91.

1. The Raja having been reinstated in his Nad, managed it from

1791-98. 1791 till 1798, but it has not been ascertained on

what principles he collected the assessment.

1. In 1798-99 a survey was made and the assessment fixed at 60

per cent, of the pattam (rent) on gardens, commuted into money at the following rate : —

Per] ,000 nuts.

Coconuts … … … … 10 rupees.

Betel-nuts … … … … 6 annas 4-f pies.

The pattam (rent) of four productive betel-nut trees was assessed at 3 annas 2§ pies, but it is not clear how this was fixed, and whether trees yielding small produce were classed as unproductive.

J acks : 6 annas 4|- pies was taken as the pattam (rent) per tree.

Pepper was assessed at “half of the produce brought to account,” and, as in the calculations of produce customary deductions were made on the following accounts, viz. : —

20 to 25 per cent, for loss by falling off of grapes between inspection and harvest,

10 to 12 per cent, for plucking the pepper, and about

20 per cent, for cultivation expenses, it follows that the Government share was never more than about one-third of the gross produce. Whether the money valuation exceeded or fell short of that proportion could only be known by a comparison of the commutation rate (Rs. 150 per candy of 640 lbs.) with the actual market prices, which cannot now be ascertained.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. In 1798-99 Puttada, and Punam (see paragraphs 33 and 34) 1798 99 were assessed at 40 per cent, of the gross produce

commuted into money at Rs. 40 per 1,000 seers ;

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

and in the same year Ellu (see paragraph 35) was assessed at 20 per cent, of the gross produce, commuted into money at Rs. 60 per 1,000 seers, and the assessment was extended to garden lands where this kind of cultivation was carried on, although the gardens might also be bearing a garden assessment.

(8)— rAYYORMALA; (9)— PAYANAD; (10)— KURUMBRANAD ;

(11)— TAMARASSERI.

1. It will be convenient to group these Nads together in this

-Tuu’jiii”3 fhlsG narrative because the principles of the original assessN&ds. * ment under Hyder Ali were identical in all.

1. Payyormala was subject to the Nayars (Paleri, Avinyat and

Kutali) of Payyormala. They were independent yars? 5 01111,1,1 ’ chieftains, with some theoretical dependence on the

Limits. Kurumbranad family and also on the Zamorin. The

Nad was composed of the following modem amsams of the modern Kurumbranad Taluk, viz. : —

Paleri.

Cheruvannur.

Meppayur.

Perambra.

Kay anna. Karayad. Iriugatt.

1. Pay ana d

Zamorin's acquisition.

Limits.

was subject to the Zamorin, being part of the ancient kingdom of Kollam which he annexed. It was composed of the following modem amsams of the modem taluk of Kurumbranad, viz. : —

Kilariyur.

Mudadi.

Pallikkara.

Meladi.

Yiyyur.

Arikkulam.

Meliir.

Chemancheri.

Tiruvangur.

1. Kurumbranad was subject to the Kurumbranad family, con-

Kununbranad ne˚ted with that of Kottayam. it consisted of the Raja's Limits. following modern amsams of the modem taluks of

Kurumbranad and Calicut, viz. : —

Kottur.

Trikkutisseri.

NaduvannOr.

K avuntara.

Iyyad.

Panangad.

Ncdiyanad.

Kilakkot.

Madavur.

1. Tamamsseri was subject to the Kottayam or Cotiote Rajas

43ISSK* (r?Tdff, Wl:T See Pa™g™ph 78 above). It con. ljn.it, K1f t'1 ot tae following modern amsams of the modern

taluks of Kurumbranad and Calicut, viz. : _

TTlleri.

Koknllur.

Edakara.

Kunnattara.

Annasseri.

Naduvallur.

Nanminda Ned iyanad. Kudattayi.

Wet Lands.

1. In 1776-77 an account of the pattam of the different lands having been taken by the inhabitants to Hyder's durbar, and the price of paddy having been stated at Rs. 35 to 40 per 1,000 local seers, an 1776 77 order was received in reply, directing that 30 per cent.

of the pattam should be taken and commuted into money at 3 old Yiray

fanams (12 annas modern money) for each of the local paras (10 local seers), of which there were more than one. As they varied in capacity the commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers varied likewise as follows : —

RS.

1.

1.

In 38 Desams

in Nad

IX]

… … 68

101˚

„ 40

do.

do.

XI]

„ 65

do.

do.

YIII

„ 11

do.

do.

IX

. 57

0 1 2 UTT

„ 13

do.

do.

IX1

„ 60

do.

do.

X

. 56

„ 40

do.

do.

xi !

1. In 1782-83 Arshad Beg Khan, Tippu Sultan's Governor, on Arshad Beg receipt of complaints, reduced the jama (demand) 20 Khan's remission of per cent, all round on wet lands and gardens, but left 20 pei cent. the distribution of this reduction on individuals to be

carried out by his subordinates. To what extent this reduction was ever carried out in regard to individuals, it is impossible to say. This reduction took effect in these Nads and in the whole of South Malabar

except in Nads XXIII, XXIY, and XXY.

1. In 1786-87 Tippu Sultan ordered a coinage of Sultani fanams,

T' u Sultan and c0ec0Ils were afterwards made in these substituted Sultani instead of in old Vlray fanams. As old Yiray fanams fanams were worth four to the rupee, and as Sultani fanams,

involving increase though of higher value originally, had in 1788-89 of 12* per cent. fallen in value to 3ˆ per rupee, the substitution of Sultani fanams for old Yiray fanams had the effect of raising the revenue at least 12 £ per cent,

all round on wet lands, gardens, and miscellaneous lands. This increase, as in the case of Arshad Beg Khan's reduction, had effect in these Nads and in nearly the whole of South Malabar. When the Zamorin, on his restoration in 1790-91, recommenced the coinage of fanams, called new Viray fanams, he adhered pretty closely to the standard of Tippu Sultan's Sultani fanams, viz., 3| to the rupee. The assessment, therefore, at this time suffered no change on this account.

1. In 1792-94 a kind of survey was made in consequence of a

request preferred by the inhabitants to the Bengal l792-94. an(j Bombay Commissioners that half of the "rice

produce " (sic, vide paragraph 459 of their report) should be taken as

revenue. It is extremely doubtful that this was their request, and it is more probable they meant the Government share to be 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent) ; but however this may be, what was actually done was by adherence to the old principles to endeavour, as far as possible, to keep the revenue at the old amount.

1. The seeoud Commission, following a practice which had to some extent elsewhere been introduced by the Mysoreans and by the Joint Commissioners, added 10 per cent, to the jama (demand) in order to defray collection charges. The Mysoreans never, however, included this 10 per cent, in the permanent jama as the Commissioners did. The exact date is not known, but it was between 1796 and 1801.

The 10 per cent, cess for collection charges.

Garden Lands.

1. The original assessments in these Nads were nominally the same as those in South Malabar Districts generally, viz. : —

One old Vlray

fanam per two coconut trees.

One

do.

per six betel-nut trees.

One

do.

per jack tree.

Three

do.

per peppervine estimated to yield 15

seers of green pepper.

But the settlement really proceeded on the principle of taking 100 per cent, of the pattam (rent), ascertained partly by

thepittˆm taken as !nfection o{ by <leed8, and partly by

revenue. information obtained from the people. The commuta

tion rates were, however, the customary rates between J anmis and Ryots in fixing the pattam rates, which were admittedly below the market prices of produce. These customary rates were _

RS. A. p.

Coconuts … … … / 8 0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts . 0 4 0 do.

Jacks … … … … 0 4 0 per tree.

If Janmis chose to break through the ancient customs and regulated their dealings with their Ryots at market prices, these rates left a margin for payment of some pattam (rent).

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent, on the jama

(demand), Tippu Sultan's increase of 12| per cent.,

KharCsˆ remission and the 8econd Commissioners' increase of 10 per of 20 per cent. cent, (vide paragraphs 117, 118, 120 above) affected the garden assessments in these Nads likewise.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Modan and Ellu (vide paragraphs 33 and 35 above) were assessed by orders from Mysore in Hyder Ali's time at 20 per cent, of the produce, commuted into money, the Modan produce at Rs. 35 to 40 per 1,000 local seers, and Ellu at Rs. 50 to 55 per 1.000 local seers.

Reasons

grouping.

(12)— POL AX AD (VADAKKAMPURAM AND KILAKKAMPURAM) ; (13)— "BEY PORE OR NORTHERN PAllArPANAD ; (14)— PU LAVAYI.

1. These Nads, which constitute the greater portion of the modern taluk of Calicut, will be best taken together, as they

*or seem to have been managed as regards revenue on an uniform plan.

1. Polandd was one of the districts immediately subordinate to

Zamorin's ac ' amorn) w^° ^ originally by stratagem

»ition of Poknad.1 from the Porlatiri Rajas It was the Nad in which

Calicut, tlie Zamorin's head-quarters, was situated. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Calicut, viz. : —

Elattur.

Talakkulattur.

Makkada.

Chattamangalam.

Kunnamangalam.

Tamarasseri.

Kuruvattur.

Padinjmyattumuri.

Karannur.

Edakkad.

Kacheri.

Nagaram.

Kasba.

Valayanad.

Koltuli. Cheva}- ur. May amid. Kovur. Perumanna. Peruvayal. Iringallur. Olavanna.

1. Bey pore or Northern Parappmiad was subject to tlie Beypore branch of the Parappur family of Kshatriyas under ParappQr Raja's the nominal suzerainty of the Zamorin. It consisted Limits. of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk

of Calicut, viz. : —

Panniankara.

Cheruvannur.

Bey pore.

1. Pitlavayi was ruled by its own Nayars, and owned a kind of

, nominal dependence on the Zamorin and also on the Pnlavayi Nayars' 1 - _ …. „ .

Limits.

Kurumbranad family. It comprised the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Calicut, viz. : —

Kedavur.

Tiruvambati.

Puttur.

Niles varam. Kocjuvalli.

Kanniparamba.

Cmilur.

Manasseri.

Pannikkot.

Wet Lands.

1. In 1776-77 Sirdar Khan, Uyder Ali's Civil and Military Governor, prepared certain accounts aud sent them to 1776-77. Uyder Ali's durbar, where they were revised, and upon

Th*: Iluzzur them an assessment was founded, which has usually

Niguti' been designated as the Iluzzur Niguti, or assessment

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

fixed at the seat of government. Neither in Sirdar Khan's accounts nor in those received back from the durbar was it specifically expressed what proportion of the pattam (rent) or of the gross produce was intended to be taken as the Government share.

1. But Mr. Grasme ascertained on local inquiry that the Govern

ment share varied in these Nads on wet lands from

orTssessed'wced ttU ˆ5 cenˆ‘ °f P&ttam (rent) in Nads XIII and . XIV and in six Desams of N&d XII to 30 per cent, in the remaining fifty-seven Desams in Nad XII. This proportion of the produce came to be known as the Niyuti Vittn or assessed seed. Each local para (10 local seeis) of Niguti Vittu or assessed seed was commuted into money at 3 old gold fanams, but on complaint of the severity of this rate, Sirdar Khan reduced the commutation rate in the fifty-seven Desams of Nad XII [where 30 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was taken] from 3 to 2 old gold fanams. The commutation rate, therefore, varied from 10 to 12 annas per local para (10 local seers) of Niguti Vittu, or, to state the matter differently, for the purpose of general comparison, from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent, and Tippu Sultan's increase of 12} per cent, (see paragraphs 117, 118 above) were applied to the rice-lands in these Nads.

2. In 1791-92 to 1793-94 a return was gradually made to the jama (demand) at the above rates.

3. The 10 per cent, for charges of collection (vide paragraph 120 above) was also added to the demand.

4. In 1793-94 there was a sort of a survey, but the old principles were adhered to, and the main point kept in view was not to exceed the

aggregate of the former jama (demand).

1791-94.

1793-94.

The Huzzur Niguti.

Garden Lands.

1 34. The Huzzur Niguti (see paragraph 128 above) fixed the rates of assessment on garden produce as follows : —

Coconuts

} old Viray fanam

or

1.

1.

0 per productive tree.

Betel-nuts

b

do.

or

8 do.

Jacks …

do.

or

0 do.

Pepper-vines…

do.

or

0 per productive vine.

These rates, however, were perhaps never as matter of fact applied in practice. The Mysore Government, it is understood, meant to appropriate the whole of the Janmi's share of the produce,

p.Uam'Tta a' ™ in 1othcr wor'ls 100 Per ccntof «>o pattam (rent).' jtBHoesment. In order to do this and at the same time to pre

serve some uniformity in the principle of taxation,

What was understood by a " productive tree."

their officers entered in the accounts as « productive " only the number

of trees or vines which, at the above rates, it took to make up the total jama (demand). All other trees, whether productive or not, were classed as " unproductive." For example, 10 fanams of pattam (rent) would be reckoned as 20 productive coconut trees. In some localities this number of trees might produce 10 fanams of pattam (rent), but in other localities it would take 30 or 40, or, perhaps, 60 really productive trees to make up 10 fanams of pattam (rent) ; in these cases 20 trees only would be returned as productive, while the balance of 10, 20 or 40 trees respectively, though really productive, would be returned as " unproductive. And so with peppervines, the 3 fanams per productive vine was not an assessment on each vine, or even (as was sometimes thought) on each standard tree supporting a number of vines, but upon any number of vines— varying, as it necessarily must have done, with the fertility of soil and congeniality of climate— that were estimated to yield 15 seers of green pepper (or 6 seers of dry pepper). The whole of the pattam (rent) thus taken as revenue was, however, commuted into money at rates which still left the Janmi (if he chose to break through the ancient customary rule and take it) a small share of the produce. The customary commutation rates in these Nads were us follows : —

rs. A. p.

Coconuts . 7 8 0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts … … … 0 4 0 do.

Jacks … … … 0 4 0 per tree.

whicli were considerably below market prices.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., and Tippu Sultan's increase of 12 per cent., and the Commissioners' increase of 10 per cent., for establishment charges (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above), were applied to the garden assessments in these Nads.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Modan '(see paragraph 33 above) was only assessed by the Mysoreans in Nads Nos. XIII and XIV, and there at the rate of 20 per cent, of the gross produce at current market prices. Ellu (see paragraph 35) was unassessed by the Mysoreans, except when it was sown instead of Modan in Nads Nos. XIII and XIV. In the latter event the Mysore Government took in some places 5 Sultani fanams (3ˆ to the rupee) for every Macleod seer of seed sown, and in other places 20 per cent, of the gross produce at current market prices.

2. In 1801-2 Major Macleod, the first Principal Collector,

included in the permanent jama (demand) of these Nads 20 per cent, of the gross produce in that year of Modan and Ellu lands [commuted into money assessments at 1 new Viray fanam (3£ to the rupee) and 2ˆ new Virfly fanams respectively

R E V E >' l E A SS ESS M K NTS.

per para (10 seers)], dividing the amount thus arrived at into three portions, and collecting one-third annually, the lands being cultivated only once in three years. These commutation rates were equivalent to Its. 28-9If and Rs. 71-b-10f per 1,000 Macleod seers respectively. To the above he also added the 10 per cent, for charges of collection (see paragraph 120).

(15)— SOUTHERN PARAPPANAD; (16)— RAMNAD, (17) — CHERNAD ;

(18)— ER > tAd.

1. As the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129 and 134) was

Reasons for r,ˆe assessment in these four Nads, and as these

grouping. Nads constitute nearly the whole of the modern taluk

of Ernad, it will be convenient to take them together, although the modes of applying the Huzzur Niguti varied greatly in each of them. b J

1. Southern Parappanad , under the Parappur family with the

Parnppur Raja's ˆam.or*n as nominal suzerain (see parn graph 120), Limits. consisted of the following modern amsams of the

modem taluk of Ernad, viz. : —

Palanchannur.

Mannur.

Tenyipalam.

Neˆuva.

Vajlikunnu. Para} ipanan gad i . Nannambra.

1. Ramnad, ChSrnad and Ernad all acknowledged the Zamorin

The Zamorin'a " ruler' They "nsisted of -the following

territory. modem amsams of the modem taluks of Ernad and

Ponnani : —

Nallur.

Alinyilaro.

Cherukava.

Vadakkumpiam.

Valiyakunnu.

Kattipamtti.

Atavanad.

Ummattur.

Irimbiliam.

Mappram.

Chikkod.

Umgattiri. Mamba t. Nilambur.

Ramnad.

Karad.

Karumarakad.

Chernad.

Parutur.

Okkara.

Trikkujam.

Koduv&yur.

Vengara.

Kannamangalam.

Ernad.

Poriir.

Vandur.

Tiruvali.

Trikalangod.

Karakunnu.

Kanppur.

Chelembra.

tTrakam Melmuri. Puttur.

Kottakkal.

Indiannur.

Valakkulam.

Imvetti.

Kavannur.

Chengara.

Puliyakod.

Kulimanna

MAI.A RAll DISTRICT.

Kolattur.

Nediyirippu.

Kilnmri.

Melmuri.

Arimbra.

Yalluvambram.

Irimbuli.

Mancheri.

Wet Lands.

Payynnad.

Elankur.

Ponmala.

1776-77.

1. Mr. Groerae ascertained that the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraph 128), as assessed in these Nads in 1776-77, bore the following proportionsˆ pattam (rent) at the following commutation rates, calculated in the manner detailed in paragraph 129 above : —

Percentage of

Ilamuad, No. XYI C hern ad, No. XVII — In 10 desams • 60 do.

31 do.

1 do.

Ernad, No. XVIII .

papain taken as assessed sued, Niguti vittu.

33* per cent.

RS.

at 62

do.

at 75

do.

at 250

do.

at 125

do.

at 75

33*

do.

at 75

do.

at 75

per 1,000 }■ Macleod seers.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of 12* per cent., and the 10 per ceut. addition for collection charges (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120) all took effect on the wet lands of these Nads.

2. The old jama (demand) was gradually worked up to in

1791-92 to 1793-94, and collected as far as possible

1791-94. , i ua/i i

up to 1800-1 .

1. Major Macleod made a sort of survey or inspection and

increased the jama (demand) in 1801-2, without, how1801’3ever, presumably altering the principles of the assessment. Owing to the rebellion which ensued, the old jama (demand) of 1800-1 was reverted to by Mr. Kickards in 1802-3.

1. In 1803-4, however, Mr. Warden, third of the Principal

Collectors, directed one-fourth of the increase to the 1803*4’ jama (demand) made by Major Macleod to be collected io Nid No XV and in one Desam — Puttur in Nad No. XVII. To this increase he superadded 10 per cent, for charges of collection (rule

paragraph 120).

Garden Lands.

140 The Iluzzur Niguti (see paragraph 134) was introduced hr Ramaliuga l>,l!ay (Hyder AH’s agent) in all these Nads on the same footin’- as in the Calicut Taluk Nads, v,z„ that 100 per cent, of the

K F. V K X r E AS.s KSSM E X TS.

pfitiam (rent) was taken ami commuted into money at the customary rates prevalent in all of these Nads, viz. : —

RS. A. P.

Coconuts . 7 8 0 per 1 ,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts . 0 4 0 do.

Jacks … … … 0 4 0 per tree.

These rates were admittedly below the market prices, and left a small margin as pattam if the Janmi thought right to take it.

1. It appears, however, that in the assessment of the gardens in Nad No. XV and in Bettatnad (Nad No. XXVI), some small additional share was left over for the Janmi in manner following. The trees were divided as usual into productive, unproductive, and young, and a pattam (rent) calculated

in money was arrived at (after making a deduction of one-third, it is supposed, as the Ryot's share). From the pattam (rent) so ascertained a deduction of 2 old Vlr.iy fanams in 10 (/.c., 20 percent.) was made for the benefit of the Janmis,1 and the residue, viz., 8 fanams in 10, was then entered in the accounts as 16 productive coconut trees in accordance with the rule of the Huzzur Niguti (paragraph 134).

2. In Nad No. XV and in one Desam — Puttur — of Nad No. XVII

1803-4 aˆS° one'fr>urth of Major Macleod's increase appears

to have been levied by Mr. Warden in 1803-4 as in the case of wet lauds (paragraphs 144 and 145). To this increase was superadded 10 per cent, for collection charges.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of 12ˆ percent., and the 10 per cent, for collection charges (see paragraphs 117, 1 18, 120) also affected the gardens in these Nads*

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. The Nads were treated somewhat differently in the assessment of Modan (see paragraph 33). Punam (paragraph 34) and Ellu (paragraph 35) were not assessed in these Nads.

2. Modan in Nad XV. The Mysore Government applied the 1801-° same rules as in Nads XIII and XIV (vide paragraph

136), i.e.y they took 20 per cent* of the gross produce in years when the crop was cultivated and commuted the share into money at current market prices, and Major Macleod, in similar fashion as iu the Nads XIII and XIV, took one-third of the assessment of the year 1801-2 and included 'it in the permanent jama (demand) of the Nad (see paragraph 137).

1 52. Modan in Nad XVI was exempt from assessment till Major Macleod's time, 1801-2, in which year he assessed it as follows One local para (10 local seers) in every seven paras of gross produce was

1 MappiUas (Muhammadans) predominated then as they do still in these parU.

selected as the Government share, and of this selected share one para in five (».<?., of the gross produce or 2$ per cent.) was taken and commuted into a

money assessment at 6 now Viray fanams (Rs. l-ll-5|) per para. The assessment thus fixed was collected in three years at one-third per year (see paragraph 137.)

lo3. Modern in Nad XVII was exempt from assessment till Major Macleod's time in 1801-2, in which year he assessed the crop as follows 20 per cent, of the gross produce was selected as the Government share, and out of every five paras (50 seers) of the share thus selected one para (10 seers) (*.<?., ˆ 1 or 4 per cent, of the gross produce was. taken and assessed at 3 new Viray fanams (As. 13-8f) per para (10 seers). This assessment was likewise spread over three years.

1. Modern in Nad XVIII. In assessing the Huzzur Niguti in this Nad in 1776-77, additions were made to the permanent jama (demand) in 99 Desams out of 116 in the following fashion : —

1. On every para (10 seers) of assessed seed of wet lands (see

paragraph 141),

(b) On every 3 fanams of garden assessment (see paragraph

146),

one-half of a fanam was imposed on account of Modan, and Major Macleod in 1801-2 completed the Modan assessment (wherever it had not already been imposed) in the manner and on the principles described, fur Nad No. XVII (paragraph 153).

1. — VELLATTRI (WALLUVANAD PROPER); (20) — WALLUVANAD ; (21) — NEDUNGANAD; (22)— KAVALAPPARA.

Reasons

grouping.

for

1. As these Nads constitute the modern taluk of Walluvanad and as the Huzzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 134) was the mode of assessment adopted in them in 1776-77, it will be convenient to take them together. Prior to

1776-77 these Nads were subjected by the Mysoreans to violent and irregular collections under the'name of Nuzzurs or Perumbuddy.

1. Vellattri or Walluvanad proper wthe sole remaining terri

tory of the Walluvanad Raja (Valluva Konatiri), who

The Walluvanad J . , ” . / , > . .

Rajˆs Limits. once exercised suzerain rights over a large portion

of South Malabar. His territory had been gradually

broken up by the Zamorin. At the time of the Mysore conquest

there remained to him the following modern amsams of the modern

taluks of Walluvanad and Ernad, viz. : —

Kodur.

Kuruva.

Pallipuram.

Mangada.

Valambur.

Karyavattam.

Nenmini.

Melattur.

Vettattur.

Kottapadam.

Arakurissi.

Tachambara.

of i = *y

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Arakkuparamba.

Chettanallur.

Angadipuram.

Perintalmanna.

Pulakkattiri.

Pilnga.

Kolattur.

Kuruvambalam.

PulamantOl.

Elankulam.

Anamangftd.

Paral.

Chembrasseri

Pandikkad.

1. Walluvanad was apparently the latest acquisi-lu tesTacqufsit iorT 8 H°n by th0 Zamorin at the expense of the Walluvanad Limits. Raja. It consisted of the following modern amsams

of the modern taluk of Walluvanad : —

Karimpula. Tachanatl ukara. Aliparamba.

Tho Zamorin's territory.

Limits.

Tuvur.

Tiruvalamkunnu.

Tenkara.

Kumaramputtur.

1. Ncdungamd had for some time been under the Zamorin. It consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Walluvanad, viz. : —

Elambulasseri. Yellinali. ’ Srikrisknapuram. Kadambalipuram. Kalladikod. Vadakkumpuram M uttedattama-damba. Trikatiri. Chalavara.

Cheruppullasseri. Naduvattamkar-almanna. Kulukkallur. Chundampetta. Vilayur. Pulasseri. Naduvattam. Mututala.

Nctirimangalam.

Pallipuram.

Kalladipatta.

Vallapula.

Kotakurissi.

Eledattamadamba

Chunangad.

Mulanyur.

Perur.

Perumudiyur.

1. Kavalnppara under its own Nayar chief owed a sort of nominal allegiance both to the Cochin Raja and to the Zamorin. The Commissioners eventually decided in favor of his independence. Ilis territory consisted of the following modern amsams of the modern taluk of Walluvanad, viz. : —

Tho Ivavalapp&ra N&yar.

Limits.

Mundak5dkurissi.

Panamanna.

Kunattara.

ICarakkad.

KulappalH.

Mundamuka.

T Vet Lands.

.100. Mr. Graeme ascertained that the Huzzur Niguti (paragraph 128), as assessed in 1776-77 in these Nads 1 — in Nad No. 19 by Mohidln Muppan and in Nad No. 22 by Ilaidros Kutti Muppan-A bore the following proportions to pattam (rent) and at the .following commutation rates : —

1 Tho names of tho officers who settled Nads Nos. 20 and 21 have not been handed down.

Nads.

Percentage of Pattam (rent) taken as Nignti Vittu (assessed seed).

Commutation Rates of the Niguti Vittu into Money.

Vellattri (WaJJuvanftd proper)

Walluvanftd .

Ne<Junganad — a. 89 Desams t>. 9 do.

Kavajappara .

10 per cent. <. 10 do.

j 10 do. |

10 do. ..

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers.

K8. A. P.

125 0 0

125 0 0

100 0 0

Ill 1 9|

100 0 0

But as regards the commutation rate for Kavalapp&ra between 1776 and 1790-91 see paragraph 161 below regarding the Modan assessment.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan's increase of 12| per cent., and the 10 per cent, for collection charges — the latter cess levied as early as 1778-79 in Nads 19 and 22 — all affected the wet lands of these Nads (see paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above).

Garden Land*.

1. In all of these Nads the whole of the pattam (rent), calculated in money and founded upon a valuation of the gross produce existing for a long time back between Janmis and Ryots was taken and converted into an assesssment of account in the manner already described for other Nads (see paragraph 134). The customary rates for produce prevalent in all of these Nads were as follows : —

RS. A. P.

Coconuts . 7 8 0 per 1,000 nuts,

Betel-nuts … … … 0 4 0 do.

Jacks . 0 4 0 per tree,

which rates were considerably below the actual prevailing market-prices, and left to the Janmi (if he cared to break through custom and take it) a portion of the actual produce of the gardens.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent., Tippu Sultan s increase of 12ˆ per cent., and the 10 per cent, levied for collection charges (vide paragraphs 117, 118 and 120 above) all affected the garden assessments in all of these Nads.

Miscellaneous Land*.

1. The assessment of Modan (see paragraph 33) in these Nads was made at different times and in different manners, and Ellu (paragraph 35) was assessed in only one of the Nads.

2. Modan in Velldttri (Walluvanad proper) was assessed in 1776-77 on the following principles. The " produce " having been ascertained, 30 per cent, of it was selected as the A 'tgttli J ittn (see paragraph 129), and a money assessment fixed on it at the rate of half old

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Viray fanam (2 annas) per local para (10 seers), which, as the pai*a in use was equal to a staudard para, gave a commutation rate of Rs. 1-24 per 1,000

Macleod seers. In 1796-97 to 1800-1 the whole of the Modan assessment of this Nad was remitted under orders of Mr. Stevens, the Supravisor, as he was then styled. In 1801-2, Major Macleod (first Principal Collector) revived the assessment, taking 20 per cent, of the gross produce and commuting it into money at a rate equivalent to Rs. 16-5-2|| per 1,000 Macleod seers. In 1815, in a portion of this Nad, the Modan assessment of 1801-2 was apportioned at various rates on the wet land assessments and consolidated with them. In the rest of the Nad the previous system continued to prevail, but the jama fixed in 1801-2 had always to be realized. If the assessments exceeded the jama no action was taken, but, if they fell short, then the assessments were raised to the requisite pitch by increasing the commutation rate so as to bring the assessments for the year up to the level of the jama (demand) of 1801-2.

1801-2.

1776-77.

1. Modan in Walluvanad and Nedungandd was apparently not assessed till 1801-2, when Mr. Drummond, Sub-Collector, fixed it at 20 per cent, of the gross produce,

commuted into money at rates equivalent in some parts to Rs. 19-0-9y, and in other parts *to Rs. 16-5-2;}, j per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1. Modan in Karalappara was assessed in 1776-77 at the rate of one-fourth old Viray fanam per local para of Niguti Vittu (see paragraph 129) on all wet lands , that is, in

effect the wet lands assessment was increased from 4 to 4| old Viray fanams per local para of Niguti Vittu. Owing to this the commutation rate on wet lands was raised from Rs. 100 to Rs. 106-4-0 per 1,000 Macleod seers. On this increase 10 per cent, for collection charges was also levied. In 1790-91 to 1795-96, under the Honorable Company's rule, the Mddan assessment seems to have been revised with reference to the arrangement prevailing in Nad No. 19. Instead, however, of taking 30 per cent, of the produce as in Nad 19, only 20 per cent, was taken, and the remaining 10 per cent, was remitted on behalf of the Janmis. On the above 20 per cent, of produce a rate was fixed of 1 fanam annas per 2 paras (20 seers) or 1| paras (15 seers) per fanam, or Rs. 16-10-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers. It would also seem as if the permanent demand for Modan assessed on the wet lands was also at the same time remitted.

1790-96.

1. Ellu in Vellattri (Walluvanad proper) was assessed from 1776-77 on the

same principles as Mddan (see paragraph 165), viz., from 1776-77 till 1796-97 at 30 per cent, of the ascertained produce; between 1796-97 and 1800-1 the assessment was relinquished altogether ; and after 1801-2 the share of the produce taken as Niguti Vittu (ride paragraph 129) was 20 per cent. 1 he commutation rates varied similarlv, viz. : —

From 1776-77 to 1780-90 … „ 1790-91 to 1795-96 …

„ 1801-2

Per 1,000 JIacleod Seers. RS.

37 i 50 to 62$

62$

(23)— PALGIIAT OR VADAMALAPURAM ; (24)— TEMMALAPURAM

1. — NADUVATTAM.

1. These Nads, constituting the present taluk of Palghat, may Reasons fo ˆ conveniently considered together, because in revenue

grouping. matters, after the Mysore occupation, they were treated,

with one exception, on an uniform plan, and because a few remarks are required regarding their political and revenue history at and about this time (1765-66).

1. The following appears to be the political history of this part Political events the country at the above time. Some time previ-

lmmediately proously to 1757 the territories of the Palghat Rajas had

suffered by severe inroads on the part of the Cochin and Walluvanad Rajas and of the Zamorin. The former had possessed himself of the Chittur territory lying east of Palghat. The Walluvanad Raja had obtained a nominal sovereignty over the three Nayar-ships of Kongad, Edattara, and Mannur, lying in the north-west of the present taluk, and tho Zamorin had possessed himself of the division of the country called Naduvattam (Nad No. 25). To protect his territory from further dismemberment, the Palghat Raja had offered to become, and had been accepted as, a tributary of the Mysore Rajas, still best known in Malabar as the Rajas of Ivongu or Kongunad. The tribute was 12,000 old Viray fanams per annum, was designated as Rakshabhogam, and was met, without assessment of land tax, from the ordinary revenues of the country. In 1757 or thereabouts the Zamorin seems to have overrun the

remaining territory of the Palghat Raja and imposed a land-tax, called Kavalphalam, upon it similar to one already in force in the Naduvattam Nad No. 25, and designed to meet the expenses of the force required as a defence against Mysore. It amounted to one-fourtli old Viray fanam per local para (10 seers) of seed-land, i.c., land required to sow one para (10 seers) of seed in a single crop. But tho Raja of Palghat applied to Ilyder Ali, then Foujdar of Dindigul, in the service of Chick Deo Raj, the nominal sovereign of Mysore. On this application Hyder Ali sent a force under his brother-in-law, Muckhdoom Sahib, who drove back the Zamorin's Nayars, and the Zamorin thereupon sought to compromise matters by agreeing to pay Rs. 12,00,000 as a military contribution, and by restoring the conquests ho had made from Palghat, from which, however, tho Naduvattam Division (Nad No. 25) seems to have been exempted. Hyder Ali afterwards made over his right to tho Rs. 12,00,000 to one of the ministers of the puppet Raja of Mysore, and when Hyder

RE YEN UK ASSESSMENTS.

GG1

Ali at last usurped the Government of Mysore this claim became one of his pretexts for invadiug the country. After tho invasion (1765-06) the Naduvattam Nad (No. 25) seems to have been managed, along with Nads 23 and 24, by the Palghat Raja's nephew as an agent of Hyder Ali.

The Northern Division of l'&lgh&t.

1. Palghat or Vadamalapuram comprised the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Palghat, viz. : —

Chcraya.

Elapalli.

Yadakuntara.

Kongad.

Polpalli.

Koduntirapalli.

Mundur.

Pallatteri.

Edattara.

Kavalpad.

Puttur.

Kilakkumpurara.

Akattettara.

Koppam.

Tiidukasseri.

Putusseri.

Yakkara.

Mattur.

Pallanchattanur.

Kannadi.

Kinasseri.

Tiruvalattur.

Palattulli.

1. Temmalapuram comprised the following

DilXion SofUtliu ™odern amsams of the modern taluk of Palghat, ghat. viz. : —

Chfdannur.

Vadakkettara.

Kattusfeeri.

Kavasseri.

Tarur.

Kannanurpattola.

Ayakkad.

Mangalam.

Yndakkancheri.

Chittalancheri.

The Zamorin’a territory.

1. Naduvattam comprised the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Palghat, viz. : _

Kottaya.

Tannisseri.

Erima}fur.

Maugara.

Peruvemba.

Kunisseri.

Kuttanur.

Koduvayur.

Pallavur.

Kulalmannam.

Kakkayur.

Kudallur.

Yilayanchattanur.

Yilayannur.

Pallassana.

Tenkurissi.

Manynyalur.

Yadvannur.

Kilakketara.

Padinynyaretara

Vattekiid.

Panangattiri.

Mutalamada.

Wet Land > i.

1. In 17G5-6b Itti Kombi Achan, Palghat Raja's nephew, as an

1765-6G. agent of Hyder s on his invasion of the country in

that year, increased the rate of assessment to one old Ylray fanam per para (10 seers) of seed land (see paragraph 170).

1. In 1773-74 Sullayad Khan (commonly called Darogha Sahib) 1773-74. Hyder Ali s Dewan, raised the assessment to 1^-

e it , ™ . fanara8 per local para (10 local seers) of seedland

feullayad Khan a _ _ i • . * .. . ' »

reduction of assessbut on complaint of its oppressiveness he reduced it

Sand 2T Nad8 in Niids 23. and 24 in the follow^g manner. When the land yielded 5 paras (50 seers) of pattam (rent) for each para (10 seers) of seed sown, the rate was maintained ; but, when the land yielded a less pattam, he preserved the rate, but assessed it on a proportionately smaller quantity of seed, e.g, : _

10 paras

of seed-land

yielding 50

paras of pattam (rent) entered in accounts as 10

were

paras.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

On these 10, 8, 6, and 4 paras respectively, he assessed his rate of 1 £ fanams per para. The paras of seed-land shown in the accounts were therefore here, as well as elsewhere in the Southern Districts, factitious measures of assessment quite unconuected with the quantity of grain required to sow the land.

17 G. Calculating on these figures, it therefore seems that the rate of assessment in Nads 23 and 24 was 20 per cent, of the pattam (rent), converted into money at Rs. 53-91£ per 1,000 Macleod seers ; but of course the assessment falls heavier than this in Nad 25. What ratio it bears to pattam in that Nad, it is impossible to say. Moreover in Nad 24 Mo < Jan and Ellu (paragraphs 33—35) were assessed at 8 annas per head on all persons paying wet land assessment. This increased also to some extent the wet land assessments in that Nad

(vide paragraph 183).

1. In 1781-82 Palghat was transferred from the 1781’82’ Mysore Cutcherry of Calicut to that of Seringapatam.

2. Consequently Arshad Beg Khan’s reduction of 20 per cent, in the jama (demand) did not extend to these Nads (see paragraph 117).

3. But on the other hand Tippu Sultan’s increase, of 12J per cent.

(paragraph 118) did affect the wet lands in these Nads.

1. Moreover in Darogha Sahib’s time (paragraph 1 /5) Itti Rombi Achan

established a Parbutti Menon (Accountant) and two or three Kolkars (Peons) in each Desam to collect the revenue, and imposed, for the purpose of paying them, an additional tax of 5 per cent, in some places, and somewhat less in others. Under the Company s Government this was increased to 10 per cent* (see paragraph 120).

Achin's 5 per cent, cess for establishment.

Increased to 10 per cent, under Honorable pany.

Com-

Gardcn Lands.

1. Were unassessed under the Mysore Government.

2. In 1801-2 Major Macleod (the first of the Principal Collectors)

for the first time imposed taxes on garden produce at 1801'2' the following rates, with 10 per cent, added (see para

graph 120) for collection charges:—

One new Yiray fanam

on

8 productive Coconut trees.

One do.

on

do.

Betel-nut trees.

One do.

on

do.

Jack trees.

Three-quarter do.

on

each

do.

Peppervine.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

6G3

What a " productive " tree or vine was supposed to mean is not now to be ascertained, but supposing that the trees actually assessed were really productive trees, and accepting as the average produce per productive tree the exceptionally low rates given in the J anmi Pymaish account of 981 (see paragraph 29 above), then it becomes possible to calculate the ratio between assessment and gross produce, and between assessment and pattam (rent) ; if the pattam be hypothetically taken as two-thirds of the gross produce on Mr Rickards' plan (vide Appendix XV). The assessment, including the 10 per cent, for collection charges, may be taken as varying.

From about 62|£ per cent, of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 10 nuts per tree at a commutation rate of Rs. 9-6-0 per 1,000 nuts, to about per cent, of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 10 nuts per tree at a commutation rate of Rs. 8-12-0 per 1,000 nuts on coconuts.

And from about 74^ per cent, of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 38t6-j nuts per tree at a commutation rate of 11 annas per 1,000 nuts, to about 81-^ per cent, of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average of 38T6T nuts per tree at a commutation rate of 10 annas per 1,000 nuts on betel-nuts.

And 25 per cent, of the pattam (rent) on trees yielding an average pattam (rent) of 4 annas 6y pies per tree on jacks.

As to pepper, assuming that the same principle was observed in these Nads as elsewhere, and that the assessment was fixed on any number of vines, which were calculated to yield 15 lb. of green or 6 lb. of dry pepper, the percentage of the assessment to the gros$ produce would be about 62 per cent.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Modan and Ellu (see paragraphs 33 and 35) were assessed by the Mysorean Government only in Temmalapuram (Nad No. XXIV), and there

the assessment was not on produce or rent, but at the rate of 2 old V iray fanams (8 annas) per individual paying wet land revenue.

(26)— VETTATNAD.

1. This Nad was subject to the Vettatta Raja, over whom the Zamorin also claimed certain nominal suzerain rights. The family— a Kshatriya one— became extinct on the death of the last Raja, on 24th May 1793, while the Joint Commissioners [were proceeding with the settlement of the Nad. It consisted of the following modern amsams in the modern taluk of Ponnani : _

The Vettatta Raj extinct.

Death, 24th May 1793, of last Raja.

Limits.

PariyApuram

Rayirimangalam

Olur.

Ponmundam. T&n&lur. i Niramarutur.

Trikkandiyur.

IringAvur.

Klari.

MALA11AR DISTRICT.

Kalpakancheri.

Melmuri.

Anantavur.

Kannianara.

Talakkad. Vet lam. Pachaltiri. Mangalam.

ChSnnara.

Triprangfid.

PaUipuram.

Purattur.

J V ?t Lands.

1. In 1777 Ramalinga Pillay, an agent of Ilyder Alps Govern1777 ruent, upon an inspection of the Janmi's pattarn

(rent) accounts of rice-lands, assumed for the whole taluk, for the purpose of introducing the Iluzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129), one local para (10 local seers) of Niguti Yittu (paragraph 129) for every 4 paras of pattarn (rent) (». < ?., 25 per cent.), and applied to it a tax of 3 old Ylray fanams (i.c ., Rs. 75 per 1,000 Macleod seers).

1. But Mr. Graeme ascertained that the actual shares of the pattarn taken as Niguti Vittu varied greatly as per particulars below : _

In 65 Desams 25 per cent.

„ 38 do. 22| do. f at the uniform rate of Rs. 75 per 1,000

„ 8 do. 20 do. (Macleod seers.

„ 7 do. 16j do. J

1. In 1782-83, in the time of Arshad Beg Khan, a complaint

83 WaS mac*0 severity the assessments, but no

attention wras paid to it, and, on the contrary, two of his subordinates (Venkappa and Yenkaji) levied an additional contribution of 15 per cent, for charges of collection in all the Desams (compare paragraph 120). Arshad Beg Khan's order regarding reduction of 20 per cent, extended to this Nad, but whether it wras ever acted on is extremely doubtful (see paragraph 117). Tippu's increase of 1 2£ per cent, affected this Nad (paragraph 118).

1. Between .1790-91 and 1793-94 the full revenue at the above

rates was gradually revived and collected with some balances till 1800-1.

1. Major Macleod's survey or rather inspection in 1801-2, followed by an attempt to collect the increased

jgOj _ 3 * # r

revenue, resulted in a rebellion, and Mr. Rickards in 1802-3 reverted to the settlement of 1800-1.

1. In 1803-4, however, Mr. Warden, the next of the Principal

Collectors, directed one-fourth of the increase to the 1803*4 7 •

assessment fixed by Major Macleod's survey to be collected. This increase, it may be presumed, did not affect the principles of the settlement in force.

1. To this increase was superadded 15 per cent, for charges of collection (see paragraph 187).

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Garden Lands.

1. In introducing, in 1777-78, the Iluzzur Niguti (paragraph r_ »8 134) in this Nad, Ramalinga Pillay left a small

margin for the proprietor, viz., 20 per cent, of the pattam (rent), in the manner already described in paragraph 147, so that only 80 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was taken as assessment in this Nad. There is no record of what the customary commutation rates between Janmis and Ryots were in this Nad, hut it is likely they were the same as in the neighbouring Nads and in all other Nads in South Malabar except Nos. 23, 24 and 25, viz. : —

Coconuts

Betol-nuts

Jacks

RS. A.

7 8 0 4

0 4

1.

0 per 1,000 nuts.

0 do.

0 per tree.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent, and Tippu Sultan's increase of 12| percent, (paragraphs 117,118) were applied to the garden lands in this Nad-

1790 94 194. In 1790-91 to 1793-94 the full assessment at

the above rates was gradually revived.

1. Major Macleod, in 1801-2, increased the assessment on gardens

isoi-2 aS ˚n Wet *ands (Paraoraph 139). Mr. Rickards also

reverted to the previous settlement of 1800-1 (paragraph 189), and Mr. Warden likewise, in 1803-4, levied one-fourth of Major Macleod's increase (paragraph 190).

1. The establishment charges percentage was likewise 15 per cent, on gardens as on wet lands (paragraph 187), and was levied on the onefourth of Major Macleod's increase by Mr. Warden.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Under the Mysore Government the same rules were applied in this Nad as in Nads Nos. 13 and 14 to the assessment of Modan (paragraph 33), viz., 20 per cent, of the gross produce, valued at current market rates, wherever that crop was cultivated (see paragraph 136).

2. In 1801-2 Major Macleod took the actual revenue of that year

isoi-2. asthe standard of a permanent demand and included in the regular jama (demand), spreading the collection of it over three years ; but in applying this procedure two different modes were adopted, viz.

In 62 Desams 20 per cent, of the gross produce was taken as the pattam (rent), and of this pattam (rent) 25 per cent, (or, say , 5 per cent, of the gross produce) was taken as assessment and commuted at the rate of Rs. 85-ll-5f per 1,000 Macleod seers.

In 7 Desams every para (10 seers) of seed sown was assessed at one new Yiray fanam. Assuming the outturn to be five-

fold, the assessment would be 20 per cent, of the gross produce, valued at Rs. 28-9-l| per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1. In the 62 Desams the crop was further assessed at 15 per cent, for collection charges (see paragraphs 120, 187) and in the 7 Desams at 10

per oent.

2. After 1801-2 fresh assessments continued to 1801-2. ˆ levied on the Mysore principles, viz., 20 per cent,

of gross produce at current market rates.

1. The cultivation of Ettu (paragraph 35) being very inconsiderable was not assessed in this Nad.

(27.)— KUTNAD ; (28.)— CHAVAKKAD AND CHETVAl.

1. The Zamorin at the time of the Mysore invasion possessed suzerain rights over both of these Nads, except over Ch6tLimit88lan < i the island of Chetvai, consisting of the following amsams of the modern taluk of Ponnani, viz. : —

Vadanapalli.

Nattika.

Pallipuram.

Edattirutti.

Kaippamangalam.

Pappinivattam.

Panangad.

This island had from 1717 been in the possession of the Dutch, from whom, however, it was taken by Hyder Ali in Political events. j 776, and in turn from the Mysoreans by the Honorable Company in 1790.

The above two Nads consisted of the following limits. modem amsams of the modem taluk of Ponn&ni : —

Tavanur.

Kaladi.

Kc4ftnad.

Mejattur.

Chekkod.

Anakkara

Kilmuri.

PottanUr.

Kilt nod.

Isvaramangalam.

Pallapuram.

Ponnani.

Kanynyiramukku.

Edappal.

Yattamkulam.

Kumaranallur.

Kotachira.

Nagalaseeri.

TirumittakSd.

Otalur.

Kappur.

Alangod.

Pallikkara.

Eramangalam.

Vayilattur.

Veliangod.

Ayirur.

Kadikkad.

Punnayur.

Edakaliyur.

Pal ayur.

Chavakkad and Chetvai.

Guruvayur.

Iringapuram.

Annakara.

Bhrahmakulam.

MullassCri.

Venkidauga.

Chavakkad.

Orumanayur.

Yadanapalli.

Nattika.

Pallipuram.

Edattirutti.

Kaippamanga-

lnm.

Pappinivattam.

Panangad.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Wet Lands.

1765-66.

1767-68.

1. In 1765-66 Hyder Ali paid a visit to these Nads, and his agents and his

tributary, the Coimbatore Raja (Maha Deo Raj, usually styled Madavan in Malabar), afterwards till 1767-68 managed the country and levied irregular and violent contributions both on the personal and on the real property of the inhabitants.

2. From 1767-68 till 1773 these Nads were again under the Zamorin.

3. In 1773 Chunder Row and Sreenivas Row came with troops

and wrested the country from the Zamorin. By their

orders the Nads were rented to Mohidin Muppan and Haidros Kutti, who collected 100 per cent, of the pattam (rent), but finding that insufficient to enable them to meet their engagements, they imposed further contributions and seized personal property. Finding this means also fail, they carried some of the inhabitants to Seringa-patain with whatever accounts of the pattam (rent) were extant.

1. On their return in 1777-78 they commenced to collect what

1777-78 called the Huzzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 129)

upon an actual reaping and measuring of the crop, taking two-thirds of the gross produce as the Government share on rice-lands and leaving one-third to the cultivator. The consequence was the people fled and the lands lay uncultivated.

1. About this time Ramalinga Pillay came under orders from Hyder Ali and made a survey, but the amount fell short of the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 129).

2. In 1779-80 Jumien Subahdar was sent by Hyder Ali in con1779-80. sequence of the outcry of the people to equalize the

assessment. He ascertained the probable landlord's rent, styled the Mudalalinra nattam (headman's rent), and took

In 282 Desams „ 24 do.

Per 1 ,000 Macleod seers.

RS. A. P.

60 per cent, at 31 4 0 60 do. at 25 0 0

1781-82.

1. To the above was added 10 percent., as Chelluvari (charges of collection) (see paragraph 120).

2. In 1781-82 the British possessed the country for a short time and the restored Rajas had the management of it.

3. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent, and Tippu's

increase of 12 J per cent, (see paragraphs 117, 118) affected the assessment on the wet lands.

1. *In 1785-86 Krishna Aoliari, appointed by Arsliad Beg Khan

1785-86. t0 the raana8emenˆ> added two-sixteenths of an old Viray fanara, or 12£ per cent., to the jama (demand) ander the designation of Hecha Niguti.

1. In 1790-91 the Honorable Company allowed the Rajas to

2. manage these Nads, the Chetvai Island being made

. over to the management of the Raja of Cochin, who continued, with a short interruption, to manage it till 1801, paying a revenue of Rs. 40,000 per annum.

1. In 1791-92 three-fourths and in 1792-93 six-

1791 - 92. tenths of the old jama (demand) were collected in the

Nads, excepting Chetvai Island.

1. In 1793-94 the Honorable Company's servants and the Rajas 1793-94 collected the full jama (demand) on all cultivated lands, and added another 1 0 , per cent, for charges of collection (see paragraphs 120, 209), and this continued till 1799-1800.

2. In 1800-1 Mr. Drummond, Sub-Collector, increased the revenue by adding an assessment on the uncultivated lands.

3. In 1801-2 the jama (demand) was regulated by Major j soi - 2 Macleod's survey, but Mr. Rickards in 1802-3 annulled

it and reverted to that of 1800-1. However, in some places the increase made by Major Macleod was allowed to remain.

Garden Lands.

1. The principles of the Huzzur Niguti (paragraphs 128, 134) were applied to the garden lands, viz. : 100 per cent of the pattarn (rent) was taken at the customary rates usual between Janmis and Ryots in these Nads, which rates were, as usual in South Malabar, —

RS. A. P.

Coconuts . 7 8 0 per 1,000 nuts.

Betel-nuts … … … … 0 4 0 do.

Jacks … … … … 0 4 0 per tree,

considerably below market prices.

1. Arshad Beg Khan's reduction of 20 per cent, (paragraph 117) extended to the garden assessments.

2. The Mysore Government, and afterwards the Honorable Company, seem both to have imposed 10 per cent, (or 20 per cent, in all) for collection charges (see paragraphs 120, 209, 215).

3. The Hecha Niguti of Krishna Achari, or a further addition of 12| per cent., seems also to have been imposed on gardens.

4. Moreover, Major Macleod's increase in 1801-2. 1F01-2 on the garden assessments was not apparently

removed.

KEVEM E ASSESSMENTS.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. No assessments were imposed on Modan or Ellu (paragraphs 33, 35), the cultivation of which was inconsiderable.

Sub-Section III. — Retrospective Summary as for the year 1805-6 in the Low Country.

1. Before proceeding to deal with the subsequent measures taken for adjusting the land revenue assessments, it will be as well to summarise retrospectively the measures already described, so as to bring, as far as possible within one view, the position of affairs as existing in the year 1805-6.

Necessity for the summary.

1. Before giving the results of this proposed for workfng ouu retrospect, it will be necessary to describe the method in which it is proposed to work them out.

2. The year 1805-6 has been selected as a convenient point of J , time for doing this, because, following on the insur-

Mr. Rickards' ,. „ . ˚ ,

plans for establishrection ot 1803 (consequent on Major Macleod s ill-

assessmentiple8 ˚f aᵛse(ˆ innovations), Mr. Rickards, the Principal

Collector, with a view to remedying the extreme

inequalities of assessment as well as to establish some fixed principles

The principles he ˚n ˆase a new assessment, was at considerable

recommended were pains to ascertain from the chief J annus what mode

finally sanctioned, 0f sharing the produce of the land would be most otn aiay ioU4. _ # i

acceptable to them. Having ascertained this (29th June 1803), he recommended the scheme for adoption (1st July 1803), and it was sanctioned by Government (Board of Revenue to Principal Collector, 5th May 1804) and embodied in a proclamation and published throughout the district (21st July 1805) — see Appendix No. XY.

The shares of produce thus sanctioned.

226a. The shares of the produce thus ascertained as being acceptable to the chief Janmis were as follows : —

Wet Lands.

Deduct from the gross produce the seed and a similar quantity for expenses of cultivation, allot one-third of the balance to the cultivator for profit, divide the remainder in the proportions of 60 per cent, and 40 per cent, between the Government and the Janmi respectively, and commute the Government share into money " under a consideration to local value of the several articles in the different districts."

Illustration.

Quantity of Seed. Outturn Multiple.

Deduct — Seed

Expenses

5 paras

X

Gross Produce. PARA8.

PARAS.

— 10

Balance paras … … 65

One-third to cultivator for profit … … 21 J

Remainder, being the share available as

pattam (rent) or two-thirds net produce … 43ˆ

60 per cent, of 43 3 paras to Government = paras 26 40 per cent, of 43$ paras to Janmi = do. 17$

- 43$

Garden Lands.

Coconuts and Arecas. — The pattam (rent) was to be divided between the Government and the Janmi half to each, the Government share being commuted into money at local rates.

Illustration.

Nuts.

Gross produce … … … … … .100

Deduct cultivator's one-third share … … 33$

Remainder, being the share available as pattam (rent) or two-thirds gross produce 50 per cent, to Government … … 33$

50 do. to Janmi … … 33$ˆ

66§

Jacks. — The same principle was adopted as in the case of other garden produce, namely, 50 per cent, of the pattam (rent) was to go to Government and the remaining 50 per cent, to the Janmi but the pattam (rent) stated in money was not fixed at any prescribed share of the gross or of the net produce.

Pepper. — It is unnecessary to state what the sanctioned shares of the pepper produce were as the assessment was in 1806-7 taken off the

land and an export duty levied instead.

The sanctioned 2265. The standard shares of Government in the

standard shares of produce, that is, the revenue assessments, were there-
Government in the * 0 , ,

produce. fore fixed at —

60 per cent, of the pattam (rent) for wet lands.

50 do. do. do garden lands.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

The pdttam waa calculated on a peculiar plan, hence atyled Vilachchal mini pat tarn.

1. But this pattam (rent) was, it will be observed, to be calculated in peculiar methods, whence it got its name of the Vilachchal meni pattam , that is, in the case of wet lands two-thirds of the net produce to be ascertained in a certain manner ; and, in the case of coconuts and arcca-nuts, two-thirds of the gross produce in nuts

only. In the case of jacks no estimate of produce was to be made, but the money pattam (rent) was to be ascertained. How this was usually done will be alluded to presently when considering Verumpattam.

1. And here it will be as well, before going further, to elucidate

and distinguish this Vilachchal mini pattam from the The Vilachchal other two kinds of rent (pattam) alluded to by Mr. mim pattam distinQr£eme and differently determined. And there is all guished from ˆ more reagon for thigj

pecause in the foregoing

account no distinction has been drawn between the different kinds of rent (pattam) referred to, when treating of the various Nads. The three kinds of rent (pattam) alluded to in Mr. Grceme's report are—

1. The Vilachchal mini pattam, which has just been described.

2. Verumpattam or actual rent received by Janmis from Ryots.

Mr. Grceme was most unfortunately pre- {a) the Verum. vente(i (paragraph 1131 of his report) ˆ t from pursuing detailed inquiries into the

ratios which the Verumpattam (actual rent) bore to gross produce or to net produce. He was consequently obliged to have recourse to the statements submitted to Mr. ˆVarden, the Principal Collector, by Janmis in the year 981 (1805-6). These statements were found by him on examination to give in most cases grossly false accounts of the rent (pattam) receivable by Janmis, so they served very little purpose beyond furnishing facts to show how false they were on this point. It will be seen in the sequel that lack of precise information as to what the actual rents were, not only vitiated Mr. Graeme's proposals in regard to wet lands and diverted his attention away from points in regard to the position of sub-tenants, to which the Court of Directors had turned their earnest attention; but precipitated the collision between the parties interested in the land, and indirectly led to the Mappilla fanatical outrages and other evils (Section A of this Chapter). The general information on which he relied was defective, because it did not enable him to distinguish between rent paid by intermediaries and rent paid to intermediaries by sub-tenants. Whether, therefore, the facts which follow relate to rents paid direct by the Ryots to the Janmis or by intermediary Kanakkar to the Janmis, it is now impossible to say. The general information he received was to the following effect : —

MAI. VBA. R DISTRICT.

On wet lands the Verump&tlam varied from 10 per cent, of the average availably gross produce;" in particular places, where accidents were liable to happen from wild beasts, &c., to 3-3 and 45 per cent, of the same ; and " even as high as 50 per cent, of the same when the settlement with the tenant is only for one year." By this use of the word " available" reference was made to the customary deduction of 20 per cent, of the gross produce for the expenses of reaping, threshing and winnowing, and for fees to carpenters, smiths, and other petty proprietors, who, like the Janmi himself, had J anmam rights in the land. This deduction of 20 per cent, did not in Mr. Graeme's time, and, it may be noted in passing, does not even now in

many cases enter into any calculations of gross produce.

Garden lands. — In the case of coconuts and areca~mitsy the Vcrum-pattam was the balance of the produce 1 in nuts after deducting for the cultivator's share 20 per cent, of the same in North Malabar, and 33 J per cent, of the same in South Malabar ; but as the customary commutation rates were respectively Its. 10 and Its. 7-8-0 in the two divisions, the real customary shares of the cultivators were as Rs. 20 2 and Rs. 25 2 respectively on every 10,000 nuts. This leaves out of account the other produce of these gardens, such as coconut husks, from which coir fibre is made, leaves for thatching, branches, wood, &c., all of which fell to the cultivator's share for profit (labham), and was excluded from any estimate of produce in fixing the Verumpdttam. Moreover these shares, Mr. Graeme noted, were sufficient remuneration to the cultivator only when the gardens were fully planted up and in bearing, but they were insufficient remuneration if the garden was not in full bearing, aud would not enable the cultivator to keep up the garden in good style. These remarks, which still continue true, have a most important bearing on the relations between Janmis and Ryots of garden lands.

In the case of Jack trees it has never been customary to estimate the produce (either gross or net) except at its money value, and its money value depends entirely on whether there is a market for the produce or not, within reasonable distance.

• _ ~ —

1 The gross produce was taken to be the whole number of nuts of all sizes on the trees at one time, less one-third for accidents, loss by rats, windfalls, Ac. ; but see also " Koyil - meni " in the Glossary, Appendix XIII.

- Take two gardens in North and South Malabar, respectively produeing each 10,000 nuts gross produce ; then —

In North Malabar the cultivator's share of produce is 2,000 nuts, which, at Rs. 10 per mille, the customary rate, are worth lts. 20.

In South Malabar the cultivator's share is 3,333J nuts, which, at Rs. 7-8-0 per nnllc,

are worth R». 25.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

The fruit, from its bulkiness, is not easily carried to any great distance and it readily spoils. The money value of the produce is determined in a rough sort

of way upon inspection. So many of the trees— having regard to quality and distance from a market — are judged to be capable of yielding one fanam of pattam (rent). In some places where the trees are in bad order, or the market is distant, a great number of trees may be required to yield one fanam of pattam (rent), and in other places any number of trees would be insufficient, the trees not being capable of bearing even one fanam of pattam (rent) from the lack of demand for the produce. Under such circumstances the customary Verumpattam was probably, as in the case of cocos and arecas, one-third of the gross produce; but, unlike cocos and arecas, estimated in money at no fixed rate per fixed quantity of produce.

1. The Niguti Pattam— Mr. Graeme found, on proceeding to

inquire into details, that the divisional (Ho- (b) The Myso- ˆali) accounts specified in the case of each

rean Nigutt pattam. t *■ , r -,A

wet land what the number of paras (each 19 seers) of Niguti Vittu (assessed seed) (paragraph 129) was, but they were silent (as already noticed, paragraph 128) in regard to the proportion which the Niguti Vittu (assessed seed) bore to the gross or to the net produce. Under these circumstances Mr. Graeme resorted to information from " the principal inhabitants," and learning from them, first in the case of the Calicut Taluk Nads (Nos. XII, XIII, XIV) and afterwards in the case of the other Nads in South Malabar, as they were taken up one by one, what proportion the Niguti Vittu (assessed seed) bore to the pattam (rent) shown in the accounts sent by Sirdar Khan to Seringapatam, he worked back in this way to a pattam (rent) which, to distinguish it from the others just above described, he called the Niguti pat tarn, or pattam on which the assessment (Niguti) was fixed. Moreover the people, on being questioned, readily admitted that the pattam shown in the accounts sent to Seringapatam by Sirdar Khan was incorrect. The Vcrnmpat- tam or actual rent was, they continued, in some places concealed, and in other places understated with the connivance of the Mysorean officers owing to favor, intrigue, or local causes. This third kind of pattam extended only to the Nads in which the Huzzur Niguti (see paragraphs 128, 134) was in force, and in them it extended to all lands, both wet and garden. It will be seen from what has been stated that it represented no fixed share of the produce in kind, but the share in kind, whatever it was, was commuted into money at fixed rates.

1. Now, on referring back to the historical details given in the-What pdttmn preceding narrative, it will be seen that in the year

S£h£tM 1805-6 the reTOnue regulated in the

in 1805-6. various Nads in the following manner i—

(a) On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads I, V, and VIr

partly by the Vtlachchal tneni pattam and partly by the Verumpattam ;

(б) On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads II, III, IY, and

YII, and on wet lands only in Nads XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVII and XXVIII, by the Verumpattam ; and

1. On both wet lands and garden lands in Nads VIII to XXII and XXVI, and on garden lands only in Nads XXVII and XXVIII, by the Niguti pattam.

The garden land assessments in Nads XXIII, XXIV and XXV have, for purposes of comparison in the foregoing narrative, been taken as shares of the VilaclicJml mˆni pattam, though, of course, that pattam was not a standard in force anywhere at the time (1801-2).

230, Bearing in mind, then, the differences which existed between

The actual assessment shares of produce will be compared with the standard assessment shares of produce,

and the comparison will be extended (in the inverse ratio) to the actual commutation rates

so as to obtain a fair approximation to the actual incidence of the assessments in the various Nftds in 1805-6.

these various pattams (rents), it will be found possible* to compare the standard rates of assessment (viz., 69 per cent, of pattam on wet lands and 50 per cent, of pattam on garden lands, paragraph 226) with the actual rates originally assessed and afterwards more or less modified in the respective Nads, and this comparison will, when extended to the commutation rates for produce (in the inverse ratios, of course), give a fair approximation to the comparative incidence as in 1805-6 of the assessments on the respective Nads. The approximation will, of course, be more or less unreliable as between Nads in which different standards of pattam prevailed, but nothing more precise is avail* able. An example will best illustrate what is intended.

In Nads XII, XIII, XIV the percentages of Niguti pattam taken as revenue on wet lands were 30 and 25, at commuta-

what ?8tSte˚nded.0f tioT1 rates of Rs60 and 60 Per 1ˆ000 Macleod seers

respectively (paragraph 129). After deducting from

these commutation rates 20 per cent, for Arshad Beg Khan's reduction (paragraph 130), and after adding 12 J per cent, for Tippu's increase by the substitution of Sultani fanams for old Viray fanams (paragraph 130), and after adding 10 per cent, for establishment charges imposed under the Honorable Company's Government (paragraph 132), the sequence of these events being in the order in which they have been placed, the commutation rates come out at Rs. 49-8-0 and Rs. 596-4| per 1 ,000 Macleod seers respectively. Then, in order to ascertain the

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

equivalents of these rates at the 60 percentage standard assessment the following calculation has to he made

Standard

Assessment.

Actual

Percentage

taken.

Actual

Commutation

Kate.

Equivalent Commutation Kate at 60 per cent.

RS. A. P.

KS. A. P.

60 : 30 : : 2 : 1 : : 49 8 o -

60 : 25 : : 12 : 5 : : 59 6 44

24 12 0 24 12 0

That is to say, the equivalent of 30 per cent, of the Nignti pattam (rent)

at a commutation rate of Us. 49-8-0 and of 25 per cent, of the JSignti pattam at a commutation rate of Rs. 59-6-4-4 is, at 60 per cent, of the Niguti pattam , a commutation rate of Rs, 24-12-0. It will thus be seen that although different percentages of pattam (rent) were taken as revenue assessments in different parts of these Nads, still the actual result was that the money assessment imposed was uniform throughout.

The subjoined 231. Worked out in the method above described table shows:— the following table has been prepared. It shows —

{a) The actual assessments, as in 1805-6 [varying percentages of pattam (rent) commuted into money at varying rates] ,

1. Actual assessworke(t out to their equivalents in the standard assessment commutation u ,

rates in 1805-6, ments [60 per cent, of pattam (rent) on wet lands ana compared with, ˆ per cent of pattam (rent) on garden lands, see paragraph 2266] at the commutation rates which appear in columns 2, 4, 6 and 8, and

tation’ratesk.ˆpro- (6) The commutation rates for produce adopted MrˆGneme in 82ˆ aˆor ˆ1 inquiry by Mr. Graeme in 1822 there being no earlier figures no earlier figures available, being available.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS

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Miscellaneous Lands.

No agreement was come to in 1803-5 regarding the proper mode of sharing the produce of lands not permanently assessed to revenue, that is to say Puttada or Modan, Punam and Ellu lands (see paragraphs 33, 34, 35); but, as most of the materials are available, it will be useful to institute a comparison similar to the above in respect of such assessments also as for the year 1805-6. And the assessment share of produce with which they may most suitably be compared is that Yhich prevailed generally both under the Mysore and under the Honorable Company's Governments in South Malabar, and which Mr. Graeme subsequently

Mr. Rickards did not fix any principles to regulate the assessments on miscellaneous lands in 1803-5,

but as the comparison will be useful the following table has been prepared,

the standard share of produce adopted being 20 per cent, of the gross produce.

per cent, of the gross produce.

is report)

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Ellu.

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers

of Produce.

Assessment

Grsome’s

Commutn-

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as in 1805-6.

in 1822.

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Nads.

Puttada or Madan.

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.

Assessment Commutation Rates as in 1805-6.

Graeme’s Commutation Rates in 1822.

Punam.

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Produce.

Assessment Commutation Rates is in 1806-6.

Grmme’s Commutation Rates in 1822.

II

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IV

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VI

VII

VIII, IX, X, XI.

XII, XIII, XIV.

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16 10

8 annas per head on persons paying wet land revenue.

19 14 0

RS. A.

} 29 1

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29 9 5

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32 0 1

jj n _ Gnome's commutation ratos * or low grounu uuj pnwuv,*? . . . ,

prices for Modan and Punam paddy, although, as a rule, these grains do not fetch so much in the

market.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

These figures eoufirm what had always been recognised as a fact, viz., that the assessments in North Malabar were heavier than those in the south.

This was why the 10 per cent, establishment cess was not extended to the north.

1. These figures confirm what had all along been recognised as a fact, viz., that the assessments (especially on wet and miscellaneous lands) in North Malabar were comparatively heavier than those in South Malabar. This fact had influenced the Supravisor, and afterwards the second Commissioners, not to extend to North Malabar the 10 per cent, establishment cess (paragraph 120) which they imposed on lands in the south. At the same time it should be noticed that in the calculations made in preparing these tables, the full deduction has been allowed for Arshad Beg Khan's

AishadBegKh&nˆs re1ˆ88*011 of 20 per cent, all round ; while, as matter remission of 20 per of fact, it is extremely doubtful (as already noticed, cent' paragraph 117) if any such deduction ever really took

place. The remission probably went into the pockets of the officials. This fact must be constantly borne in mind when comparing the assessments of South Malabar with those of the north.

1. Whilst, however, the assessments were comparatively heavier in the north, they were at the same time less oppressive individually, that is to say, the burden was more evenly divided. This is to be accounted for, first, by the fact that the assessments in the north were based on the Vilachchal men i pdf turn and on the Verumpaitam, that is to 9ay, on certain fixed proportions of the gross

or net produce ; and secondly, by the fact that the assessments were mado by

the chieftains themselves, who, as tributaries first of Mysore and afterwards of the Honorable Company, were not easily deceived aa to the capabilities of the land, and who had every inducement to make the assessments heavy on all lands but their own ; whereas in the south tho assessment was chiefly the work of Mysorean officials, who, as strangers to the province, were more easily imposed upon, and who were, perhaps, more ready to be complacent or severe according as inducements were held out to them or refused. The result of course was that in the south the Niguti pattam represented no certain share either of the net or of the gross produce (paragraph 228) and individual assessments were very unequal. For example, in Nads VIII, IX, X and XI, Mr. Graeme found that in one instance the garden assessment was 4, (185 per cent, of the pattam, in two instances over 2,000 per cent., in three instances over 1,000 per cent., and in other instances less than 1,000 per cent., but far in excess of the proper proportion of the pattam.

Wet Lands .

But at the same time the northern assessments were less oppressive individually than those of the south.

Reasons for this.

The Niguti p/ft-tarn of the south represented no certain share either of the net or of the gross produce.

Examples.

1. An examination of the figures discloses the following fact The actual assess. in regard to wet lands: — It is not to be presumed tales of iS0a-6 are, that tho market prices of produce should have fallen

tt?.,tghereXS; between 1805-6 1822, and yet Mr. Gneme's rates,

the market rates adopted in 1822, are (with three exceptions occurring

Gr®medin 1822, and witbin tbe territory administered by the Honorable the excess is a Company's Factors at Tellicherry) below the assess-

~of ˚f actual ment commutation rates prevalent in 1805-6. The assessments over extent to which the rates of 1805-6 exceed, as noticed, theˆstandard assessthe rates of 1822 is the measure of the extent to which

the actual assessment in 1805-6 exceeded the standard assessment of 60 per cent., of the pattam (rent) if it is assumed that the market prices did not vary meanwhile. If, on the other hand, the market prices were rising between

1805-6 and 1822 (as may safely be assumed to have been the case under regular British rule), the actual assessments of 1805-6 must have still more exceeded the standard assessment of 60 per cent.

Garden Lands.

1. Similar remarks to the above occur under garden lands, but more particularly as regards coconut trees. It was in the territory lying round the Tellicherry factory that the coconut tree rates of 1805-6 approximated to, and in one instance ran lower than, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822. The coconut tree rates generally were much too high. Arecsp-nut trees seem to have been less severely taxed than other produce in the district generally, for in many of the Nads, Mr. Graeme's rates of 1822 ar© higher than the assessment rates of 1805-6. As

regards jack trees the assessments seem to have been, with a few exceptions, too high. It is unnecessary, however, to go into more detail regarding the garden assessments, because the garden land assessments were subsequently revised throughout the district.

Similarly the coconut garden assessments exceeded the standard assessments, but arecas seem to have been exceptionally favoured in many places,

while, on the other hand, jacks were too highly assessed nearly everywhere.

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. The Modan , Punam and Ellu rates were excessive in the north ;

The assessments were very severe in the north,

but the fact probably was that there was a large concealment of produce.

This is probably why Modan and Elju are so little cultivated in the north,

and why Punara is more extensively cultivated there.

indeed it is difficult to understand how even an approximation could be made towards levying them. It is quite certain that if they had been rigorously exacted the cultivation must have ceased to exist. The fact seems to have been that a large portion of the produce was concealed, an end easily to be attained through the difficulty, in the case of these fugitive modes of cultivation, of checking what was the actual produce. Even at the present day Modan and Ellu crops, which, being cultivated in the open country, are better capable of being properly assessed, are of far less extent in

In the south, the north than in the south ; while, on the other hand, though the rates -p. . ,

were more moderrunam crops, cultivated in the jungle country, where

«te, they were still the cultivation is not so easily checked, is still one of the principal crops in the north, while it is comparatively of small extent in the south. These facts are easily accounted for on examining the commutation rates in force in 1805-6. In South Malabar the rates, though more moderate than in the north, were still too high for those days. These assessments have all since been revised, so it is unnecessary to enter into more detail.

Sub-Section IV- — The System of Land Revenue Management adopted in Mai.abar, 1805-18, and the Positions of the “Ryot” and of the “Actual Cultivator” considered.

1. Having passed in review the measures adopted from the

earliest times for assessing particular portions of the to ˆti-eat t < the ˆowdistrict, and having attained as complete a view as country part of the circumstances will permit of the exact state in which aggregate.111 ˆ ˆose measures left the matter, it now becomes necessary to relate the particular steps, taken to deal with the district as a whole. The measures up to this time (1805-6) had been fragmentary and of local application ; it remains to relate what steps were taken to treat the low-country portion of the district in the aggregate.

1. A word or two may, however, first of all be fittingly introduced

The part Malabar in re£ard to the Part which Malabar played in the played in the great great battle of the tenures, which at this time (1805-6) battie of the tentad begun to attract attention. It is unnecessary to say much about it, because it never at any time seems to have been in doubt that Ryotwari was the system best adapted to the district, though it was a Ryotwari with a difference from that understood by Sir Thomas Munro.

1. The characters of laborer, farmer, and landlord were generally

The osition of understood as being united in the ryot. It was also SirThomasMrmroˆs generahy assumed that the ryot could not have subryot defined. tenants so long as Government waste land of good

quality existed for any one to cultivate who felt so disposed. Moreover, the

laws of inheritance in force in eastern districts have a constant tendency to break up properties and to cause the subdivision of landed estates.

’241. But suppose, on the contrary, that there were portions of districts

This definition 80 highly cultivated that no waste land lay within quite inapplicable convenient reach of the man willing to till it. — suppose

facts in Malabarˆ0 ˆat waste land, if it did exist within convenient reach, was held (whether rightly or wrongly does not at present matter) to be the property, not of the State, but of private

mat.abar district.

From a different point of view, however, and taking “ ryot ” aa synonymous with “ actual cultivator,” then Malabar was, and still continues to be, a Ryotwari district.

individuals, suppose the laws of inheritance directly tended to’keep property together, — and suppose the classes of laborer, fanner, and landlord were distinct and separate, — then clearly the district where such a system prevailed was not a Ryotwari one, and this was (and it still is) the case of Malabar.

1. Looked at, however, from a different point of view, and when the question at issue is whether the Government land revenue shall be paid by a Zemindar or farmer of the Government land revenue in many villages, by the Mouzawar or headman of one village, or by the cultivator himself, then, understanding by the word “ ryot ” the actual cultivator of the soil, the Malabar District revenue system was originally under the Mysoreans, and it still continues to be, to a great extent, a Ryotwari one. How this came about is easily explained by the fact that “ the terror of Hyder Ali’s and of his son Tippu’s subsequent administration prevented the major part of these Brahman landholders, as well as many of the Nayars, from ever trusting their persons at the Muhammadan outoherries of their new sovereigns ” (Joint Commissioners’ Report, paragraph 196), and the Mysoreans had therefore no choice left but to conclude the land revenue settlement with the K&nakkar, or the actual cultivators.

2. It is manifest, however, that the meaning attached by Sir Sir Thomas Thomas Muhro to the word Ryotwari, is one that will

Munro’s Ryotwari not apply permanently to any one particular district, oFpermanont-fthiny supposing that that district progresses in population.

Reasons for thinkWaste land, under such circumstances, becomes scarcer ing 80, and scarcer and more and more difficult to till as the

worst lands are taken up, and long before the time when the last acre of waste is appropriated, it must of necessity have arisen that many of the original " ryots " attending to their own interests, have become proprietors and have dropped the other characters of laborer and farmer. Moreover, under a settled government, money acquired in trades and professions is naturally often invested in land by persons who have not the slightest intention to cultivate it. And further the laws of inheritance have been considerably affected by the power of testamentary succession. All these considerations force one to the conviction that Sir Thomas Munro's ideal Ryotwari settlement is not a thing of permanence, and that sooner or later, even in the model th™98 hattxisted Ryotwari districts, a state of things will be brought

in Malabar from about similar to what has existed in Malabar from the the first. n ,

very nrst.

1. The fact that private property in land already existed in Canara and in Malabar, attracted attention at an early

©xistmiceˆof private period in the history of British rule in South India, property in land in an(j the fact is again and again referred to in the

exercisodªmporcorrespondence which toqk place while the merits of

tant influence in the debates on the merits of the rival tenures.

The village community was also supposed not to exist in Malabar.

The Court of Directors' despatch of 16th December 1812, ordering the introduction of the Ryotwari system in all unsettled districts.

the rival systems were being debated, and it exercised a very material influence on the ultimate issue in favor of the Ryotwari system and of the special form which it took. The above, coupled with another fact, viz., that the village community was supposed not to exist in Malabar, seems to have prevented any attempt to introduce into the district, the system of village settlements which for a time found favor with the authorities. On the 16th December 1812, the Court of Directors finally ordered the introduction of the

Ryotwari system all unsettled districts, and they were careful in

in

The final orders were issued by the Board of Revenue on the 5th January 1818.

their despatch of the December following to caution the Government against introducing into Malabar an intermediate class of persons (call them Zemindars, Mootahdars, or what we may) between the Government and the Jelmkaars or hereditary proprietors of the soil but it was not till the 5th January 1818, that the Board of Revenue issued instructions for " the abandonment of the existing system of revenue administration and the introduction of the Ryotwari mode of settlement and collection in all practicable cases," and in paragraph 307 of the same Proceedings the Board wound up their instructions to all Collectors in the following terms : — " The Collectors, in entering on the new settlement, should ever recollect that the great object in view is not immediately, but by degrees, to substitute the Ryotwari of the Western Coast for the old Carnatic and Ceded District Ryotwari : not to create, but to restore, landed property, gradually to convert the bad farms of the Tamil country into good estates, and the landholders into land-owners, &c." Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Madura and Dindigul Were at this time the only as Ryotwari. All others were either managed by Zemindars or under the village lease system.

1. One radical defect and confusion of ideas was unfortunately

There was one imPorte(i into this, otherwise admirable, Minute of the Board of Revenue. Sir Thomas Munro's ideal " ryot," whose position has been already alluded to (paragraphs 240 to 243), was defined by the Board of Revenue in paragraph 17 of their instructions

The plan to be followed was to substitute the Ryotwari of the Western Coast for the old Carnatic, &c. , Ryotwari.

Not to create, but to restore, landed property.

districts classed

radical defect and confusion of ideas in this minute of the Board of Revenue.

The Board's definition of .Sir Thomas Munro's ideal ryot

applied to Malabar.

quoted above to mean “ that particular class only among them ” (“ the cultivators of the soil in general ”) “ wbo employ, superintend, and sometimes assist the laborer, and who are everywhere the farmers of the country, the creators and payers of the land revenue,”

The mistake was and in paragraphs 21 to 39 of these same instructions, Kftnaˆkarf ˆ’and the Board went on to describe “ the rights of the ryot ”

P&ttakar all toin Malabar. The mistake was in treating the rights

f ether under the c ˚

ead of ryots. of the J anmi, Kanakkar and Pattakar as equivalent

to those of the “ ryot,” whereas, as matter of fact,

many Janmis, and many Kanakkars also, and perhaps even some

Pattakars, Ijad no title whatever to be considered as “cultivators,” or

“ farmers,” or as the “ creators,” or even as the “ payers,” of the land

revenue. Substantial grounds will be found set forth elsewhere (Section

1. of this Chapter) for dissenting altogether from the views enter-

taiued at that time in regard to Janmis, Kanakkar and Pattakar; but

apart altogether from controversial matters, and accepting the relative

positions assigned to the three classes by the Board, viz., proprietors

It is obvious that in Malabar there existed other classes interested in the land besides the ryot.

Classes whose interests did not receive sufficient consideration.

The person to whom the Government of this country should give the first consideration is the “ actual cultivator,”

whatever he be, proprietor, farmer, or laborer.

All others having interests in the soil are mere investors of their money.

The mistake made in 1818 ■was to drop the actual cultivator out of sight and to substitute for him an “ ideal ryot.”

1. It will

The further history of this point.

The Court of Directors' despatch, 1 '2th December

1.

mortgagees, and tenants, it is obvious that there existed in Malabar other classes besides the "ryot" — classes whose position in regard to the land, either as landlords entitled to rent from under-tenants or as intermediaries liable to pay rent to landlords as well as to receive rent from under-tenants, should have received very careful consideration before treating them all on the footing of the " ryot " in the sense in which the Board used that word. The growing insolvent cottierism of the bulk of the cultivators in Malabar at the present day, might probably have been prevented, had the Board of Revenue been better informed as to the real relations subsisting at the time between the classes named. Situated as the Government of this country is, that is, as part landlord of the soil, it is obvious that the person to whom the first consideration is duo is the actual cultivator of the soil, whatever he be, proprietor, farmer or laborer. It is he who, by his industry and skill, pays the Government revenue and contributes to the general welfare of the State. All others having interests in the land are mere investors of their money. The mistake made in 1818 (so far at least as regards Malabar) was to drop the actual cultivator out of sight, and to substitute for him an ideal " ryot." be as well to continue the notice of the point here raised down to the time when it seems finally to have passed completely out of sight. On the 12th December 1821 the Court of Directors, in reviewing a letter, dated 6th February 1815 from the Board of Revenue, on the subject of the great inequalities in the land assessments in Malabar, thus expressed themselves .

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

The earliest accounts received from the parties most interested should have been accepted with great caution and distrust.

" The Board of Revenue declare that our knowledge with respect to the ancient state of things in Malabar is extremely defective. To us it appears so defective that many things which have i n format! o n'r o gi r dbeen stated and re-stated as matters of fact are but ing ancient Malaobjects of conjecture, conjecture founded upon hardly

anything to which with propriety the term evidence can be applied." After noticing that the first accounts of ancient Malabar obtained fr6m Rajas and leading men had been " exceedingly favorable to their , interests and

contrary to what prevailed in other parts of Iudia," and should therefore have been received " with great caution and distrust," the Court of Directors went on to observe that it had been affirmed that " in Malabar the whole of the produce was the property of the landowner and that no portion of it was taken by the Government. In this one circumstance lies the difference between the supposed state of rights in Malabar and the state of them in the rest of India, and that difference is so great, that it ought not to be admitted as a fact without distinct and specific evidence." The Court of Directors then stated certain reasons which led them to think that the circumstances noticed in regard to the demesne land of the Rajas, to the property of pagodas, and to jaghires held on the condition of military service, pointed rather to the opposite conclusion, and that Malabar was in no way singular from other parts of India in these respects, and they continued : "It was no doubt the interest of the landholders in Malabar to persuade their new' rulers — the English — if they could, that all land was holden under jaghires of this description. The wonder is that they succeeded.1 One remarkable circumstance is that they succeeded with respect to the supposed demesne lands of the Jiaj as, which surely yielded revenue to

Cursory notice of Governraeut > yet n˚t even such part is discriminated." Sir Thomas MunAfter a cursory notice of Sir Thomas Munro's very oi 4th imP ˚rtant report on Malabar of 4th July 1817 (of which notice wdll be taken presently), they commended the subject of the inequalities in the land assessment to the notice of the Government, which, by this time, had Sir Thomas Munro at its

head, and wound up this portion of their despatch in the following words : — 6

The exceptional position of Malabar in regard to the absence of a Government land assessment.

The Court of Directors were sceptical as to the exceptional state of things in Malabar.

„ '."N"' Ma'le'<i' 'he firsl the Principal Collectors, did not credit the tact (paragraph 17 ol h,. Jamabandi Report of 18th Juno 1802), but he remained too short a t.me L the district to succeed in elucidating his views.

" We observe with dissatisfaction that when you have assumed the

The Court of existence of any peculiar ownership in the land, as Directors called for that of Meerassidars or Jelmkars, you afford us little

ins 11 other' ˆWs information with regard to the condition of any other of the

agricultural class of the agricultural population. In Malabar the

number of occupants who pay the assessment on the land, mortgagees and lessees included, is estimated by the Collector at 150,000. The number of persons employed in the cultivation must exceed this number to an extent of which we have no means of forming an accurate judgment.

“ Of the condition of these people we know hardly anything, and

Nothing known noˆ more respect to the other descriptions of the of the great body of population. We are told, indeed, that part of them

nor”of theˆlaves0™’ (an ˆido of very unwelcome intelligence) are held as

slaves ; that they are attached to the soil and market

able property. You are directed to obtain and to communicate to us all the useful information with respect to thin latter class of persons which you possibly can ; the treatment to which they are liable, the habits of their masters with respect to them, the kind of life to which they are doomed, the sort of title by which the property of them is claimed, the price which they bear, and more especially the surest and safest means of ultimately effecting their emancipation. We also desire to know whether these occupants, 150,000 in number, cultivate immediately the whole of the lands by their slaves and hired servants, or whether there is a class of inferior tenants to whom they let or sub-let a portion of their lands. If. there is such an inferior class of lessees, you will inform us under what conditions they cultivate, what are their circumstances, and what measures, if any, have been employed for their protection.” The only report traceable in the records dealing with the question thus raised by the Court of Directors is a very short one from the Principal -r , , Collector, Mr. Vaughan, dated 24th August 1822, in

cursory report of which he stated that there was no necessity to intertere 24ih August 1822. for protection of under-tenants, as people of all

castes and religion engaged in agriculture exactly as they felt inclined,

and slaves too were under the protection of the laws. protably’dˆ’S But the shortness and cursoriness of this report is fact that Mr. probably attributable to the fact that Mr. Graeme, who Sore16 ˆsubmitted had been Special Commissioner in Malabar from his voluminous 1818 to 1822, had some months previously submitted report on Malabar ; ˆ rep0rt 0n Malabar, which Sir Thomas Munro sub

sequently (16th July 1822) characterised as “on the whole the fullest

and most comprehensive report ever received of any had’11 been ˆmost province under this Government.” Mr. Grame was unfortunately preniost unfortunately (as already alluded to in paragraph quirfng bS the 228) prevented from pursuing detailed inquiries into

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS’.

state of the undertenants, and had to accept the views of those who preceded him.

The Court of Directors were not quite satisfied, 18th May 1825,

and

further

tion.

the terms on which under-tenants held their lands, and he seems to have in consequence accepted the views of those who had preceded him in their investigations on this point. The Court of Directors were not quite satisfied, and in reviewing, on the 18th May 1825, the measures which had been adopted in consequence of Mr. Graeme’s inquiry, they concluded the portion of their despatch bearing on the subject in the following terms: — “ There appears to he in Malabar an intermediate class between the called for cultivators and the Government, who come nearer to informathe situation of proprietors of land in England than any intermediate class in any other part of India. The information which we possess respecting this class of persons, their obligations to Government, and their powers over the more numerous classes whose subsistence is derived from the land, is exceedingly imperfect. Justice requires that such a portion of the rent of the land as this class have by custom enjoyed should he still reserved to them. But the questions which relate to the other descriptions of persons subsisting upon the land are more numerous and more difficult of decision. Are they tenaDts-at-will of the former class ? Or have they, like the ryots in other parts of India, a fixed interest in the soil ? If tenants under such conditions as the superior class may please to impose, what is the sort of treatment which they receive ? and if their condition is miserable, what measures can be adopted for its improvement. To these points we particularly desire that your attention should be directed. The progress of the measures which you have in contemplation will bring evidence relating to them frequently before you, and it is of the highest importance that it should not be neglected.” The records do not show that anything further was done to elucidate the points

regarding which the Court of Directors had evinced so much anxiety for further information, and it is to be concluded that the actual cultivator having dropped out of sight in 1818 in favor of the ideal " ryot," it became unnecessary to think about the former as soon as the land revenue assessments, aided by increasing prices, began to come in with increasing ease and regularity.

246a. In conclusion, it may be observed that the creation or restora-It was easy to tion of property in the soil was a thing sufficiently create or restore ea8y of accomplishment. The Government had only

property in the soil. , ,, . .. , . V

to adhere to a policy of taking the half of the net *Wd have™?^ annual produce, in order by a word to create property lated its managein the soil equal in value to the remaining half of the ment when created. net annual produce. This was clearly seen at the

time, but it may be asked was it wise thus to create a property and

The condition of the under-tenants was to be kept constantly in view in the measures then in contemplation,

but nothing further seems to have been done.

The actual cultivator dropped out of sight in favor of the " ideal ryot," and did not again come into view owing to the increasing ease experienced in collecting the land revenue.

MALABAR DI8TRICT.

not endeavour to regulate its future management among a people to whom freedom and liberty were unknown words ? Reasons will be found set forth in Section (A) of this Chapter, for thinking that even in Malabar individual property in the soil, in the European sense of the word, was not in existence at the beginning of British rule. Custom, not competition, adjudged the shares into which the produce was to be divided. The grant of freedom to a community thus organised meant (as soon as custom had given way) freedom for the strong to oppress the weak ; freedom for the newly created proprietor to take an ever increasing portion of the share of net produce left over after paying the Gov-The drones have emment dues. What wonder, then, that the drones

working4 bees have in the hive have prospered and grown fat, or that the waxed lean. working bees have become famished and lean !

Sub-Section Y. — Subsequent Land Revenue History of the Low Country down to the present time.

1. After this digression on the Rystem of land revenue manage-Mr. Rickards' meQt finally adopted for the district, it will be

agreement with the necessary to revert to a much earlier period — to the in ' *18 o 3lTega rd mg first attempt to treat the revenue assessment of the shares of produce. low country taluks on one uniform basis. For this purpose it is necessary to go back to the year 1 803, when, at a critical time, with active rebellion still flaming in the Cotiote and Wynad countries to the jiorth, Mr. Rickards came to the agreement with the senior Rajas and ohief landed proprietors already fully described in paragraphs 226, 2 26#, 22 6£>, and 227.

1. On Mr. Warden, who succeeded Mr. Rickards, devolved the Mr. Warden as a duty of carrying out the orders of Government for a

first step called on revision of the assessments. As a first step, he, on aˆreturn °ˆof rtheir 21st July 1805, oalled on all proprietors of land to lands. send in under their respective signatures a detailed

account of their landed property, his object being —

1. to obtain the name of every field in the country, so as to

serve as a ground for an actual survey ; and

1. to obtain an accurate numerical account of the assessable

trees, so as to regulate the garden assessments.

The statements thus obtained are known in the district as the

The Janmi PyJanmi Pyraaish of 981 M.E. (1805-6), and frequent

rnaish account of references have already in this Section been made to 1805-6 was thus ob- . .

tamed. these accounts.

1. He, at the same time, arranged through his Sub-Collectors MrWarden also (at that time four in number) " to ascertain the actual

collected data for produce on different qualities of soil in different places,' * ˆclassification of yiew to obtaining data for a classification of the

soils in every taluk.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1.

After being in due time furnished with all these documents, Mr. Warden next Mr. Warden proceeded to the laborious task of proceeded to survey surveying the wet lands. He was assisted in this

1806-10. work by the Collector of Coimbatore, who sent him

a number of surveyors, " all foreigners to this country. ˆhey entered on their duty in the year 1806. After four years labor the Moik was completed and there it rests;" so wrote Mr. Warden, in his letter to the Board of Revenue, of 16th June 1813, and he continued . The several changes which afterwards took place brought with them such an accumulation of duty and trouble upon me, with diminished means of getting through them, being left almost entirely to native assistance, that the new assessment, with every thing connected with it, has for some time back been laid aside and the revenues of the province have been continued to be collected on the Commissioners Jama1 of 9/6 (1800-1)." The accounts thus prepared in 1806-10 are known in the districts as the Alavu Pymdish or the Hinduvi Pymdish from their being written in Mahratta : they are the most reliable of all the Pymaish accounts yet prepared, but in certain respects they are very defective.

1. The important proclamation published throughout the district at this time will be found in cxtenso in Appendix XV. It is dated 21st July 1805.

Matters remained in this state till 1817, when Sir Thomas Munro, then a member of the commission for revising establishments, paid a visit to Malabar, and, notwithstanding the shortness of his stay, wrote a most valuable report on the district (Revenue Selections, Vol. I, p. 838). He received many complaints regarding the assessments of garden and wet lands, not so much, however, directed against the general oppressiveness of the assessments, for these were at that time u in general very moderate," but against the continuance of assessments on lands which had been deteriorated or destroyed by natural causes, and on gardens which had also from natural causes gone to decay. The landholders being unable to pay such assessments, had had their holdings sold, and this practice of selling the land in satisfaction of arrears of revenue, formerly unknown in Malabar, had been viewed with a good deal of dissatisfaction. The balances of revenue thus realised were inconsiderable, but the number of individuals affected thereby was large.

ˆ The Board ˆ of 253. On the 22nd December 1817 the Board of December 1817) Revenue proposed to depute a Member of their Board proposed to depute £0 Malabar to carry out Sir Thomas Munro's sug-

one of their Mem- . , _ • J i -n i °

bers to Malabar, gestions, but the bovemment, on the 10th February

The accounts thus prepared are known as the A lavu or Hinduvi Pymaish.

The Proclamation of 21st July 1805.

1.

No further steps taken till Sir Thomas Munro visited the district in 1817.

His report.

1 This was not quite correct, see paragraph 271.

but the Government 'selected Mr. Graeme (10th February 1818).

1818, overruled this proposal and appointed Mr.

Graeme, one of the Judges of the Southern Court of Circuit-

Ca) to introduce the new system of Police and Magistracy ; and

His special com- . (6) to consider what improvements

mission. might be introduced into the revenue

administration of the district.

1. On the 14th January 1822 Mr. Graeme completed his work

Mr. Gneme sub. and submitted to Government his report, already men-mitted hi. report, tioned as having been considered by Sir Thomas 14th January 1822. Munro "on the whole the fullest and most compre-

rcga'rd TeT as'L," hensive report ever received of any province underthis ments. Government." His proposals in regard to assessments

were briefly as follows : —

per cent, of the actual rent (Verum-pdttatn) of wet lands.

The reasons for this departure from the letter of the proclamation of 1805.

Wet Lands (paragraphs 1244, 1245 of his Report).

(a.) To assess the revenue at 65 per cent, of the actual rent (Vcrum- (a.) To take 65 pattam, see paragraph 228), as ascertained from deeds and from the people themselves, instead of at 60 per cent, of the Vilachchal meni pattam (see paragraphs 226, 226a, 22 6b and 227), calculated on the plan proposed by Mr. Rickards and approved by Government in 1804 (see Appendix XY). The reason for departing from the letter of the proclamation issued, with Government sanction, by Mr. Warden in 1805 seems to have been that Mr. Graeme ascertained, as the result of his general inquiries, that the Rajas and others who had assented to Mr. Rickards' plan for distributing the produce had, by consenting to adopt the Vilachchal meni pattam as a standard, made it appear as if they were in the enjoyment of a considerably larger share of the produce than they were as matter of fact getting either at that time, or from that time up even tQ the time of Mr. Gneme's inquiry. (See " Vilachchal meni pattam " in the Glossary, Appendix XIII.) Mr. Graeme therefore proposed (and his proposal was approved by Sir Thomas Munro, paragraph 9 of Minute, 16th July 1822, Revenue Selections, Vol. Ill, page 548) to discard the Vilachchal meni pattam altogether and to take such a percentage of the actual rent (Verumpattam) as from his general inquiries he found would be equivalent to the share which Government had a right to expect in virtue of the proclamation of 1805, that is, equivalent to 60 per cent, of the Vilachchal meni pattam. Taking the share at 65 per cent, of the actual rent (Verumpattam), Mr. Gneme estimated there would still be a reduction in the actual revenue of Rs. 1,39,922 or about 13 per cent.

Garden Lands (paragraph 1258 of Report).

(5.) To take 60 (ft.) Mr. Rickards' plan of taking 50 per cent, of

per cent, of the patv ' ,, ,

fam of gardens. the pattam was adhered to.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

(c.) But in

{(.) But the pat - fam was to be differently calculated in the north and in the south.

money pattam custom was to

making his estimate of future revenue Mr. Graeme departed to the following extent from the precise rule laid down by Mr .Rickards. That is, as already alluded to in paragraph 228, he found the J anmis in North Malabar enjoying 80 per cent, of the produce in nuts from cocos and arecas and 80 per cent, of the from jacks, whereas in South Malabar the universal — take only 66f per cent, of the same. Mr. Rickards, who, owing to the state of tke rebellion in the north at that time, was 'dealing (with one solitary exception, the Chulali Nambiar) with South Malabar Janmis had naturally followed the South Malabar plan of distribution. Mr. Grseme proposed to follow the North Malabar . , plan of distribution in North Malabar, and the South a plan of his own Malabar plan (corresponding to that of Mr. Rickards}

for applying these in the south only.

prmup es. ^he details 0f hi8 p}an were then worked out

his plan. as follows : —

1. He found from the Janmi Pymaish accounts (paragraph 248) the total number of trees existing in 1805-6.

2. He deducted all trees said to have been at that time unproductive, or too young to bear fruit.

3. He next made a further deduction (at 20 per cent.) for trees

at that time productive, but which had since, it might be conjectured, gone out of bearing.

1. He then took into account the number (75 percent.) of the

young trees which had, since that time, it might be conjectured, come into bearing.

1. In this way he arrived at the number of actually productive trees.

1. And also at the number of unproductive trees.

2. From the number of unproductive trees he next deducted the number (20 per cent.) which he thought might possibly be cut down and removed when his rates per tree came to be applied to all productive trees.

3. And in this way he arrived at the number of unproductive trees which would have to be dealt with when the assessment came to be made.

4. He next added the number of unproductive trees thus arrived at (Clause

VIII) to the number of productive trees (Clause V), and found what would be the total number of full-grown trees standing at the time when the assessment came to be made.

He then went on with his estimate as follows : —

1. He applied the rates of gross produce in nuts per tree for cocos and arecas, ascertained from the Janmi Pymaish accounts of 1805-0 (paragraph 218), to the number of

productive trees (Clause V), and thus obtained the gross produce in nuts.

1. To this gross produce of «ocos and arecas he next applied his

locally ascertained prices of produce, and thus ascertained the money-value of the gross produce of those trees.

1. Next applying to the money-value of the gross produce the

principles mentioned in Clauses (b) and (c) above, he ascertained the customary pattam (rent) for cocos and arecas.

1. To ascertain the customary prftam rent for jacks (Clauses b

and c) he had only to apply the money pattam rates obtained from the Janmi Pymaish accounts of 1805-6 to the number of productive trees (Clause V).

1. He then found what the Government share [at 50 per cent, of

the customary pattam) (Clauses 3 and 4)] was on all the trees. And finally—

1. He divided the Government share of the customary pattam

(rent) thus arrived at (Clause 5) by the number of productive and unproductive trees which he expected to find standing at the time of assessment (Clause IX), and thus obtained certain xates per tree which he proposed to apply to all standing trees, except those that were too young to bear. These rates he further proposed not to alter for twelve years except under particular circumstances. The revenue estimated in this way, Mr. Graeme thought, would fall short by about 7 per cent, of the revenue then being collected.

Miscellaneous Lands (paragraphs 1273, 1274).

Modan. — Mr. Graeme recommended the continuance of the prevailing (*•) To take ˆ20 system in South Malabar of taking not more than 20

gvossˆproduce of Per cent, of the gross produce of Modan lands (para-Modan lands. graph 33) in the case of all new assessments, to be spread

over the period of years when the lands are alternately cultivated and lie fallow. Where gardens were cultivated with Modan crops, and where the garden assessment was less than the Modan assessment, the latter should, he thought, be paid till the gardens had sufficiently improved.

Punam and Ella. — Mr. Grmme made no specific recommendations regarding these.

10th July 1822 Sir Thomas Munro, then Governor, minuted in favour of Mr*. Graeme's proposals, the only exception taken to them being that it was a defective principle of taxation which required a man to cut down a tree which was bearing fruit (see Clause VII of last paragraph

under gardens), and he suggested that " some method toEXthetl˚princiCple might perhaps be found in practice of making such a which necessitated remission for old trees as would save them from being

tho cutting down of , , . , … , .

trees yielding fruit, prematurely out down without exposing the revenue to

any material loss."

) He made no proposals in regard to Ellu or Punam.

1. On the

Sir Thomas Slunro's opiuion on these proposals.

revenue assessments.

Mr. Graeme sent back to Malabar to carry out his own proposals.

The order in which they were to be taken up .

How far Mr. Graeme carried out this programme.

1. Mr. Grreme was accordingly cent back to Malabar to carry bia own proposals into practical effect. The order in which he was directed to take up the work wasfirst, to revise the revenue establishment ; second , to revise the garden assessment; thirdly, to revise the wet land assessments ; as that seemed to be the order in which

the subjects required attention.

1. He completed the first, he began the second, on the 20th May 1823 he left it and the third to be completed by the ordinary revenue establishment.

258 Mr Graeme began the revision of the garden assessments in the Calicut Taluk, but, as matter of' fact, he left the The garden ˆstrict before he had time to do more than fix the CaUcutˆlaluk. m total of the garden assessments on each village (Ho-

bali) in that one taluk. The individual distribution

of that total was left to the Collector, Mr. Vaughan.

1. Mr. Graeme, however, sketched out a plan of operations and Mr. Graeme's left instructions with Mr. Vaughan that that plan plan Of operations. wag to be followed > What that plan was will now be Details of his _

plan. described.

260(a.) He first of all obtained from the people themselves returns, of the actual number of trees in each of their gardens and of the produce of the same.

(b .) He next inspected some of the gardens and got the people to

correct their returns when that was necessary.

(c.) When he had satisfied himself of the correctness of the returns, he proceeded to calculate the resulting produce in gross, and took one-third as the share of Government, as recommended by Mr. Rickards and by himself for South Malabar. This one-third share he next commuted into money at certain fixed market rates for produce which he had ascertained by personal inquiry to be correct.

(d.) In this way he arrived at the total assessment to be imposed on

the village (Hfibali).

(e.) The next step in his plan of operations was to communicate to the people themselves the gross assessment thus fixed, and to allow them to distribute it rateably over all the trees in all the gardens of the village, which, for this purpose, were divided into Attu Veppu (river, or low-lying, damp, fruitful gardens), of which there were two classes, and Kara Veppu [gardens on

banks (Kara) and other high-lying localities, less productive], of which there were three classes.

(/.) His object in doing this was to obtain certain fixed rates per tree , to be applied to all trees in the village according to the class of garden (Attu Veppu or Kara Veppu) in which they stood.

(g .) The total village assessment might be increased if gardens had not been brought to account when preparing the estimate of total assessment [Clauses (a), (b), and (c)], and, on the other hand, if on

of having fixed rates per tree in each class of gardens in each village.

and Kara Veppu rates, therefore, differ everywhere, sometimes even in the same am?am (Hobali).

distributing the rates the assessment fell short of the total estimate, the deficiency was made good by distributing the surplus rateably on trees in gardens of the Attu Veppu, first and second, and on the Kara Veppu, first classes only, that is to say, the rates on trees in the best classes of gardens in the village were in such a case pro tanto raised.

1. The advantage of having fixed rates per tree in each class The advantage ˆ gardens for each village was that there was thus

avoided all necessity for calculating the gross produce of individual gardens. The rates had merely to be applied to the existing state of the facts as ascertained by inspection of the soil and situation of the garden, and nothing was left in this way in making individual assessments " to the difficult and uncertain judgment of the gross produce of each garden."

1. Obtained in the above method, the Attu Veppu and Kara Veppu The Attu Veppu rates per tree were necessarily not uniform throughout any wide area, and it was only natural it should be so, for coconut trees, for instance, in inland villages require more care, are more expensive to rear, and yield when full grown a smaller produce than trees

growing in low-lying localities near the coast ; and hence it came about that in every taluk Attu Veppu rates and Kara Veppu rates shaded off the one into the other and were not uniform anywhere, not even sometimes in the same village (Hobali), because a Hobali was composed of many Desams, and the rates within the Hobali seem to have been fixed by the people themselves Desamwar and not Hobaliwar. The distinction, therefore, between Attu Veppu gardens and Kara Veppu gardens was (and is) by no means apparent, and though the distinction is still maintained in the accounts, it is doubtful if

it is of much practical value, and, on the other hand, it has a tendency to mislead. Gardens fringing a river, even near its mouth, are frequently capable of being classed onlv as Kara Veppu, while other gardens at long distances from a river are justly classed as Attu Veppu.

1. It is unnecessary to follow in much detail the subsequent course Graeme's of events, because the general principles laid down by

Mr. Graeme were adhered to. In practice, however, some details of his scheme appear to have been altered. Effect was also given to Sir Thomas Munro's suggestion regarding the cutting down of trees, by exempting from assessment all trees that were really past-bearing.

1. Mr. Vaughan finished the garden survey and put the result in Mr. Vaughan operation in 1824-25, but it had been too hastily

finished the garden done, the classification of gardens was incorrect, and inTVeopearationlit in there was dissatisfaction with some of the executive 1824-25. arrangements. On the 15th November 1825, the

Government directed " no further collection to be made until a more

Mr.

principles are still in force.

All really unproductive trees were exempted.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

correct survey had been effected, and until the accounts hastily done aud had received the sanction of the Board ot Revenue great roiTati8fliC* and of Government." Meanwhile the dissatisfaction

had rapidly increased. On 28th February 1826, Mr. Sheffield took charge of the district, and in the following month ho pro-Mr. Sheffield reccedcd to Tellicherry and organized a survey of the five vised the assessment vipagC8 (amsams) of Kottayam Taluk, whose people

am?ams, 1826-30. had first raised the clamour. He next took up <21 villages (amsams) in Kadattanad, the whole of Kurumbranad, and then the 22 " dissenting amsams " in Calicut Taluk, 70 gardens in Puluvalinad,

1 amsam in Frnad, and 2 in Nedunganad, increasing or decreasing the assessments as he found it necessary. This completed the survey of those parts where the people had objected to Mr. Vaughan*s settlement, and the

results were put in operation in Kurumbranad in 1827-28, in Calicut in 1828-29, and in Kadattanad and Kottayam in 1829-30. It is probable that the assessments on the lands lying along the Mahe river

and on Dharmapattanam island were still too high, for the clamour did not altogether cease, and the revenue was, with difficulty, collected. The survey, however, had been far too hastily conducted and put in force even in places where no clamour was raised. From this time (1829-30) therefore onto 1840-41 the survey of the gardens was continuously in hand, and there resulted a small increase of revenue to the extent of Rs. 18,849 instead of the 7 per cent, deficiency which Mr. Graeme had originally anticipated. The actual number of gardens on which this small increase accrued was 279,896.

1. One part of Mr. Graeme's scheme had been to revise thq garden Mr. Grrome's proassessments every twelve years. In due course, therefore, the question of periodicity in revisions came up for decision, and in his Jajnabandi report of Fasli 1253 (1843-44) Mr. Conolly pointed out that no fixed periods for revision could be named, and that the chief object of periodical revision was to counterbalance any extensive remissions which partial bad seasons or private misfortunes might render indispensable." He further observed that the landholders " are aware also that, though we do not think it desirable to bind ourselves to a permanency of aggregate amount of tax, we do so to a permanency of the proportion of the Government demand to the produce;" and, he continued, as uncertainty regarding inspection would curb garden industry, he thought it best to let things go on as they were and to examine only such gardens as their holders were " forced by their necessity " to submit for inspection. A general revision was necessary, he thought, only when the just rights of Government, owing to remissions, required it. In The old Kurum1850-52, owing to general complaints of over-assess- »pe™d fui'Jso ill! nient of gardens, the whole of the old Kurumbranad

A general survey of the gardens was undertaken and was continuously in hand from 1829-30 till 1840-41.

The net result, increase of Rs. 18,849 on 279,896 gardens.

posal in regard to periodical inspections of gardens was not followed.

Mr. Conolly' s views on this point.

A fresh survey thought necessary by Mr. Conolly in 1854 was afterwards (1858) considered unnecessary.

No extensive surveys have since been made or called for.

The rule followed is that a person claiming remission on one garden must submit all his gardens for inspection.

Taluk was again surveyed, and a decrease in the assessment of only Rs. 366 was the result. In 1854 Mr. Conolly seemed to think that owing to considerable remissions in the three or four previous years a fresh survey was necessary, but Mr. Grant in 1858 pointed out that the losses referred to by Mr. Conolly had since, owing to favorable seasons, been resumed, and there was no longej > a necessity for the fresh survey 8Uggested, and an additional argument was that the regular scientific revenue survey seemed then on the point of being extended to the district. Since that time no extensive surveys have either been made or called for, and the rule has been that any one claiming remission of assessment on one of his gardens must submit the whole of them for inspection.

Wet Lands.

1. Mr. Graeme's scheme for the revision of the wet land assess-schˆ e f Gne — 68 ment8 did not progress so favorably. The result was the wet land assessgraphically summed up in Mr. (now Sir TVilliam) ments failed. Robinson's letter to the Board of Revenue of 5th

August 1857, paragraphs 16 to 19, which are here subjoined : —

" 16. Mr. Graeme's operations were very limited indeed. He left the district in 1823, directing the Principal Collector, Robinson's graphic ˆrVaughan, continue the survey of the province summary of the "hitherto carried on under his own control.' He had

himself, however, experienced ' that the account of the survey returns of gardens were so under-stated and suspicious as to require greatest caution in accepting them,' 1 and ' that the accounts The "plague spot" ˆce-land which had hitherto been rendered by the

in Mr. Graeme's proprietors seemed by no means entitled to credit.' scheme. Mr. (qraemp no£ fndioate how this plague spot in

his proposed scheme of survey was to be remedied.

"17. The correspondence noted in the margin kept the Board of

Revenue acquainted with the failure of this almost ridiculous attempt. 'The Desadhikaris are excessively backward in the survey of the rice-lands and pay

not the least attention to orders, demeaning themselves in such a way as evidently to prove their lukewarmness in the cause that he (the Principal Collector) had been unable to make the least impression on them (the

To Board, 22nd September 1823.

4th February 1824.

20th April ,,

3rd June ,,

3rd July ,,

16th July ,,

26th July ,,

3rd August ,,

1 2th October „

29th November ,,

19th December 24th January 6th March 14th April 9th June 24 th October

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From

To

From

- Vidt Mr. Commissioner Gr® rue's letter to Principal Collector, dated 20th May 1827.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Desadhikaris) ; that the accounts they give are ' grossly false beyond description ; ' and that they sedulously conceal the deeds, gi Jen6 inaCC °weJe ' making it next to impossible to ascertain the resources " grossly false be0f country.' In his letter, 3rd June, paragraph yond description. ^ Vaughan speaks of his ' utter despair of

being able to prepare any returns within reasonable time,' and of the ' hopelessness of the chance of getting any true deeds ' through the Desadhikaris.

"18. The ryots, too, naturally had recourse to every expedient to secure the easy defeat of the proposed settlement. Desadhikaris made large fortunes, the country ' teemed with fictitious deeds,' ' temporary deeds and agreements were executed to suit present purposes, and were prepared with a view of corresponding with a survey notoriously fallacious.' A number of returns and deeds was eventually obtained, ' but the great majority was of the most grossly fraudulent description. ' Special and singular legislative provisions were proposed, penalties and rewards to informants were suggested, forfeiture of concealed land was threatened, and assessment to the full amount of the rental in cases of fraud was actually authorized by the Board,1 but all in vain. In paragraph 5 of his letter, dated 12th October 1 824, to the Board, Mr. Vaughan boldly calls on the Board ' to reflect on the effects of these collusions on the morals of the people in giving rise to innumerable disputes and feuds, as well as suits beyond calculation in the Civil Courts adding ' that it is full time to adopt measures to check the pending evil.' A variety of futile endeavours to induce

the Desadhikaris and ryots to return faithful state-thJ°aatemptUrafter ments were made, but on the 9th June 1825, after two two years' struggle, years' struggle to carry out Mr. Graeme's Pymaish, Mr. Vaughan reported the ' total failure in the promises made by the inhabitants to revise and give in true and correct accounts.'

" 19. Such is the history of another period of five or six years The Utopian wa8fe(ˆ m futile exertion to get reliable revenue scheme died of its acoounts from parties most interested in concealing own corruption. the information, which was sought for through the corruptest, most suspicious and equally interested channels, viz., the Desadhikaris of Mr. Graeme's appointment. The Utopian scheme of Desadhikaris' Pymaish and Azmaish died of its own corruption, and infinitesimal authority is attached to the bundles of imperfect returns •which load our records under the name of ' Desadhikari Pymaish.'

Desadhikaris made large fortunes.

The country teemed with fictitious deeds, temporary deeds, and deeds executed to suit present purposes.

The returns obtained were grossly fraudulent.

Special and singular provisions proposed to check fraud.

Collusions, innumerable disputes, and feuds, and suits beyond calculation in the Civil Courts.

ft

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 14th April 1825.

The difficulties of Mr. Graeme's scheme

due to his having been prevented from making detailed inquiries into the condition of the Ryots.

1. It would at all times have been a difficult operation for intelligent and trained officers to distinguish between what was true and what was false in the deeds produced (unstamped and unregistered cadjan leaves) and in the statements made by the people, on which Mr. Graeme proposed to found his revised assessment ; but when this operation was made over for performance to the ignorant and interested heads of villages, failure was quite certain. If Mr. Graeme had been

permitted to pursue detailed inquiries into the relations between Janmis and

Ryots (see paragraph 228), it might be safely hazarded that so experienced an officer would never have committed himself to such a scheme.

1. It is unnecessary to follow up in detail the steps which were taken subsequently and which eventually led to nothing. It will be sufficient to say that the wet land survey was postponed till after the completion of the garden1 survey, as suggested by Sir Thomas Munro, and that meanwhile prices of produce had increased so much as to enable the collections to be made with a facility hitherto unknown. The necessity for a revision, therefore, did not force itself into notice.

2. Nevertheless an important change was made, in consequence of the want of accounts to show the particulars of the holding of each individual tax-payer. The want of such accounts began to be seriously felt in the year 1832-33. Holdings had been enlarged, had been diminished in size, had been thrown together, and had*been parcelled out afresh, and simultaneously the distribution of items of assessment had been tampered with, without any regard to the principles of the

_ assessment by which they were at first fixed. A

landholder with good and bad land in his occupation, and under some ordinary obligation to part with a piece of it to meet his necessities, naturally enough parted with the bad land first, and there being no control over him (owing to a want of any accounts to show what he was doing), he naturally enough also assigned with the bad land an obligation to pay as much of the revenue assessed on the good and bad land8 together as he oould get his assignee to accept. The principles o

the assessment thus became completely changed . the Good land was , land was in future assessed with less, and the bad

ST w‘lrm“e land with more, of the land revenue than they respeo-WeOUght tively ought to have home. In this fashion great

The wet land survey postponed till after the completion of the garden survey.

Prices of produce rose meanwhile, and the revenue coming in easily the necessity for a survey did not crop up again.

The revenue accounts had, however, fallen into oonfusion.

Holdings had changed in size, and the items of revenue had been distributed without any control being exercised.

inequalities in the assessment had arisen, and to remedy them a plan was instituted of preparing what has generally since been known as

The heads villages were again entrusted with the duty of preparing the accounts.

No measurements, nor accurate descriptions, nor classifications of soils were made.

the Pukil Vivo ram Accounts.

1. As if no experience had been gained of the value to be set upon accounts prepared by the interested heads of

of villages (see paragraph 266), the old mistake was again made, and these officials were again entrusted with the duty of preparing returns of the lands within their respective limits. No measurements, no accurate description, nor classification of soils were called for. In fact it was as Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson described it, in his letter to the Board of Revenue of 5th August 1857, a repetition of the Desadhikaris' Pymaish , with fewer guarantees for fidelity or accuracy, and it was more carelessly conducted and supervised. The Tahsildars were to check the accounts and send them to the Huzzur, but after repeated reminders, &c., the accounts came in driblets and without verification by Tahsildars. In 1843 a small quantity having been received, a small establishment was entertained, and about half of them were copied hastily into a form of Kulawar Chitta (individual account) ; but directly it was sought to verify or use them their worthlessness was seen and Mr. Conolly at once stopped further expenditure. Mr. (now Sir William) Robinson's opinion of these Pukil Vivaram Accounts was expressed in his letter to the Board above quoted ; he considered that they were not worth examining, as they recorded imperfectly certain particulars of the land as it existed in 1833—43.

271 . The upshot of the matter was thus described by Mr. Robinson : " I determined that the only escape from the confusion was to face the question determinedly and to bring back the deranged revenue demand on each parcel or garden to the only certain and common basis that our land revenue accounts of the district admit of the ancient Jamabandi " as embodied in the Alavu Pymaish accounts of 1806-10 (see paragraph 250). These accounts showed the assessment on the wet lands as it existed at the time named, and that assess-

In 1843, when an attempt was made to use the accounts prepared, their worthlessness became at once apparent.

The upshot was that Sir William Robinson determined to bring back the deranged revenue demand to the basis of the ancient Jamabandi

as embodied in the Alavu Pymaish of 1806-10.

ment was not, as described by Mr. Robinson (paragraph 22 of his letter), that of " Major Macleod's Jamabandi of 1802," nor yet even that mentioned in the quotation from Mr. Warden's letter

(given in paragraph 250), "the Commissioners' Jama of This Jama was 976 (1800-1)," but a Jama founded indeed for the most

founded, for the , , •,» , • ,.

most part, on the part, as may be gathered from the preceding narrative,

bˆhe Coir 'ssioˆ ˚D ˆat Commissioners 1800-1, but considers in 1800-1. erably modified in North Malabar by the steps taken

there after the receipt of the Janmi Pymaish Accounts

of 981 (1805-6) (see paragraphs 29, 32, 75, 76, 80, 82, 248). Moreover, it will be also seen from the above narrative that the reference by Mr* Robinson to the bringing back of the demand on gardens to the ancient Jamabandi was also incorrect. It was probably a slip of the pen, because it is certain that what followed on Mr. Robinson's proposals related to the wet lands exclusively (Board's Proceedings, dated 12th November 1863, No. 7212).

Sir William Robinson's proposals sanctioned, 11th January 1861, and carried out by Messrs. P. Grant and G. A. Ballard, so that the table at paragraph 231 still embodies approximately the actual facts of the bulk of the wet land assessments.

1. Mr. Robinson's proposals were in due course sanctioned (G.O., Revenue Department, dated 11th January 1861, No. 82), and carried out by his successors, Messrs. P. Grant and Ballard, so that the table (in so far as it relates to wet lands) given at paragraph 231, may be taken as still embodying, as approximately as circumstances will permit, the actual facts relating to the principles of the bulk of the wet land assessments in the low-country taluks named therein.

272a. There will be some exceptions to this rule in regard to such v r . fr**h lands as have been since 1822 brought under ruleXCeP 10n ° 18 cultivation, and assessed at 65 per cent, of the pattern Fresh land as- (rent) at local commutation rates. This was a plan cent, of the paˆtam. adopted by Mr. Clementson m 1833, and afterwards

MrˆClement8on's°f sanc[one <]- Where, however, the local rates were

excessive, he was at liberty to reduce them to the average market prices for ten years. Whether the Verumpattam or Mr. Rickards Vilachchal meni pattam was the standard is doubtful. The difference between these pattams was not well understood at that time. The matter will be found treated of fully in connection with the Cochin wet land assessments (paragraph 306).

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Modan. — Mr. Graeme's proposals (paragraph 254) in regard to Modan lands (paragraph 33), occurring as they do in the midst of other matter in his report, probably escaped attention ; at any rate they were only partially put into force. He proposed to take one-fifth of the gross produce, which seems to have been done. He said nothing about commutation rates for produce, so it cannot be gathered whether he meant to commute the one-fifth share at current market rates or not. So the actual practice, which was to take current market rates, may or may not have been part of his scheme. Finally he proposed to spread the demand then ascertained over the period of years in which the lands alternately lay fallow and were cultivated ; this was not followed.

Mr. Graeme's proposals in regard to Mo<}an re-assessment perhaps escaped attention.

One-fifth of gross produce was taken

at current market rates,

but the demand was not spread over the period of years when the land fallow.

lay

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Mr. Sheffield re274. It was Mr. Sheffield, the Principal Collector

vised the Modan r jn 1827-28 revised the Modan assessments. His

assessment, 1827-

1. plan was as follows : —

1. He first of all classified the lands into three qualities according to their productive powers, viz. :

First class, yielding an outturn multiple of from 6f£ to Detailsof his plan. 4££ the quantity of seed sown.

Second class, yielding an outturn multiple of from 4|f to 3££ the quantity of seed sown.

Third class, yielding an outturn multiple of from 3-££ to 2^9t the quantity of seed sown.

1. For each class of lands " a fair and moderate " quantity of seed was assumed as necessary for "100 square kolls"

of land.

1. The land was next measured and its "square contents

found."

(d) The square kolls X quantity of seed X outturn multiple

gross produce.

1. Government share = one-fifth or 20 per cent, of the gross

produce.

(f) The Government share was finally commuted into a money assessment at rates " fixed for each taluk with reference to the average local prices." Mr. Sheffield took a great deal of trouble and found, on attempting to apply the existing commutation rates (see paragraph 232) to the exact share of Government, that the cultivation would not stand it ; indeed there was an extensive abandonment of the cultivation in the Frnad Taluk directly he attempted

it ; so he was forced to commute at

tation °radtes0mwere current market rates. He described the found to be very previous commutation rates as being exorbitant. *< yery exorbitant and arbitrary," a fact

borne out by the table in paragraph 232.

1. For purposes of comparison with the rates in paragraph 232, it will be as well to insert here the following details as to current market rates both of Modan and Ellu in Messrs. Sheffield and Clementson's time, Faslis 1239-43 (1829-34).

Taluks.

Prices of Modan paddy

" per 1,000 seers.

»t

Present.

Former.

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6. Cavay ..

R8.

1.

1.

RS.

1.

1.

R8.

1.

1.

RS. A.

1.

R8.

1.

1.

Chipakkal . . |

20 11 10

1. Chirakkal

25 3

K < Htayam

1. Tellicherry

22 2

Kapimbranad. j

1. Cartenad
2. Coormenad

28 9 28 9

o

Calicut ..

1. Calicut

28 9

n

Ernad

1. Shemad

21 6

1. Ernad

19 0

Walluvanad . .

1. Walluvanad .. 10. Nedunganad . .

6 10 6 10

17 13 16 13

Palghat

1. Palghat

17 13

1. Temalapuram . .

16 12 11

(

1. Betatnad

21 1

Ponnarn . . <

1. Kootnad

19 0

(

1. Chowghat

19 0

Taluks.

Prices of Ellu

“ per 1,000 seers

Present.

Former.

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

Fasli

1.
2.
3.
4.

KS.

1.

1.

R8.

1.

1.

RS.

1.

1.

R8. A.

1.

RS.

1.

1.

Chiyakkal

{

1. Cavay ..

61 0

1. Chipakkal

82 2

‘3

Kdttayam

1. Tellicherry

100 0

Kurumbpanad.

(

1. Cartenad

100 0

i

1. Coormenad

76 0

Calicut . .

1. Calicut

96 6

Ernad

1. Shernad

79 9

1. Ernad ..

126 0

Wajluvanad . .

f

1. Walluvanad

92 13

1. Nedunganad ..

82 13

Palghat

f

1 1 . Palghat

53 9

i

1. Temalapuram ..

71 6

1. Betatnad

89 4

Ponnani . . {

1. Kootnad

96 6

(

1. Chowghat

92 13

N.B. — What seer was used is not certain, but it was probably the Macleod seer used in the table in paragraph 232.

1. The system thus instituted continued in force up to 1861, when it was abolished (G.O., Revenue Department, dated 1st

Mr. Sheffield's system abolished, 1st November 1861.

Mr. Grant, the Collector, at the time was unaware of the data on which the rates then in force were fixed.

The custom of fixing the commutation rates annually had perhaps ceased.

November 1861, No. 2086). Mr. Grant, the Collector, at this time stated (paragraph 18 of his letter in Board's Proceedings, dated 14th September 1861, No. 5005) that the data on which the assessment rates then in force were fixed were not known, but it will be seen, on reference to column 5 of the table given in paragraph 17 of that letter, that Mr. Sheffield s plan of taking one-fifth of the gross produce was still in force. The commutation rates were not perhaps

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

The new plan in 1861 fixed annually with reference to market prices,

peTacrˆ on 1 the* area a8 had been the case down to 1845 at least. The Gov-cuUivated annuernment fixed one uniform rate of assessment per

acre on the area cultivated annually, viz., 12 annas. Calculating on the figures given by Mr. Grant in paragraph 17 of his letter above quoted, the commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers in each of the modem taluks were in 1861 as follows: —

1 . Chirakkal . . .

1. K5ttayam …
2. Kurumbranad
3. Calicut
4. Ernad
5. Walluvanad
6. Palghat

7. Ponnani

Per 1,000 Macleod seers.

j 21 14 5 22 2 9

24 7 3

25 14 3

24 12 8 20 8 8 15 10 9 19 14 8 12 4 3 14 2 2 14 3 6 14 10 0

(14 12.5] 15 3 10 V-20 13 4

Taking the average of the Government share of produce in all taluks

Assuming the as Per MrGrant'8 figures, and applying to it the money rate of assessment fixed by Government in 1861, it appears that the existing assessment represents the very moderate commutation rate of Its. 17-11-11 per 1,000 Macleod seers, assuming, of course, as in paragraph 232, that the Government share is one-fifth of the gross produce.

1. Ellu. — Mr. Graeme made no specific recom-

Govemment share as one-Jifth of the gross produce, the present rate per acre represents a commutation rate of Rs. 17-11-11 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

Mr. Groeme made

jjir. unsme maae - . . - — 'vwiu-

no specific proposals mendations in regard to lands cultivated with this cron

ree-ardinc' Kl/u i m ˆ . …. P*

regarding Ellu

but Mr. Sheffield assessed this kind of cultivation on precisely the same plan as he had applied to Mddan.

Continued force till 1861,

and 9 anna* per acre substituted.

but Mr. Sheffield extended to it precisely the same system as that introduced for Modan and described above (paragraph 274). His plan (likewise as in the case of Modan lands) continued in force till 1861, when by the same

Government order an acreage assessment was substituted, viz., nine annas on the breadth of land annually sown with Ellu. What was done at this time will be clearly seen by reference to the following

figures. The commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers, as per Mr. Grant's figures, were in 1861 —

in

Per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1.

Chirakkal .

(62

. (73

• 3

1.

Kottayam .

… … … 78

1.

Kurumbranad

(75

. (60

1.

Calicut . *

••• … … 76

1.

Ernad .

j 52

. (51

1.

Walluvanad

’ f 52

. (49

1.

Palghat .

j 55

• • • ■ « • . . . i . _

! 48

Ponnani .

r74

1.

••• ••• … ˆ 57

v50

Assuming the Government share of produce at one-fifth of the gross , the rate per acre now in force represents a commutation rate of Rs. 63-15-8 per 1 ,000 Macleod seers.

This rate would have been too severe in 1829-34.

Assuming, as in paragraph 232, that the Government share is one-fifth of the gross produce, and calculating on the average of Mr. Grant’s figures and on the money rate of assessment fixed by Government iu 1861, the commutation rate now is very moderate, viz., Rs. 63-15-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

A .B. This rate would not, however, have been a moderate rate in some Taluks in 1829-34 (see paragraph 275).

1. Punam.

Mr. Graeme made no proposals regarding Funam.

There is no record of any revision of assessment from 1805-6 till 1861,

when money rates per acre, varying from 8 annas to 12 annas, were imposed.

Mr. Grteme made no specifio proposals regarding this crop (see paragraph 34), and probably owing to the remoteness of the localities where it is chiefly cultivated, Messrs. Sheffield and Clementson also seem to have overlooked it. There is no record, so far as ascertained, of any revision of the principles of the assessment from 1805-6 down to 1861, when the Government order quoted in paragraph 276 fixed an acreage assessment on the breadth annually cultivated of —

10 annas per acre in old Kavayi Taluk (part of Chirakkal).

10 do. in Kottayam Taluk.

12 do. in the old Kadattanad Taluk (northern part

of Kurumbranad).

8 do. elsewhere.

Adopting for the purposes of comparison the gross produce outturns in the several taluks as given in the table at paragraph 7 of Mr. Grant's letter on which the Government order was passed, the acreage rates on the original principles of the assessment would have been respectively —

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Rupees 3 odd per acre in the old Kavayi Taluk,

Do. 3 do. in the Kottayam Taluk,

Do. 4 do. in the old Katjattanad Taluk,

Do. 1 or 12 annas odd per acre elsewhere,

as per the figures in the table at paragraph 232.

It may, therefore, be gathered from the figures given in the table The original at paragraph 7 of Mr. Grant's letter, that all attempt to work on the original principles of the assessment had been long ago abandoned — indeed it was inevitable (see the remarks in paragraph 237) — and that the assessments had fallen into the greatest confusion. There is no principle discoverable in Mr. Grant's figures. The assessment seems to have in course of time approximated to about 10 per cent, of the gross produce at from about Rs. 16

to Rs. 24 per 1,000 Macleod seers, which figures at the standard rate (adopted in paragraph 232) of 20 per cent, of the gross produce, give the very moderate commutation rates of about Rs. 8 to 12 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

Other Miscellaneous Lands.

Other miscella279. In 1870 a proposal mooted by Mr. Ballard

ghat8 TalPukin were was ˆnaXly sanctioned (Revenue Board's Proceedings, assesse d at 1 2 annas dated 24th February 1870, No. 1289), of assessing the per acre m 1870. following crops in the Palghat Taluk, viz. : _

principles of assessment had long* ago been abandoned,

and the assessments were in 1861 in the greatest confusion.

Assuming the Government share at one-fifth of gross produce the present money rates per acre represent commutation rates of Rs. 8 to 12 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1. Cholam,

2Raggy,

1. Chama,
2. Kambu,
3. Horse-gram,
4. Pulses,
5. Tobacco,
6. Thomara,
7. Amarakay,
8. Castor-oil seed,

at the rate of 12 annas per acre on the annual breadth of land cultivated.

a similar proA fllrther Proposal by the Revenue Board to extend posal for other a similar assessment to other crops, such as pepper

aWndonciher0"'S 6iuKcr> &c-> and <-0 other parts of the district was

finally abandoned (Revenue Board's Proceedings dated 16th September 1873, No. 1846).

1. Six Annas per Acre Hate.— But in 1861 it was also thought The 6 annas per politic to hold out inducements to people to take up

nwus˚nianTsSCOimSUch miscelIaneous lands permanently so as to save posed in 1861. fhe annual inspections and measurements by the

16,000 acres thus R˚venue subordinates, which are liable to so much held at present. abuse. Accordingly a rate of only 6 aDnas per acre was sanctioned in the Government order already referred to (No. 2086, dated 1st November 1861), and some 16,000 acres arc now held on that assessment throughout the district.

Various money rates per acre were assessed on Pajli-yal, &c., lands in 18#2.

280a. Various Money Rates per Acre on Palliydl, §'cOn 2nd September 1862 Mr. Ballard issued orders to assess permanently on the acreage certain classes of land known locally as —

1. Pulliydl.- .Rice-lands intermediate between the ordinary low-lying paddy-flats and the high-lying Modan lands.

ˆ2) Vila nokki chartunna vaka. — Lands somewhat similar to PaUi-yftl and inspected annually for assessment. The Palliyal lands had hithert'o been assessed like Modan lands at one-fifth of the gross produce ; the Vila nokki chartunna vaka had hitherto been assessed like fresh paddy-lands. These principles were apparently adhered to in fixing the rates per acre, the average of four or five years being struck.

Sub-Section VI. — The Exceptional Nads, viz. (1) Cannanore and Laccadives, (2) Wynad, (3) Cochin, (4) Tangacherry

AND ANJENGO.

The exceptional 281. It only remains to consider the exceptional cases of : —

Nad XXIX. — Cannanore and the Laccadive Islands.

Nad XXX.— Wynad.

Nad XXXI. — The Dutch Settlement at Cochin.

Nad XXXII. — The Dutch and English Settlements at Tangacherry and Anjengo.

NAD XXIX. -CANNANORE AND THE LACCADIVE ISLANDS.

28 1 a. Little need be said regarding these territories, because any Considered unmeasures to be introduced for regulating the relations necessnry to say between Janmis and Ryots in Malabar would not, it wd the Laccadive is presumed, be extended to them. The Ali Rajas Islands- (Sea Rulers) hold only a small portion of territory on

the mainland, comprising 31 Desams in and about the town and cantonment of Cannanore in the modern Taluk of Chirakkal. They pay for their mainland territory a lump assessment of Rs. 3,801.

The Laccadive Islands now subject to the family are —

1. Kalpeni,
2. Minicoy,
3. Agatti,
4. Kavaratti,
5. Androth,

with several other uninhabited small islands attached. These islands are among the " Scheduled Districts " (Act No XV of 1874). The original assessment on them and their trade was Rs. 11,200, but that sum has since been reduced by Rs. 5,250 owing to some misunderstanding at the time of the Kirar of 1796 regarding some other territory on the mainland, which the Blbi thought she was to be allowed to retain, but which was eventually restored to its rightful suzerain, the Kolattiri Raja.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

1. The islands numbered I to 4 yielded annually during the ten years 1865-66 to 1874-75, during which period the islanders had broken loose from the Raja's control and exported their produce without any restriction, the following quantity of coconut produce, of which coir yarn alone is monopolised : —

Coir yarn, 6,335 cwts.

Value.

RS.

62,631

Coconuts, 1,534,121

23,011

Copra, 1,783 cwts.

• • • • t «

16,200

Jaggery, 5,930 cwts.

27,423

Vendiah, a sweet-meat,

2,693 bundles and

13 cwts .

• t <

• • • • • #

1,334

Total … 1,30,599

And besides the above the same four islands yielded annually on the average of the ten years named the following quantities of the monopolised products, viz. : —

Value.

Fs.

• • • ••• 859

• •• • •• … 192

Cowries, 71 cwts. … Tortoise shell, 34 lb.

Total … 1,061

These four islands, therefore, yield monopoly produce which may be valued

— but prices vary greatly— at Rs. 63,682.

281c. The Island of Minicoy is administered on a different system. Ihere is no monopoly of the coir yarn, cowries, and tortoise shell produce as in the four northern islands. The following is an estimate ot the revenue derived from this island : —

Coconuts (from Panddram land) 550,000 number.

Coir Yarn (Poll Tax) 22 candies.

Sugar (Poll Tax) 900 adubahs (worth about Rs. 225 in Malabar).

Rice (Tax on large vessels trading with Bengal), 20 candies Maas fish (Tax on fishing boats), 350 fish.

Cowries — 5 candies.

Maas fish (Hire of the Panddram boat at 14 per cent, of the catch) 300 fish.

Money rents — Rs. 900.

This revenue, valued in Malabar at ordinary prices prevailing there averages about Rs. 7,000 per annum gross.

28 Id. The net revenue, after defraying all charges of collection Canuanoreˆ3* 9,75°’”’11 0U the five islund8 and on the territory at

NAD XXX.— WYNAD.

1. In paragraph 78 will be found as much of the political history of Wynad as it seems necessary here to refer to. Political history. “Wynad consisted originally of the following modern

Limits. amsams in the modem Taluk of Wynad and in the

Nilgiri Commission : —

1. Peria.
2. Edavaka.
3. Nallumad.
4. Elluraad.
5. Kuppatod.

Wynad Taluk .

1. Putati.
2. Kurumbala.
3. Porunnanur.
4. Tondamad.
5. Vaitri.
6. Etannatassakur.
7. Muppainad.
8. Ganapativattam.

Nilgiri Commission.

1. Cherangod.
2. Munnanad.
3. Nambolakolta.

Wet Lands.

1. The constant disturbances which agitated this Nad prevented No settlememt any fixed settlement being made till after the death of

till after the Pychy the Palassi or Pychy Raja, which event took place, Noiemberai8053. as already related, on 30th November 1805.

1. Mr. Baber, the Sub-Collector, on 1st March 1806 reported to

Mr. Baber, SubCollector, on 1st March 1806 reported that the pftttam was equal to double the quantity of seed sown.

Mr. Warden, the Principal Collector, eventually sanctioned the following scheme.

Details.

the Principal Collector, Mr. Warden, that in consequence of the devastating wars which had prevailed, the pattam (rent) was at the rate of double the quantity of seed sown, or on an average not more than one-fifth of the net

produce, and that, to make such a pattam the basis of the revenue demand, as in the districts below the ghats, would be too low a standard. 285. Mr. Warden eventually decided to adopt the

following scheme of assessment :

(a) Ascertain the number of Potis (30 seers) of

seed sown on each holding.

(б) Adopt as the fixed outturn multiples of the

seed sown in the lands in the following amsams the

following figures

Wynad Taluk.

Outturn

Multiple.

1.

Peria

*•’ l 13

…)

l

1.

Edavaka

1.

Nallurnad ..

1.

Ellurnad …

…)

Outturn

Multiple.

1. Kuppatod …

:::| 15

1. Putati
2. Kurumbala

:::l 13

1. Porunnanur
2. Tondarnad…
3. Yaitri .

:::) 13

1 1 . Etannatassakur . . .

1. Muppainad

:::! 9

1. Ganapativat-tam …

Nilgiri Commission.

Outturn

Multiple.

1. Cherangod …
2. Munnanad .
3. Nambolakotta .

%

1. The number of Potis (30 seers) of seed x the respective outturn multiples = gross produce of the holding.

2. Deduct from the gross produce, for expenses of cultivation, three Potis (90 seers) for each Poti (30 seers) of seed sown.

(e) Divide the balance thus left over of the gross produce in equal shares between —

1. The Government,

2. The Janmi and

3. The Ryot.

(/) Commute the Government share of the net produce into money at rates varying according to local circumstances.

1. Mr. Warden, however, left it to Mr. Baber's discretion to vary these rates in cases in which from local circumstances he thought that course necessary, and this discretion was apparently extensively utilized. Moreover, in recording these variations a peculiar device had to be resorted to, to preserve in the accounts the principles of the original assessment. For example, a land requiring 1£ or 2 Potis (45 to 60 seers) to sow it, might be so subject to the devastations of wild beasts, &c., that it could not bear the local rate of assessment. In such a case, instead of showing in the accounts the actual quantity of seed required, a 'smaller quantity [say, 1 Poti (30 seers)] would be entered in the accounts, and the other calculations would be made as if that were the actual quantity of seed required for that land. Similar devices, it will be seen on reference to paragraphs 134 and 175, were favourite ones likewise with the Mysorean officials.

A good deal was left to Mr. Baber's discretion,

and he used a peculiar device for preserving the principles of the assessment in exceptional cases.

1. As soon as Mr. Warden's scheme began to be worked, it was Mr. Warden's probably discovered that a much simpler plan would plan resolved itself effect the same end, and this was to assess certain Msessed °directlya money-rates directly on the Potis (30 seers) of seed

the Poti of seed. sown on each land, instead of on the gross produce less deductions as in Mr. Warden's plan. The explanation of this is very simple.

In Mr. Warden's scheme the outturn multiple and the share of Explanation of Government are uniform within local areas. It may the above. also be

assumed that the rates for commuting produce

into money would also be once for all fixed by Mr. Baber for local areas, as he had no instructions to alter these rates annually to suit the market prices. Directly therefore the scheme began to he worked, it would be seen that it saved a lot of work and bother, if, instead of applying the uniform money commutation rate to the uniform Government share of the uniform net produce, the uniform resulting money -rate were applied at once and directly to the quantity of seed required to sow each holding, and this device would he followed within the local areas in which

these uniform conditions held good. For example, take Example. a land sowing 5 Potis of grain in the Ganapativattam ameam —

Outturn Gross Multiple. Produce.

9 =

Expenses of Cultivation.

Net

Produce.

Government

Share.

Potis.

iu. uibipie. xi

5x9 = 45 — (5x3=) 15 = 30 -r 3= 10 Potis.

At Rs. 1-2-9$ per Poti = Rs. 11-11-11.

But 5 Potis (the seed) at Rs. 2-5-7 = Rs. 11-11-11.

Therefore, by applying directly a rate of Rs. 2-5-7 to the number of Potis of seed sown, all the intermediate calculations would be saved. The advantages of this-plan, where the quantity of land sown annually had annually to be ascertained, and the revenue assessment annually calculated thereon, are sufficiently manifest.

1. Mr. Greeme decided not to interfere with the wet land assessments in Wynad, and instructed Mr. Vaughan, the Principal Collector, to adhere to

the plan of " Annual Settlements " (paragraph 27 of his letter to Mr. Vaughan, dated 20 th May 1823). And the Government, on a later occasion (G.O., Revenue Department, No. 662, dated 26th March 1862) came to a similar decision.

2. It will he seen on reference to the subjoined table that the money rates per Poti of seed sown have shifted someTemonetes what since 1822. The figures are taken from Mr.

ve shifted someGrrame's report and from a statement recently prepared in the Collector's office : —

The advantages of this plan when the land revenue had annually to be assessed.

Mr. Gr®me did not interfere with Wynftd and instructed Mr. Vaughan to follow the plan of annual settlements, 20th May 1823.

Similar determination of Government, 26th March 1862.

what since 1822.

REVENUE ASSESSMENT*.

Am 9am.

Rates per Poti (30 Seers) of Assessed 1 Seed Niguti Vittu.

1.
2.

Wynad Taluk.

RS.

1.

1.

RS.

A P.

1.

Peria

0 0

. 2.

Edavaka

0 0

1.

Nallurn&d

2 0

1.

Ellurnftd . . . .

2 0

1.

Kuppatod

5 7

1.

Putati

5 7

1.

Kurumb&la

2 0

1.

PorunnanGr

0 0

1.

Tondam&d

0 0

1.

Vaitri . .

2 0

1.

Etanatassakur . .

2 0

1.

M uppain&d

12 10

1.

Ganapativattam

Nilgiri Commission, v

6 7

1.

CherangOd

4 10

1.

Munnan&d

1.

4 10

1.

NambOlakOtta • •

4 0

N.B. — Fractions of a pie have been omitted in converting these rates into modem currency.

1. It will be seen from the above that it is difficult to compare The Warden patthe Wynad wet land assessments with those of the tam • low country, for here there is a fourth kind of pattam

(rent) to be dealt with. Being different from the three others it may Compared with appropriately be called, after its author, the Warden the Vilachchal rneni pattam. It approximates most to the Vilachchal mini patfampattam of Mr. Rickards (paragraphs 226, 226a, 226b

and 227). For example : —

Seed = 5 Potis ; Outturn multiple = 15, the rate in KuppatSd and Putati amsams.

Distribution as per Vilachchal meni pattam.

Distribution as per Warden pdf f am.

Outturn Gross

Multiple. Produce.

5 X 15 = 75

Deduct —

Seed . 5

Valli . 5

— 10

Balance . . 65

One-third to Ryot as profit . . . . 21$

Remainder . . 43$ Government share at 60 per cent. 26 Janmis share at 40 per cent .. 17$

- 43$

Seed. Outturn Gross

Multiple. Produce.

6 X 15 = 75

Deduct for Expenses —

6X3 = 15

— 15

Balance . . 60

One-third to Ryot 20

One-third to Government . . 20

One-third to Janmi 20

— 60

’ The Phra9e “assessed seed” is correct, for the “ assessed seed” was not always the actual quantity of seed sown (see paragraph 286, also paragraph 129).

It may also be noted in passing that the deduction for expenses in the Warden pattam, is the customary rate which is still prevalent in several of the heavy rich land amsams in the Ernad Taluk.

1. Bearing in mind the peculiarities of the Warden pattam, which o{ gives to the Government half or 50 per cent, of the share commutation’1 rates, of produce available as pattam (rent), and adopting assuming p60 ˆper jˆest p0ti rates as shown in paragraph 289, it is the share of Governpossible to compare the assessments with those in the Taentlow-country taluks by adopting the same standard

percentage of pattam (rent), viz., 60 per cent., and by converting the commutation rates per Poti 1 into commutation rates per 1,000 Macleod seers, the standard adopted for the low-country. On these data the prevailing commutation rates at 60 per cent, of the pattam (rent) in the various amsams come out as follows : —

Wynad Taluk.

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers. RS. A. P.

1. Peria …
2. Edavaka

3. Nallumad
4. Ellumad
5. Kuppatod
6. Putati
7. Kurumbala
8. Porunnanur . .
9. Tondamad
10. Vaitri …
11. Etannatassakur
12. Muppainad
13. Ganapativattam

“• } 24 1 2

— | 31 15 6

•” | 23 8 11

25 9 3

•*’ | 24 1 2

•• [25 9 3

36 2 5

47 1 8

24 0 6

18 12 11

Nihjiri Commission.

1. Cherangod . I
2. Munnanad … ••• ••• • • *

3. Nambolakotta .

B —Fractions of a pie are omitted, and the Nilgm Commission

amsam rates are emulated on the basis of the Poti rates prevalent

in 1822. , ,

The market prices prevalent in Wynad since 1860 during the harvest ™ 'months average Rs. 69-6-4 per 1,000 Macleod seers, tation rates are well g0 ˆhat the commutation rates on which the SS& rricesreCOnt ments were fixed are everywhere well within the prices Other chMines the cultivators have of late been obtaining or cultivators tC < 1 ˆ produce. Other changes, however, have affected the

1 The Wynad seer is to the Macleod seer as 90 is to 130.

cultivators,- some beneficially, others the reverse. The good cart-roads must have very materially tended to equalise prices throughout the Nad, and the food required for the large bodies of coolies employed on coffee-estates must also have tended in the same direction ; while,

on the other hand, the greater cost of labor and the breaking down of the system of serfdom have tended to increase the original cost of the produce. The comparatively high rate in G-anapativattam was due to the demand there was for grain in 1806 to feed the large body of regular and irregular troops stationed in that amsam at that time. It must have been a prohibitive rate after those troops were withdrawn and before the country was opened up by good roads, as indeed the large extent of waste paddy-fields in that neighbourhood still amply testifies. On the other hand, the low-rate in Nambolakotta must have held out strong inducements to extend wet cultivation there, as soon as a market for it could be found. Wynad, however, is an exceptional Taluk, chiefly owing to its unhealthiness, and the breaking up of the system of serfdom since the assessments were fixed must have had a much greater influence on agriculture in Wynad than it had elsewhere, because in Wynad there was but a limited class to take the places of the slaves who chose to leave their ancient masters and work for hire on the European coffee-estates.

The Ganapati-vattam rate most have been prohibitive for some time after the troops, regular and irregular, stationed there were withdrawn.

The NambGla-kfltta rate, on the other hand, must have encouraged

cultivation there as soon as a market was found.

Garden Lands .

Coco, areca, and 292. Coco, areca, and jack gardens are unassessed

jack unassessed. Wynad.

1. In 1860 coffee had become such an important industry in

Coffee.

Its. 2 per acre imposed from the third year, 16 th May 1860.

This rate bore no proportion to gross or net produce.

Crop capricious, return uncertain.

The rate is hardly felt on a good estate, but in many, perhaps the majority, it is ouly so much added to the losses.

falls heavily on

Wynad that Sir Charles Trevelyan proposed to assess coffee gardens at a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per acre, from the third 1 year after planting (GKO., Revenue Department, dated 16th May 1860, No. 788). This assessment was arbitrarily fixed without reference to either the gross or the net produce. The crop is so capricious and the return is so uncertain that an arbitrary rate had to be fixed. The rate is hardly felt on a good estate in a good year, but Mr. Macgregor pithily summed up (Board's Proceedings, dated 16th September 1873, No. 1846) the other side of the question thus : " The existing tax of Rs. 2 an acre on coffee many estates that have been fairly successful, while

1 A practice having sprung up of granting three years' remission at starting, the Government ordered it to be discontinued. Tea and cinchona lands are to be similarly treated. _

G.O., K. I)., 1118, of 2nd October 1885.

in a large number of instances, perhaps in the majority, it is so much added to the losses."

1. A few months later (GKO., 18th September 1860, No. 1634)

8 annas per acre more assessed on Government lands as JammabhOgam,

18th September 1860.

an extra cess of 8 annas per acre was imposed on Government land only as Jammabhogam from date of occupation " for any purpose." This rate is leviable on the entire holding under puttah, whereas the assessment is payable on the area actually cultivated only.

Rates per acre under Waste Land Sale Rules Rs. 2 for forest and Re. 1 for grass, afterwards reduced to 8 annas, 23rd December 1862.

Cess remitted for an extra year, or three in all, from date of planting, 22nd September 1871.

1. The rules for the sale of Government waste lands were sanctioned in 1863 (G.O., dated 23rd December 1862, No. 2677), and Rs. 2 per acre for forest and Re. 1 1 per acre for grass-land, were the rates of assessment reserved at the sales. The lands were not necessarily, but as matter of fact they were without exception, taken up for coffee cultivation.

2. In 1871 the coffee-cess was remitted for an extra year, making three in all from the date of planting (G.O., dated 22nd September 1871, No. 1656). 2

Miscellaneous Lands.

1. Dry grain lands were unassessed till 1862, when the Board of Revenue first recommended and Government approved (G.O., dated 26th March 1862, No. 660) an assessment of Rs. 2 per acre, the same as for coffee, but on Mr. Ballard giving certain explanations, the Government and the Secretary of State finally sanctioned a rate of Rs. 1-4-0 per acre on cultivation annually inspected, and 10 annas per acre if the land were taken up and permanently assessed. These rates were applicable to private lands only (G.Os., Revenue Department, 11th August 1863, No. 1483, and 15th December 1863, Na 2292). They were the Wynad equivalents wyn&d6 equivalents of the 12 annas per acre and 6 annas per acre assess-of the 12 annas per ments jn the low-country taluks already referred to in

per acre cesses in paragraphs 278, 279, 280. The reason why they were the low-country. mftde gQ muojl more heavy is that Government had

The reason why ˆady decided (see paragraph 295) to sell Govem-hheavierre " ment wastes subject to a cess of one rupee per acre for

Neither the net grass-lands, and it was thought that Government lauds

produce nor the ,, b unfairly weighted if private lands were

aidered. assessed at lower rates than those mentioned. N either

Unassessed till

1862, when Rs. .2 per acre was first imposed.

Afterwards altered to Rs. 1-4-0 per acre on lands annually inspected and to 10 annas per acre if land taken up permanently, 11th August 1863, 16 th December

1.

These are the

■ This rate on grassland taken up under the Waste Land Rules was reduced to 8 anna.

per >■“<>’”ith

ClwW,” ■ Rs. 2 per acre.-Bo.ard of Revenue, No. 2001, 11th August 1832.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

the net produce nor the gross was therefore considered when fixing those rates, and in this respeot it will be seen they are to some extent on the «*ine footing as their equivalents in the low-country taluks.

NAD XXXI.— DUTCH SETTLEMENT AT COCHIN.

Historical.

1. On the 20th Ootober 1795 the Dutch Settlement at Cochin was delivered up to Major Petrie, in command of a detachment of British troops. The settlement remained

under the British flag till by the Convention of Paris in 1814 it was finally oeded to Great Britain.

1. The settlement consisted of the town and fort of Cochin and of tho following gardens or pattams outside those limits : —

Limits.

1. Tumboli pattam.

2. Kattur pattam.

3. Attalakad pattam.

4. Manakddat pattam.

5. Antony Fernandez pattam.

6. Tekkepurupunkara pattam.

7. Mundenvelli pattam.

8. Domingo Fernandez palakal

pattam.

1. Santiago pattam.

2. Taiveppu pattam.

3. Belicho Rodrigues pattam.

4. Saint Louis pattam.

5. Duart Lemos pattam.

6. Hendrick Silva pattam.

7. Ramanturutti pattam.

8. Sondikalguvankure Silva

pattam.

1. Palliport Hospital paramba.

No.

lies

miles

south of Cochin

do.

do.

do.

do.

do

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

do.

south-east

do.

do.

do.

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do.

do.

north-east

do.

do.

do.

south

do.

do.

do.

north

do.v

Nos. 5 and 6 are together known as Kallancheri.

. . 300. The proprietary right in the soil of the

in settlement was vested in the Government, but the

Government. Dutch and Christian residents were exempt from

ground-rent taxation.

Land held on leases of 20 years.

This system continued after the territory passed into British hands.

Leases put up to auction.

1. The land beyond the fort was held on leases running for periods of twenty years, “ on the expiry of which the land with all improvements reverted absolutely to the Government, no tenant right or compensation

being admitted.' 1

2. " This system was continued after the territory passed into the possession, of the British Government, but with the disadvantageous change of selling the leases as

they fell in by auction."

1. " Mr. Conolly saw the objectionable character of the system and applied a remedy in 1847 when a number of the leases expired. He had these estates surveyed and assessed in conformity with the usage of the district according to their condition, and made over to the actual resident ryots (who as sub-tenants of the former renters enjoyed a moiety of their produce, but lost their improvements and rights with each renewal of the lease) to the former renters or to strangers, according

as circumstances rendered it expedient. The assessment is subject to revision every twenty years, but as the agreements contain no resumption conditions, the tenure is virtually 1 permanent, the holder having the option of retaining the land at its revised assessment in preference to others if so inclined. The same system has since continued, and three estates only remain unsettled iu this manner."

Board's Proceed304. The above extracts are from Revenue Board's K?22? 9July 1858 > Proceedings, dated 1st July 1858, No. 2279.

Mr. Conolly revised the arrangements in 1847 and settled the pa Haros with the Ryots in accordance with the district usage.

A ssessment liable to revision every twenty years.

Wet Lands.

1. The principles on which the wet land as- .etUomlnt of wet sessmeuts have been framed as related above are as lands. follows

1. The number of seers required to sow 100 Perukkams in each

holding is first ascertained. A " perukkam " is 6 feet X 6 feet, so 1,210 Perukkams go to an acre. The number of seers so required ranges from 4 to i $, 5 and 6.

1. The outturn multiple of the holding is simultaneously fixed.

The outturn multiples range from three to eighteen times

the seed.

1. Then extent in hundreds of Perukkams X seed X outturn

multiple = gross produce of the holding.

1. Deduct the seed and a similar quantity for cultivation expenses

and find the net produce.

l This is not quite correct. The puttahs contain a condition that the lands a returnable " at the pleasure of Govemmenf'-G.O., Revenue Department, N<W06, dated 6th June 1884, pp. 21, 23, or " should the Government require it. -Ibtd, P- -0.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

(<•) Reserve one-third of the net produce for the cultivator, and the remainder is the p&ttam.

(/*) The whole of the remainder goes to Government, although in the accounts a distinction is drawn between the Government share (65 per cent, of it) and the Janmi's share (35 per cent, of it).

1. Both shares are oommuted into a money assessment at Rs. 25 per 1,000 Macleod seers.

1. Mr. Conolly, it will be seen from the above, followed the

Mr. Conolly followed the general plan adopted by Mr. Sheffield for assessing Modan, and Mr. Cl< ment-son's plan for distributing the produce.

The Cochin plan of produce distribution distinguished from the Vilachehal meni pattam and the Warden pattam.

general plan adopted by Mr. Sheffield for assessing Modan lands (paragraph 274), and in the precise distribution of the produce he followed the scheme adopted by Mr. Clementson (paragraph 272a) for assessing land freshly taken up for cultivation. This fifth method of distributing the produce differs from the others already described, but it is very closely allied to the method adopted in distributing the Vilachehal meni pattam of Mr. Rickards and to that adopted for distributing the Warden pattam in Wynad.

For example : —

Seed, 5 seers; outturn multiple. .15.

Distribution as per the Vilachehal meni p&tˆam Plan.

Distribution as per the Warden pattern Plan.

Distribution as per the Cochin Plan.

, Outturn Gross

beea. Multiple. Produce.

Outturn Gross

eaMultiple. Produce.

Outturn Gross

Multiple Produce.

5 X 15 = 75

r>.

II

to

X

to

6 X 16 = 76

Deduct for Expenses —

Deduct for Expenses —

Deduct for Expenses —

Seed 5

6X3 — 16

Seed 6

Valli 5

Valli 6

— 10

Balance . . 60

— 10

One-third to Ryot. 20

Balance .. 65

One-third to Gov-

Balance . . 66

One-third to Ryot for

emment . . 20

One-third to Ryot for

profit 2 1 1

One-third to Janmi. 20

— 60

profit .. 2 1 |

Remainder .. 43$ Government share at 60 per cent . . 26 Janmi's share at

40 per cent. .. 17$

— 43$ - 1

Remainder .. 43$

Government share at

65 per cent. 28$

Janmi's share at

36 per cent. 15$

- 43$

In short it is the Vilachehal meni pattam of Mr. Rickards, with however 65

per cent, of the pattam (in place of 60 per cent.) reserved for the Government share. It was Mr. Graeme who proposed to take as the Government share 65 per cent, of the pattam, but then the pfit-tam he referred to was the Verumpdltam or actual ren'

It was in fact the Vilachehal meni pattam with 65 per cent, reserved for Government in-dead of 60 per cent.

mai.abar district.

Of thi. change Of "ot the Vilachchal mini pdttam. Mr. Greeme's reason percentage. for proposing a departure from Mr. Rickards' scheme

. filing the Government share at 60 per cent, was that in

his time it took 60 per cent, of the Verumpdttam to make up 60 per cent of the Vilachchal mini pdttam ; the Verumpdttam being in his time pro tanto

It w&s a departh*a the Vllachchal Mini pdttam (see paragraph

ture from the agree- ~o4). It was a clear departure from the agreement

1. arrived at 111 Com® to with tbe PrinciPal Janmis in 1803 (paragraph

1. to calculate the pattam on the Vilachchal mini principles and then to take 65 per cent, of the remainder instead of the 60 per cent, agreed to. This was evidently not looked into when Mr. Clementson was authorized to adopt his plan for assessing land freshly taken up for cultivation (paragraph 272a).

307 . It did not, however, matter much in Cochin, because there The Government the Government was also the Janmi, and in its double capacity it took 100 per cent, of the pattam in the shape of assessment and Janmabhogam from the Ryots. This at first sight would seem to be too large a proportion of the produce for the Government to swallow up, but the fact is that the extreme moderation of the commutation rate assumed in converting produce into money, has left to the Ryots in Cochin a much larger share of produce than at first sight appears. Bearing in mind that in this instance it is the Vilachchal mini pdttam which is being distributed, and that the Government share is 100 per cent', paddy in Cochin in of it, the commutation rate (viz., Rs. 25 per 1,000 the harvest months Macleod seers) at the standard percentage adopted in

the tables at paragraphs 231, 291 (viz., 60 per cent, of the pattam) comes out at Rs. 41-10-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers. Now, on the other hand, since 1860

the market prices obtainable at Cochin for paddy in the harvest months have averaged no less than Rs. 57-15-0 per 1,000 Macleod seers. Even therefore though the Ryots have been paying to Government the whole of the Vilachchal mini pdttam , they haye been better off than the Ryots in many of the Nads, for which the figures will be found in the tables at paragraphs 231 and 291, who, in addition to meeting a commutation rate quite as high, and, in some instances a good deal higher, have still above and beyond this to find a rent for the Janmi.

Garden Lands.

M g hire's 308. ˆr- onoy assessed the coco, areca and jack

plan1 foUowed by trees on the plan adopted in the rest of the district kr. CoQolly. (paragraph 263).

takes 100 per cent, of the pattam in Cochin.

This at first sight looks like too large a proportion of produce for Government to take.

but the commutation rate is extremely moderate, and represents a rate of Rs. 41-10-8 per 1,000 Macleod seers at the standard percentage of pattam.

The price of

since 1 860 has

averagedRs.5716-0

per 1,000 Macleod seers,

so that the Cochin Ryots are better off than those of many other places.

REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Miscellaneous Lands .

No cultivation, 309. Modan, Punam, and Ellu cultivation (para-

k'twˆha m°beyn raP18 33, 34, 35) is not practised in Coohin, but Mr. applied under Mr. Ballard's order of 2nd September 1862 (see paragraph

September has been Puˆ in operation in Cochin to a small

1. extent.

NAD xxxii.— the dutch settlement at tangacherry and the

ENGLISH SETTLEMENT AT ANJENGO.

1. Very little requires to be said about these settlements, because

the land revenues of both are, with the other sources Land revenues * . «, . . , . ^

framed by the Trar©v6nu6, rGntoQ out at lump sums to tlio Travan-

men?re Govern ’ core State at Rs2 > 447 Per annum for Tangacherry and Rs. 1,450 per annum for Anjengo.

1. The land belongs partly to Government and partly to Janmis. The lands of the latter olass are exempt from all assessments, and as regards the former the Travancore State collects only the share (pattam) due to Government. This state of things proves, if additional proof were necessary, that the position taken up in Section (A) of this Chapter is correot, viz., that the pattam

really the anoient land revenue assessment of the coast. — (Con/, p. 605.)

The Travancore State collects the share due ta Government on Government lands.

Jan mam lands

are exempt.

Sub-Section VIL — Final Summary and General Conclusions.

Recapitulation of oin . .

the objects set forth 312. Ihe objects necessitating the preparation of

ttisPˆS-aph 1 °f ˆi® PaPer were tllus 8et forth in paragraph 1 : _

1. To ascertain, first, by reference to the past revenue history

of Malabar the proportions whioh the land revenue assessments bear to the fund available out of the net produce of the land for paying a rent, to the Janmi and an assessment to Government.

1. To discover, in the second place, whether these proportions

are anywhere so oppressive at the present time, as to take from the Ryots more of the produoe than by the fixed principles regulating the assessments the Government intended to take.

How far have It now beoomes possible to ascertain how far these eae een attained? objects have been attained.

1. The proportions which the various assessments bear to the rent Details set forth and revenue fund, have been set forth in detail for every part of the district for which details were required in the foregoing narrative. And these details have already been focussed (so to speak) in the figures to be found for the bulk of the low-countxy in paragraphs

for every part of the district,

and focussed (so to speak) in pani- <U*ph* 231, 232, »1, 307.

$31* 232, as for the year 1805-6, and for the rest of the distriot in paragraphs 291 and 307 as for the present time.

Further general 314. The following further general remarks seem observations. to required : —

1. From the time of Lord William Bentinck's Minute (22nd April 1804), there has been no doubt regardingthe pro-

How far has Mr. n e 6 r

Rickards' scheme

°* distribution been intended, to take from wet lands and gardens. Mr

Rickards' scheme of distribution was then approved (paragraph 226), and the extent to which it has been carried out, and the extent to which departures from it have occurred, will here be briefly recapitulated.

Wet Lands.

portion of the produce of the soil the Government

Mr.

scheme has not been fully carried out.

Mr. Graeme's alternative plan proved abortive.

The assessments are in much the same state as in 1805-6,

and are based on four kinds_of pAt*

tarn

Mr. Rickards' scheme of distribution depended on the ascertainment Rickards' an arbitrary pattam (rent), which has been oalled the Vilachchal meni pattam. It may be gathered from the foregoing narrative that his scheme has never been fully carried out. Mr. Greeme proposed, for reasons which have been already explained in paragraph 254, an equivalent scheme of his own (see in particular Sir Thomas Munro's Minute of 16th July 1822, paragraph 9, Revenue Selections, Vol. Ill, p. 558), founded on the Verump'ittam or actual rent, but Mr. Graeme's scheme proved abortive, and so the wet land assessments are in much the same state as in 1805-6. The basis of them rests on four different kinds of pattam (rent), viz. :

1. Ve rum pattam (aotual rent).

2. Nikuti pattam (the Mysorean assessment rent).

3. Vilachchal meni pattam (Mr. Rickards').

These three regulate the proportion of produce in the low-oountry to the extent shown in detail in paragraph 229, and the fourth, viz.,

1. Warden pattam is in operation only in the Wynad.

These pattams, of course, vary greatly among themselves, and the figures in paragraphs 231, 291, and 307 are not to be a£3T£ SuS taken as the exact equivalents of the assessments m the at paragraphs 231, various Nads reduced to one common fixed standard, 291, and 307. but Qnly a8 tll0 neare8t approximations which circum

stances will permit towards the attainment of such a standard. Where, however, one of these pattams is the basis of the assessment in more than one Nad, the figures represent the exact proportions which the

assessments bear to each other in those respective Nads

There has, however, been one departure from the mtentions of Lord William Bentinck's Government. The details will be

One departure found in paragraphs 254, 272, and 306. The mista e fromjhe ingnU™. made by Mr clement80nof taking 65 per cent, of the

Bontinck's GovernVilachchal meni pattam, as equivalent to (55 per oent. mfoundedonamis- ˚f the Verumpattam was apparently uˆ“otioed then, take. and it has been perpetuated down to the present time.

It affects all wet lands recently brought under cultivation in the low-country and the accounts of all the wet lands in Cochin.

Garden, Lands.

Mr. Rickards' scheme for the distribution of the produco in this class ka d * an(s was based on the actual prevailing customary scheme fully ˆand pattam in South Malabar only. Mr. Graeme's pro-successfully carried posals did not necessitate any departure from that out by Mr. Graeme, except ˆo the extent noted in paragraph 254.

This was hardly a departure from the original scheme, because it left the North Malabar custom as to pattam intact. So that in regard to gardens (and excluding coffee, paragraphs 293, 296, as a recently introduced industry) the intentions of Lord William Bentinck's Government have been fully carried out, and most successfully.

Miscellaneous Land.

1. As regards miscellaneous lands, Mr. Rickards' scheme provided no rules for the distribution of the produce. There has consequently been some uncertainty in regard to the assessments. The standard adopted, for reasons stated in paragraph 232, was adhered to by Mr. Sheffield in regulating the Modan and Ellu assessments .in the low-country, but it was overlooked in regard to Funam. And when the low-country assessments on these crops came again under revision in 1860, the standard in regard to Modan and Ellu was in its turn lost sight of, although practically its principles were to some extent preserved in the rates per acre then sanctioned (paragraphs 276, 277). The disadvantage of these fixed rates per acre is that no distinction is drawn between good, bad, and indifferent land. Mr. Sheffield had arranged the Modan lands in three classes, with outturn multiples varying from 2-fa to 6|f, and it is clear that one uniform average assessment must fall too heavily on the poor, and too lightly on the good, lands.

314a. To illustrate this section thirteen maps of the district have been prepared and are here inserted, showing the different portions of the district in which the various descriptions of cultivation principally occur.

1. Turning lastly to the most important point of all, the oppressiveness or otherwise of the Government shares of produce at the Government commutation rates, it may be “VP ? r remarked in the first place that high prices of produce

Mr. Rickards’ scheme did not affect the miscellaneous lands.

Uncertainty in consequence.

The standard adopted by Mr. Sheffield was after, wards overlooked in 1860.

The disadvantage of one single fixed rate per acre.

Too heavy on poor, too light on good, land.

Are the rates anywhere oppres-

High prices of produce are like a nigh flood-tide, submerging all inequalities.

When the tide recedes the rocks lie bare.

Since 1831-32 a high flood of prioes has set in, and shows no sign of ebbing.

are like a high flood-tide, submerging all inequalities of assessments, as rocks are submerged by the tidal wave. It is only when the tide reoedes that the rocks are laid bare. Since 1832 a high flood of prices has set in which as yet shows no sign of ebbing. The district records show that prices ran very low in 1828-31, so much so that there was in 1830-31 some fear that Mr. Graeme’s commutation rates for garden produce would prove too high. Mr. Hudleston, the Principal Collector, in 1830-31 had to give no less than Rs. 69,317 as remissions

The rise most on Kar(ˆen8This, however, was the turning point, marked in, and just The flood of high prices began after the setting in of

endmghi 8 the raˆns in 1831-32, and with some intermissions it

has continued ever since. Perhaps the greatest permanent inorease sinoe 1822 took place in, and just after, the five years ending 1856-57. The following table exhibits such details as can be found of this time : —

Paddy

per

Garce.

Gingelly per Garce.

Coconuts per 1,000.

Pepper per Candy 560 lb.

Coffee per Candy 560 lb.

Green Ginger per Candy 560 lb.

Average of 5 years end-

HB.

R8.

RS.

RS.

RS.

RS.

ing 1851-62 .. Average of 5 years end-

ing 1856-67 ..

1857-58 • . . . • •

1858-59 ..

1859-60 ..

The garce referred to in this table is about three times the standard quantity used in the tables at paragraphs 231, 232, 291, 307.

1. In Appendioes XVI to XIX will be found such details as can be had regarding the prices of produce current in recent years. In the following table these prices are compared with the commutation rates equivalent, at the standard Government shares of the produce (adopted in the figures at paragraphs 231, 232, 276, 277, 278, 291, 307), to the actual commutation rates of the existing assessment, and the map showing " Modem Taluks will serve to show in what particular parts of the oountry these different rates prevail.

These high prices are compared in the following table with actual

commutation rates as fixed by the principles of the assessment.

DISTRICT TOTAL 3.50,075

DiSTR’CT TOTAL 175 971

OTHER GRAIN CROPS

OTHER GARDEN PRODUCE.

EEVKNUE ASSESSMENTS

Elln.

Per 1,000 Maclead , Seers of Gingelly.

Recent

Prices.

rH

• ° ® o 5 -« -

H H N ˆ

3 S I S 5 3

rH

Commutation Rates as

per

existing

Assess

ments.

rH

BS. A. P.

63 15 8

63 15 8

63 15 8

63 15 8

63 15 8

Per 1,000 Macleod Seers of Paddy.

Recent

Prices.

rH

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H « co o»

• S S 9 9 sl

Commutation Rates as per

existing

Assess

ments.

rH

— - 8

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Per 1,000 Nuts.

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REVENUE ASSESSMENTS.

Some doubt as to wh other Mr. Gnome's commutation rates for garden produce wero adhered to in North Malabar.

From a return recently proparod, there appears to he some doubt whether Mr. Grcemo's commutation rates for garden produce wero implicitly followed when making some of the gardon 'assessments, particularly in North Malabar. There is no doubt it was the intention of Mr. Grmne, who had from Government full authority in this matter, that they should be followed, and as they at all ovents are sufficiently approximate to existing rates to enable an opinion to bo formed on the subject now in hand, they have been retained in the above table.

1. Very little moro need bo said than to refer to thefigures'in the

above tablo as proof positive that the land assessments Tho above figuros … ■> <•

proof positive of aro at the present time, and have been for many years,

tho moderation of extremely moderate and well within the limits of the assessments. . . , e . , . . ,

the shares of produco which tho Government has considered it politio to take.

Tho only instance in which, to continue the simile used in paragraph 315, a rock may appear to stand above tho flood

Tho exceptional ? . . . . . ,

case in the Kotfa- °* prices, is in regard to the highest assessment on wet

yam 1 aluk oxplainland in the lCottayam Taluk. Tho commutation rate there comes out at Its. 75 per 1,000 Maclood seers, whereas the market price of late has been but Rs. 58-14-6 per 1,000 Maclood seers. This, however, is an assessment on Government land, not on private land ; and tho assessment has boon taken at 100 per cent, of the fund available for rent and assessment together. Converted into that standard of 100 por cent., the commutation rate comes out at Its. 45 per 1 ,000 Macleod seers, which is well within the curront price of the last twenty-one yoars. In this caso the holders have no rent to pay to any one. They are not so well off, however, as tho holders of Government wet land in Cochin for instance (see paragraph 307).

Tlio assessments Q * .,

are now hero opprosolo. It is quite clear that the land assessments

in[hnsoKvn]eJare nowh°re oppressive, and that the growing insolvent cottiorism of the great body of ryots in Malabar is not due to any action of Government in the direction of taking more than its fair share of the produce of the laud. It may seem paradoxical to say so, but it is not far from tho truth to assert that the action of Government has beon too liberal, and that had tho share of produce left to the ryot. been less, his present position would have been better.

tiorism of tho Malabar cultivators is not duo to Government having taken more than its fair share of their produco.

Paradox. Had Government taken more, theirposition would have beon

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